

Eleven Studies of the Middle Ages

by Robert Lee Wolff

Robert Lee Wolff, a professor of History at Harvard with an interest in Latin secular and clerical rule over Constantinople, published these eleven articles in a variety of journals between the years 1937 and 1959. A Wikipedia entry ([Robert Lee Wolff](#)) describes his historical contributions and also his contributions to the collecting and study of Victorian literature.

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THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES — A RE- EXAMINATION

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THE legend of Barlaam and Ioasaph, one of the most popular and influential of medieval romances, entered the western world by way of a Greek version, which fathered, directly or indirectly, translations into almost every European language, and inspired an entire cycle of literary influences. This Greek version was itself descended from a long line of Asiatic redactions, harking back through Georgian and Arabic to Pehlevi and to the Sanskrit prototype (now lost). Thus the Greek version occupies, so to speak, a focal position. It is at once the source of the European, and the culmination of the Asiatic, traditions. Its hero, Prince Ioasaph, can look backward to his earliest incarnation as the Buddha of the *Lalita Vistara*, and forward to his latest — as a saint of Rome and Byzantium; while many of the tales told him by the monk Barlaam to convert him to Christianity change little on their long journey from some such work as the *Pantchantra*, via the Greek *Barlaam*, to the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry, or the *Gesta Romanorum*.¹

¹ This paper is a portion of a longer essay, entitled Barlaam and Ioasaph, The Genesis of the Greek Version.

The Greek, first printed by Boissonade in *Anecdota Graeca*, 1832, is now most conveniently available in a volume of the Loeb Classical Library (ed. G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, New York, Macmillan, 1914). Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches*, 2nd ed., München, 1897, pp. 889–91, gives a very full bibliography up to that year. Especially useful for the elucidation of the points made in this paragraph are: Eugen Brauholtz, *Die Erste Nichtchristliche Parabel des Barlaam und Josaphat, ihre Herkunft und Verbreitung*, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1884; Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *Baralam and Yewasef*, being the Ethiopic version of a Christianized Recension of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, Cambridge University Press, 1923; Emanuel Cosquin, *La Légende de Saints Barlaam et Josaphat*, reprinted from *Révue des Questions Historiques*, October 1880, in *Études Folkloriques: Recherches sur les Migrations des Contes Populaires*, Paris, Champion, 1922, pp. 27–40; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka Tales*, London, Trübner and Co., 1880; Joseph Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, English Lives of Buddha, London, David Nutt, 1896; and F. Max Müller, *On the Migration of Fables*, in *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. IV, pp. 138 ff., New York, Scribner, Armstrong and Co., 1876.

The name Ioasaph is derived from the epithet Bodhisattva, the technical title of a

Through long years of controversy, scholars have variously ascribed this Greek *Barlaam* to three different authors: to St. John of Damascus (c. 676–749), the great Greek church father; to some even earlier anonymous author, supposed to have flourished about 600; and to St. Euthymius (d. 1028), an Athonite monk of the monastery of St. Athanasius, and later higumen of Iviron. This last attribution has recently been made certain by Father Paul Peeters. Father Peeters demonstrates that Euthymius used as his basis a Georgian redaction of the tale, which is still extant; and he thus quietly disposes of the hypothetical Syriac version, evolved by scholars to bridge the gap between the Arabic and Greek versions.²

man destined to attain the dignity of a buddha. Bodhisattva becomes in Arabic Bodasaph; Arabic B (ب) and Y (ي) differ only by a single diacritical point; and Bodasaph thus by a misreading becomes Iodasaph in Georgian, and Ioasaph in Greek — later turned by Western Europeans into the more familiar Josaphat or Jehoshaphat.

² The ascription to John of Damascus is based on late manuscript tradition. Woodward and Mattingly are the last to maintain it, despite the seemingly conclusive refutation (with false conclusions, however) of Hermann Zotenberg, *Notice sur le Livre de Barlaam et Josaphat*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1886. Jacobs, op. cit., and Krambacher, op. cit., agree with Zotenberg, who advances the theory of an unknown author of about the year 600; and so especially does E. W. A. Kuhn, whose work on the subject (*Barlaam und Joasaph*, Eine Bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie, in *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, München, vol. 20 (1894), pp. 1–87 has until recently been accepted as definitive.

The theory that Euthymius was the author was first advanced by Baron v. Rosen, the Russian Arabist, in *Zapiski Vostočnago Otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Archaeologičeskago obsčestva*, II, 1887, 166–74 (Kuhn, op. cit., p. 9). Rosen based his suggestion upon certain manuscript titles, and called attention to a reference in a Georgian life of Euthymius, which ascribes to him the translation of 'Balavari' — the Barlaam story. This life, written by Euthymius' relative and successor, Saint George the Hagiore, is now available in a Latin translation by Father Paul Peeters: *Vies des S. S. Jean et Euthyme*, in *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, extract from *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. XXXVI–XXXVII, Bruxelles, 1923. The Balavar reference appears on p. 15: *Balahvarum . . . ex hiberico Sermone in Graecum convertit.*

Peeters' definitive article, which proves that Euthymius and no other wrote the Greek *Barlaam*, using a Georgian model, is entitled *La Première Traduction Latine de Barlaam et Joasaph et son Original Grec* (*Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. XLIX, 1931, pp. 276–312). N. Marr had made a partial edition of the Georgian version — *Mudrost' Balavari*, 1888, and returned to the subject in *Agiographic Materiali*, vol. XIII of *Zapiski Vostocnago otdelenija*, 1901, pp. 89–103. He was the first to recognize its importance, and he and Rosen were convinced by the evidence already at hand that Euthymius was the author of the Greek version. To this evidence Peeters adds that of a hitherto unknown Latin translation preserved in a manuscript at Naples, and that

The life of St. Euthymius composed by his successor, St. George, also deals with the career of Euthymius' father, St. John. This is natural, since father and son, strangely enough brought together by chance in a monastic environment, occupy an important position in the history of Georgian theological literature.³ Euthymius (the Georgian form of the name is Ep'tyme), John's youngest son, was taken when a child to Constantinople as a hostage. His father, a Georgian noble, who had left his family in order to become a monk, had moved to the 'great ascetic centre of Mt. Olympus in Bithynia,' from which he exercised his influence, and succeeded in securing the release of Euthymius, whom he then educated according to the best standards of the day. Euthymius' own first tongue was Greek, and he later became proficient in Georgian as well. Father and son were on Olympus during the years 975–7, and it was there that Euthymius began his translations from Greek to Georgian.⁴

The two moved to Athos, where Euthymius became *καθηγητής* of the monastery of St. Athanasius, and later hegumen of the Lavra of Iviron, which his father had been instrumental in founding. John died in 998. This event seems to mark the end of the period when Euthymius' activity in hermeneutics was greatest. 'Official duties robbed him of most of his leisure for

of certain other new Georgian sources. With these materials he fashions, in a narrative as interesting as many a detective story, an unshakable case for the authorship of Euthymius.

He accepts the statement of these sources that Euthymius 'translated' the story from the Georgian; and proves that his model could have been in no other language. Thus he established the pedigree: Sanskrit — Pehlevi — Arabic — Georgian — Greek.

³ The information in the succeeding paragraphs comes from R. P. Blake's article on Georgian Theological Literature, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. XXVI, October 1924, pp. 54 ff., supplemented by Peeters' Latin translation of the Georgian *Vitae*.

⁴ *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, p. 15: . . . (vir) ille venerabilis ingenti suo labore ad ecclesiae nostrae illustrationem et ornamentum universas disciplinas edoctus est: cuius operosam industriam concelebrant et peregrini et propinquui. Atque translatorum ab eo librorum suavitas, quasi aureae fistulae vox canora in universa terra personat, non Hiberiae modo, sed etiam Graeciae. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 33: Dixit porro (illi) pater Iohannes 'Fili mi, Hiberorum terra ex gravi librorum inopia laborat, plurimique libri nobis desunt. Atqui video quo beneficio Deus te muneras sit; proinde conitere ut praemium tibi apud Deum multiplices.' Ille ut erat prae omnibus oboediens, eius mandato naviter paruit. Itaque (librorum) interpretationi se dedidit, omniumque animos in admirationem coniecit; nam si priscorum illorum interpretationes eximas, nihil umquam tale in lingua nostra prodierat neque opinor denuo proditurum esse.

his studies, and accordingly he resigned his office in 1012. The latter period of his life was not as fruitful as the earlier. . . . He was killed by his runaway mule in a street accident in Constantinople, while on a visit there in 1028.⁵

Although Euthymius' contemporary fame was due at least in part to his rank, as Professor Blake suggests,⁶ yet his excellent knowledge of Greek, and his practice of translating into Georgian works previously unknown to his countrymen distinguished him from other translators.⁷

Much attention has been devoted by scholars to the text of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* despite the fact that until Peeters' recent studies the author's identity was uncertain. A series of discoveries, some most dramatic, has thrown light on the underlying sources. The author apparently made use of several extraneous works to embellish the body of his narrative, quoting

⁵ Blake, loc. cit., p. 59.

⁶ Ibid., p. 55f. 'A near relative of the most famous Georgian warrior of his day (Tornikios or Č'ordvaneli), whose name was one to conjure with both in Georgia and at Byzantium, son of a noble of high rank, κτήτωρ and higumen of one of the most splendid and wealthy monasteries of the new ascetic ὅμφαλος on Athos, intimate friend and trusted counsellor of the Greek emperor, it was fitting he should write, and that people should read his productions with interest.'

⁷ Professor Blake reproduces the following list of works by Euthymius from Kekelidze, History of Georgian Literature (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1923.

1. The Bible. Euthymius revised the Gospels, but his version was rapidly displaced by that of his successor George. He also translated the Apocalypse and Andreas of Caesarea's commentary on it.
2. Apocrypha. (a) The correspondence of Abgar with our Lord; (b) the life of the Virgin attributed to Maximus Confessor; (c) Acta Iohannis Apostoli a Prochero scri:pta; (d) the Clementines; (e) the life of St. Pancratius (Bagrat, Pancras) of Tauromenium; (f) Vita Andreae Apostoli.
3. Exegesis. (a) The Commentary of John Chrysostom on Matthew; (b) the same author on John; (c) Basil on the Psalms; (d) a commentary on the Apostolic writings.
4. Dogmatics and Polemics. Twenty-four Orations of Gregory Nazianzen and some works of Maximus Confessor and John of Damascus.
5. Ascetics. The Dialogues of Gregory the Great; Isaac Syrus; the κλῖμαξ of Johannes Sinaita; Cassian; the 'Ηθικά of Basil the Great.
6. Hagiographica. Sixteen lives of saints.

'Euthymius also paid some attention to liturgical matters, translating a short synaxary and composing a number of hymns. His work in this field, however, was quite overshadowed by that of his successor George. He likewise compiled a short canonical collection, made up of the penitential canons of John the Faster and of Basil the Great, together with the canons of the sixth oecumenical council.'

some briefly or at length, allowing others to color his style, and, finally, incorporating at least one, the *Apology* of Aristides, *in toto* into his work. As long, however, as it was impossible to fix within a period of four hundred years the time at which the Greek Barlaam was actually written, to name its author, or to determine the language from which the tale was derived, it remained equally impossible properly to appreciate these textual discoveries. Until Peeters all attempts to evaluate their significance were futile; since Peeters nobody, so far as I know, has again gone over the ground. We shall endeavor to re-examine, in the light of Peeters' conclusions, the history of the so-called *Apology* of Aristides, the most important of the adventitious materials which embellish the narrative of the Greek Barlaam.

In 1889, J. Rendel Harris discovered in a Syriac manuscript in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai an early Christian apology, ascribed to Aristides, an Athenian philosopher of the second century. He translated this work into English, and showed the proofs of his forthcoming article to his friend, the late J. Armitage Robinson, who made a second astounding discovery: namely that this *Apology* of Aristides formed the substance of the speech made in defense of Christianity by Nachor, the wise man, in the Greek version of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*.⁸ Nachor had been engaged by Abenner, the heathen king, to impersonate Barlaam, the monk who converted the young prince Ioasaph to Christianity. In order to lure the young prince back to heathenism, the king, his father, plotted to have Nachor defend Christianity in a debate so badly that he might be sure to lose. God, however, enters into Nachor, and the threats of the young prince sway him somewhat; so instead of delivering a half-hearted oration, he launches forth suddenly into a long, impassioned and beautiful apology for the Christian faith.⁹ This apology is taken over from Aristides.

Let us now turn for a moment to the original Georgian from which Euthymius took his story. Since Peeters' study, this can

⁸ Harris, J. R., *The Apology of Aristides*, vol. I, no. 1, *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge 1893, with J. Armitage Robinson.

⁹ Woodward and Mattingly, op. cit., pp. 396-424.

be done with definite knowledge of the proper importance of this version for the later history of the legend.¹⁰ The wise man, Na'kor, at exactly the same point as in the Greek, 'opened his lips and began to blaspheme the idols, and to praise Christ and those who abide by his laws. And his speech flowed on so well that even Balavar¹¹ himself could not compare with him in his refutation of the idol-worshippers.'¹² This is all that is said of Na'kor's oration. In this Georgian version, the foundation of Euthymius' Greek version, there is no lengthy apology for Christianity, but it exists in his finished work in Greek. Therefore he must have inserted it.¹³ The questions now arise, when and where did he do this? After a re-examination of the history of the Apology itself and of the history of apologetic material in general, I hope by a brief investigation into the chronology of Euthymius' life and works to evolve a likely answer.

Until the nineteenth century we knew about the Apology of Aristides only that it had existed and had been lost. The following scanty mentions in earlier authors give token of its existence indeed, but of little more:¹⁴

In Eusebius there are two references to Aristides, which re-

¹⁰ The first published version of the Georgian: N. Marr, 'Mudrost' Balavara,' gruzinskaja versija 'dushepoleznoi istorija' o Varlaame i Ioasaphe (Zapiski Vostočnago otdelenija imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obščestvva, vol. III, 1888, pp. 223–260) consists of extracts only, and these from a faulty manuscript. Conybeare uses this edition as basis for his article, *The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend in the Ancient Georgian and Armenian Literatures* (*Folklore*, June, 1896, p. 101). The first complete Georgian text appeared in 1895 (ed. E. Takai-shvili, Tiflis), and was then translated into Russian in 1898 (I. Djavakhov in *Zapiski* etc., vol. II, 1897–8, pp. 1–48). I have used Professor R. P. Blake's English translation of this Russian, still in manuscript, but available for reference in the Harvard University Library. The page references, however, are to Djavakhov's Russian.

¹¹ Georgian equivalent of Barlaam.

¹² Djavakhov, op. cit., p. 35.

¹³ From a literary point of view the Apology was made to order for Euthymius, who needed a long speech, defending Christianity and proving the falsity of other religions, written in as elevated a style as his own. Such a work he actually possessed. The Apology of Aristides, addressed throughout to a king, and containing explicit material of exactly the sort left implicit in his Georgian original, answered his needs to perfection, — as is proved by the fact that nobody suspected the neat piece of literary carpentry until Harris discovered the Apology itself.

¹⁴ Edgar Hennecke, *Die Apologie des Aristides. Recension und Rekonstruktion des Textes*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 44 ff.

peat substantially the same information, one in the Chronicon,¹⁵ and the other in the Historia Ecclesiastica.¹⁶ The first reads as follows:

Codratus, a pupil of the Apostles, and Aristides of Athens, a philosopher of our faith, gave to Hadrian apologetic entreaties at his command. He had, however, also received from Serennius, that glorious judge, a writing concerning the Christians, that it was certainly wrong to kill them on the basis of rumor alone without trial or any accusation. He wrote to Armonius Fundanus (?), proconsul of Asia, that he should not condemn them without formal condemnation and trial; and a copy of this edict survives to this day.¹⁷

The other passage adds merely the information that Eusebius possessed a copy of the Apology of Codratus (or Quadratus), and that a copy of the Apology of Aristides had survived until his day. One scholar has conjectured that Eusebius may never have read Aristides.¹⁸

Jerome mentions Aristides three times, — in the Chronicon, in the De Viris Illustribus, and in Epistle 70. In each, Quadratus is linked with Aristides; and no new facts are given, except in the Epistle, where we are told that ‘Justin afterwards imitated him,’ and that Aristides was *philosophus eloquentissimus et sub pristino habitu discipulus Christi*, and his Apology a *iudicium ingenii eius apud philologos*.¹⁹ Harnack²⁰ and Harris both agree that these supplementary facts added by Jerome are ‘editorial expansions and colouring of what he found in the pages of Eusebius.’²¹ Then, too, in the De Viris Illustribus Jerome has copied Eusebius directly, saying that Aristides’ Apology was still extant.²² It is questionable whether this was true in Jerome’s time.

Medieval writers, chiefly compilers of martyrologies, taking these grains of falsehood together with the even scantier vestiges

¹⁵ Armen. p. a. 2140, Hadr. 8. Schoene: Euseb. Chron. Can. p. 166. (So cited by Hennecke.)

¹⁶ 4, 3, 1. 3. (So cited by Hennecke.)

¹⁷ Translated from Hennecke, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁸ Adolf Harnack, Die Überlieferung der Griechischen Apologeten des Zweiten Jahrhunderts in der Alten Kirche und im Mittelalter, vol. I, hefte 1 and 2 of Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig, 1882, p. 102.

¹⁹ Hennecke, op. cit., p. 45.

²⁰ Op. cit., p. 104.

²¹ Harris, op. cit., p. 1.

²² Harnack, op. cit., p. 106.

of truth, continued assiduously to copy these early references;²³ and so we find that several of them repeat the statement that the Apology of Aristides still existed. Hennecke lists these mentions,²⁴ one from Orosius, and the others from martyrologies. That of Ado, for instance, reports that the Apology *apud Athenienses summo genere colitur, et inter antiquorum monumenta clarissimum tenetur, ut peritiores Graeci affirmant.*²⁵

Others tell us that Aristides maintained *quod Christus Jesus solus esset Deus*,²⁶ — surely a safe guess.

This briefly is all the material available up to the nineteenth century, except for a letter dated 1534 from Witzel to Beatus Rhenanus, which ‘almost implies that the Apology was already in print in Latin. Is it conceivable that some portion of the Apology may have found its way into print before the year 1534, and remained unnoticed in later times?’²⁷

In 1878 the monks of the Armenian Lazarist monastery in Venice — the Mechitarists — published some old Armenian fragments of the Apology,²⁸ which may be found in Harris in a Latin version,²⁹ and in Harnack, translated into German.³⁰

Rendel Harris and Armitage Robinson made the next discoveries. The Syriac manuscript discovered by Harris not only gives us the complete text of the Apology, but affords further valuable information. It contains a second introduction (as well as one like that to the Armenian version), from which Harris is able to prove that Antoninus Pius, not Hadrian, was the emperor to whom it was delivered; and which names the author in full, — Marcianus Aristides. From the text may also be deduced several arguments for the early date of the Apology:

²³ For instances of this sort — slavish copyings, and transformations of the true into the untrue — see Father H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*, Brussels, Bollandistes, 1905, *passim*.

²⁴ Pp. 45–6.

²⁵ *Martyrologium Adonis*, ed. Dom. Georgius, Romae 1745, II, p. 514.

²⁶ See the Collection of notices of Aristides in Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 6, for the month of August, Venice, 1733 (p. 650), under the 31st of August.

²⁷ Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁸ *Sancti Aristidis Philosophi Atheniensis Sermones*, ed. PP. Mechitaristae Congreg. S. Lazari, Venetiis, 1878.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 110–112, note. The translation is by von Himpel.

the friendly attitude toward the Jews, the fasting of the entire church for several days, and other details — all pointing to a date early in the reign of Antoninus Pius ‘during an unrecorded visit of his to his ancient seat of government in Smyrna.’³¹

Considerable controversy has arisen as to the precedence of the versions, — whether the original text of Aristides is more accurately represented by the Greek in the Barlaam or by the Syriac; and, if the latter be the case, whether the Greek in the Barlaam is, as Seeberg thinks, a mere abridgment and reworking of the original Apology.³² The latest editor of the early Apologetes, Edgar Goodspeed, maintains that the problem of the text of the Aristides is virtually insoluble, and that the Syriac text is, in his opinion, closer to the original.³³ He also dates the Apology as between the years 138 A.D., when Antoninus Pius ascended the throne, and 147 A.D., when Marcus Aurelius, who is not mentioned in the dedication, became associated with him as co-emperor.³⁴

To this history of the Apology, based on meagre notices, we are now able to add one thing: St. Euthymius knew the Apology of Aristides; he had it before him in some form — possibly under some other name — when transforming the Georgian Balavar into the Greek Barlaam; and he it was who inserted it bodily into the romance. Where did he find it?

We must first make clear the high probability that Euthymius got his material at first hand, using Aristides’ Apology itself rather than some hagiographical version. In the first place, excepting our Barlaam, no document which contains even part of Aristides’ Apology has come down to us; so any such text is hypothetical. Not only hypothetical, however, but also difficult to imagine, for several reasons, which will become apparent, when we examine the usual hagiographical technique in some of the many other instances of borrowings by a later author from the work of an earlier.

Euthymius’ text, for instance, offers two other good ex-

³¹ Harris, loc. cit., p. 17.

³² Seeberg, R., *Die Apologie des Aristides, untersucht und wiederhergestellt*, Erlangen und Leipzig, 1893.

³³ Goodspeed, Edgar J., *Die Ältesten Apologeten*. Göttingen, 1914, p. viii.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

amples of the usual technique of this sort of borrowing. He made use of at least two other earlier works, — the 'life' of St. Catherine of Alexandria, and the Martyrdom of St. Eustratius from the famous collection compiled in the tenth century by Simeon Metaphrastes (the Metaphrast) of the lives of the saints;³⁵ and the so-called Mirror of the Prince, written by Agapetos for the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century.³⁶ Euthymius' technique in his borrowing from these works is characterized by the following tendencies: he uses them freely, scattering bits, long and short, throughout his narrative wherever he feels they add to the effect; he never uses a work entire; he reworks sentences to suit himself, dropping words and phrases, or inserting them with equal freedom. In short he borrows here and there, as he pleases; his use is partial and indirect. This is the usual technique of hagiography.³⁷ Further examples may be seen in the borrowings from John Malalas, — in this very life of Saint Catherine, from which Euthymius himself later borrowed;³⁸ in the borrowings from the apologete Theodoret in the martyrdom of Trophimus;³⁹ and in the bor-

³⁵ J. Rendel Harris: A New Christian Apology, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, VII, 1923, 355–83; The Quest for Quadratus, *ibid.*, VIII, 1924, 384–97; The Sources of Barlaam and Ioasaph, *ibid.*, IX, 1925, 119–29; and J. Armitage Robinson: The Passion of St. Catherine and the Romance of Barlaam and Ioasaph, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXV, 1924, 246–53; and E. Klostermann and E. Seeberg: Die Apologie der heiligen Katharina, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrtengesellschaft, I, 2, 1924; and especially Father Hippolyte Delehaye's review of all the above in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 45, 1927, pp. 151–3.

The question of the St. Catherine borrowing is a vexed one, but since Peeters' great article, this too can be cleared up. Suffice it to say here that we can be sure that the author of the Greek Barlaam, now known to be Euthymius, used the Metaphrast (who in turn probably contains early apologetic material); that this fact, incidentally, is additional proof of the tenth century origin of the Barlaam; and that we can not be at all sure — quite the contrary — that he used any earlier apologetic work except that of Aristides.

³⁶ K. Prächter: Der Roman Barlaam und Joasaph in seinem Verhältnis zu Agapets Königsspiegel, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II, 1893, 444–60.

³⁷ Instanced *passim* in Delehaye, *op. cit.*

³⁸ J. Bidez, Sur diverses citations et notamment sur trois passages de Malalas retrouvés dans un texte Hagiographique, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. 11, 1902, pp. 388–94, where the difficulties involved in determining accurately the provenance of such borrowings are made strikingly clear.

³⁹ Giovanni Mercati: Un' Apologia Antielenica sotto forma di Martirio, *Studi e testi*, vol. 5, Rome, 1901, pp. 207–26, especially 218 ff.

rowings from Clement of Alexandria by the author of the Passion of St. Philip of Heraclea.⁴⁰

Startlingly in contrast to this prevailing technique is that of which Euthymius made use when he borrowed the Apology of Aristides. He took the whole of it; there is little if any reworking (this we know from the Syriac); his use of it is direct and complete. It is very unlikely, then, that he should have got it from a hagiographical text, hypothetical at that,—which also made use of it in this unusual way.

It seems safe to assume, therefore, that Euthymius found and used a text of the Apology of Aristides itself. By a comparison with the Syriac version we know that his text was complete, and, from a mere glance at the story, that the Apology fitted admirably into the plot of the ascetic and edifying piece of homiletics which he was creating out of the narrative material of the Georgian Balavar. We know, too, by the mere existence of the Armenian and Syriac versions, that the text had been extant in other languages at least well down into the Middle Ages. The possibility that the Armenian served as Euthymius' source is very slight. In the first place it is questionable whether he knew Armenian well; and in the second the Georgians in general and Euthymius in particular entertained a highly unflattering opinion of Armenians, especially as transmitters of religious texts.⁴¹

We are now justified in assuming that Euthymius made use of the original Greek, against the continued existence of which there seems to be no good argument. It is by no means an unknown phenomenon that manuscripts should have continued to

⁴⁰ J. Fuehrer in *Mitteilungen des k. d. archaeologischen Instituts*, Roem. Abth., vii, 1892, p. 159.

⁴¹ This is evinced for example by the following apt quotation from the *Vita et Mores Sancti Georgii Hagioritae*, the successor of Euthymius (Peeters, *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, p. 91f.): . . . attamen terra nostra procul a Graecia distabat, atque in ea, quasi lolia quaedam intersita erat maligna suboles illa Armeniorum, fallax atque versuta: unde non parum detrimenti acceperimus. Gens enim nostra innocens et incorrupta erat: illi autem decorum consilium praetendentes, nos quoque ad errorem allicere voluerunt; adeoque libri nonnulli ab iis translati nobis fuerunt. Quae cum ita essent, gentem nostram divina misericordia respexit novumque Chrysostomum suscitavit, sanctum patrem nostrum Euthymium, qui velut decimus tertius apostolus terram nostram a loliis praedictis penitus depurgavit, translatis compluribus libris sanctis. . . .

exist in the East for centuries after they were written, and that subsequent writers should have used them freely without testifying to their existence. We may adduce, as evidence, the manuscript which has been the sole source of the texts of virtually all the early Apologetes, Codex Parisinus 451, written in the year 914 for Arethas, bishop of Caesarea,⁴² a nine-tenth century bibliophile, by Baanes (*Baavns*), a professional scribe. Why should not the story of the hypothetical manuscript which contained Aristides, and which Euthymius presumably used, have been similar?⁴³

On the same page in Par. 451 on which is given a statement of the price of the manuscript, there appear in a hand (certainly not earlier than the twelfth century) the following words in very bad Greek, which I translate: ‘this book belongs to the monk Meletius, who dragged out his wretched existence according to his deserts.’⁴⁴ Whoever this Meletius may have been,⁴⁵ the corrections by his hand prove that the manuscript survived in the east, long after 1028 (the year of Euthymius’ death).

A similar and even more suggestive manuscript history is that of the *Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*. Our knowledge of this also was until the nineteenth century confined to scanty notices in Eusebius, Athanasius, and others in the early church. In 1875, Bryennios, Archbishop of Leres, discovered it complete, in a manuscript of the eleventh century in the Jerusalemite mon-

⁴² From his library come also a manuscript of Euclid (Bodleian, D’Orville mss. XI), Harnack, op. cit., p. 40; and the great Codex Clarkianus, the important manuscript of Plato, removed (a kind word!) from Mount Patmos in the early nineteenth century.

⁴³ Some of the marginalia and corrections in Par. 451 are in the same ink, and a hand contemporary with the original; and two of them are preceded by the word “*Ἄρεθα*.” From this we may infer that Arethas himself, in accordance with his custom, made some of the corrections.

The text of 451 includes a gap which at first glance we should like to think had contained the *Apology of Aristides*. Harnack, however, shows that the gap was almost certainly filled by the *Oratio ad Graecos of Tatian*.

⁴⁴ Harnack, p. 28.

⁴⁵ Harnack suggests that he may have been the Meletius who was also the scribe of a Codex of the Evangelists, dated 1275 (*Mosquensis 277*), written in the monastery of St. George at Beroea; or still another Meletius who wrote the *Athos Synaxary* of the year 1303.

astery at Constantinople.⁴⁶ This manuscript too, then, continued to exist in the east long after the period in which we are interested.⁴⁷ It is not improbable, then, that Euthymius had access to a text of Aristides; in fact the evidence of his almost certain use of such a text when added to the evidence adduced by the similarity of these two other manuscript traditions make it in the highest degree probable; and the history of the $\Delta i \delta \alpha x \dot{\eta}$, at least, suggests that perhaps in some eastern library there may still exist a manuscript containing, possibly under another name, the Apology of Aristides.

Let us now return to the Barlaam, and attempt to arrive at the date of its composition.

On Athos, in the well-preserved library of the lavra of Iviron, there is no manuscript extant of either the Georgian or the Greek version.⁴⁸ This fact would at once seem to indicate some place of composition other than the holy mountain. Conspicuously absent from the Athos collection are several of Euthymius' other known works; for the most part these are pre-Athonite achievements. Notable among these absent works is a version in Georgian of the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle.⁴⁹ There actually does exist at Tiflis⁵⁰ a manuscript of this, naming Euthymius as its author, and dated 978 on Mount Olympus, at the monastery of Kranion. This work, at least, definitely, then, belongs to the pre-Athonite period. It is important, too, in another respect, and we shall return to it shortly.

⁴⁶ Published by Harnack, *Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, vol. II, hefte 1 und 2 of *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1886.

⁴⁷ Harnack, pp. 5-12.

⁴⁸ See R. P. Blake, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos — extrait de la Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3^e série, T. VIII (XXVIII), Nos. 3 et 4 (1931-2), pp. 289-361, which we shall henceforth call part 1; and 3^e série, T. IX (xxix), Nos. 1 et 2 (1933-4), pp. 114-159, which we shall henceforth call part 2.

⁴⁹ Blake, op. cit., part 1, p. 7, 'Une série des travaux de S. Euthyme ne s'y trouve pas, ni l'Apocalypse de S. Jean. . . .'

⁵⁰ Ms. 1346 of Georgian Society of History and Ethnography, Tiflis, a photograph of which exists in the J. P. Morgan Collection at Harvard University, and a description of which may be found in Žordania: *Sio-Mgümis Monasteri*, Tiflis, 1896 (in Georgian). (For the above note I am indebted to Professor R. P. Blake.)

Number 32 in Professor Blake's catalogue⁵¹ is the manuscript of Euthymius' translation of St. Basil the Great, written on Athos by the scribe Sabay in the year 981. This is the earliest of the Athos manuscripts which bear Euthymius' name, and thus places him on Athos in 981. We can now say that he came to Athos from Olympus sometime between 978 and 981.

John, the father of Euthymius, made a list of the works of his son, in a document called his testament.⁵² This appears as an epilogue to the Georgian ms. on Athos of the Commentary of Chrysostom on Matthew⁵³ and continues to reappear, with additions,—once in St. George's life of St. John and St. Euthymius, which has already been so useful,⁵⁴ and once in a manuscript of Gelathi, dated 1047.⁵⁵

An examination of these lists will supply us with the rest of our necessary data. Although at first the order of the works seems approximately chronological, we are struck by the fact that the important Apocalypse already mentioned, which we know to have been done on Olympus in 978, and so to be a very early achievement, appears seventeenth on the list.⁵⁶ Here, then, John has gone astray. We infer from this that John was not clear as to the nature and order of his son's activities at this period. This inference is strengthened by the fact that John omits the Gospels, also a product of Euthymius' pre-Athonite period, which still exist at Tiflis.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Part 2, p. 110 ff.

⁵² 'St. Jean l'Hagiortie . . . a écrit ou dicté une notice bio-bibliographique, destinée à authentifier un des manuscrits qu'il fit calligraphier pour la laure des Ibères (vid. inf. next sentence in text). Il y raconte comment, affligé de la détresse intellectuelle et religieuse dont souffrait la nation géorgienne, faute des livres les plus indispensables, il résolut de préparer son fils Euthyme à combler cette lacune en traduisant du grec en géorgien les Saintes Écritures . . . et d'autres ouvrages utiles à l'instruction et à l'éducation de ses compatriotes. Suit un catalogue des métaphrases qu'Euthyme avait déjà faites. . . . Ce colophon, que l'on a appelé le "testament" de S. Jean, a été souvent réproduit dans les manuscrits du XI^e siècle. . . .' Paul Peeters — La Première Traduction de Barlaam et Joasaph et son original Grec, *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 49, 1931, pp. 284–5.

⁵³ Blake, no. 10, part 1, p. 51 ff.; testament p. 54–5.

⁵⁴ Peeters, *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, p. 34–5.

⁵⁵ Peeters, *La Première Traduction*, etc., p. 285, where he expresses his indebtedness for this notice to Professor Blake.

⁵⁶ Peeters, *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, p. 35. Blake, op. cit., part 1, p. 54.

⁵⁷ Žordania, *Opisanie Rukopisei Tiflisskago Tserkovnago Museja*, Ms. 484, fully described.

The Balavar does not appear on any of these lists of Euthymius' works, except in that of Gelathi. Here it is very evidently an interpolation by the copyist,⁵⁸ who, knowing better than John, inserted the title for the sake of completeness. We may infer *e silentio* that Euthymius wrote the Barlaam during the period least known to John, — in those years when he was on Olympus before 981.

It is also conceivable that the Barlaam is a product of Euthymius' later years, — after John's death in 998, a period of thirty years, — when, of course, John could not have known of it. We must remember, however, that during Euthymius' later years his administrative duties kept him very busy; very few of his achievements belong to this period. It is also more likely that the Apology of Aristides was available on Olympus, an old and long established ὁμφαλος with an excellent collection of books, than on Athos, a comparatively new foundation, to which books constantly were being imported in the effort to build up a library.⁵⁹

We should like to propose, then, as a reasonable hypothesis that about the year 978 Saint Euthymius, in his retreat on Mount Olympus in Bithynia, was engaged in transforming a rather primitively told Georgian tale into one of the richest, most sophisticated, and most dramatic of the medieval Christian romances, and had before him as he worked a copy of the Apology of Aristides, a powerful and persuasive work of the second century, thought until recent years to have dropped out of sight five centuries before Euthymius' time. This he inserted bodily into his narrative. Thus we are able to set up at the crossroads of two important literary documents a milestone in the history of each. This may conceivably serve as a point of departure for further study of a hitherto enigmatic early Christian apology.

⁵⁸ Peeters, *La Première Traduction, etc.*, p. 285.

⁵⁹ Peeters, *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, p. 25–6 and *passim*.

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BARLAAM AND IOASAPH

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SOURCE of half a hundred medieval popular romances, the Greek version of the Barlaam and Ioasaph legend¹ has been variously ascribed to three different authors widely separated in time: to St. John of Damascus (c. 676–749), to an anonymous author supposed to have flourished about 600, and to St. Euthymius (d. 1028), a monk of Mount Athos. All three attributions are at present current; it now seems clear that we must discard the first two, and that we are justified in naming Euthymius as the author of this Greek version. The oriental language from which he derived this version we can now identify as Georgian. A brief summary of the evidence which may be adduced for all three attributions is in order here.

No manuscript dating from before 1500 names John of Damascus as the author of the Greek Barlaam. With two notable exceptions to which we shall return, these early manuscripts² bear with very slight variations the following title: *Barlaam and Ioasaph, An Edifying Story from the Inner Land of the Ethiopians, called the Land of the Indians, thence brought to the Holy City by John the Monk (an Honourable Man and a Virtuous of the Monastery of St. Saba)*.³ Probably because John of Damascus was named John, and because he retired to and died at St. Saba,⁴ he was identified by late copyists as the John mentioned in the title. This identification was later copied and recopied until it became a tradition which nobody questioned

¹ The Buddhist origin of the narrative, and the Indian origin of the Apologues are too well-known to need comment, and not sufficiently relevant here to need full bibliographical references, of which there are a great many. See, however, R. L. Wolff, *The Apology of Aristides — A Re-Examination*, Harvard Theological Review, XXX, 1937, pp. 233–47, p. 233, note 1.

² Listed, but not arranged in a pedigree, by H. Zotenberg, *Notice sur le Livre de Barlaam et Josaphat, accompagnée d'extraits du texte grec et des versions arabes et éthiopiennes, in Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. XXVIII, Paris, 1886, pp. 3 ff.

³ G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *St. John Damascene, Barlaam and Ioasaph*, London, Heinemann, 1914 (Loeb Classical Library), p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xx.

before Zotenberg, and to which Woodward and Mattingly return. Apart, however, from the more or less convincing arguments adduced by Zotenberg⁵ against John's authorship there is one absolutely conclusive proof that John could not possibly have written the Greek *Barlaam*: among the works from which the author of the Greek *Barlaam* borrowed passages is the Passion of St. Catherine, in the tenth century version of Simeon the Metaphrast.⁶ This renders the hypothesis of an eighth century author manifestly absurd, unless we are prepared to assume a later insertion of this borrowed material — an assumption which presents too many difficulties for consideration.⁷

This same argument militates against the second hypothesis first proposed by Zotenberg: that of a seventh century author who flourished about 600, before Mohammedanism.⁸ Nevertheless this theory has had until recently the support of many competent scholars.⁹

The third attribution — to Euthymius¹⁰ — was first suggested by Von Rosen,¹¹ a Russian student of Arabic. He based

⁵ Op. cit., *passim*.

⁶ J. Rendel Harris, A New Christian Apology in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, VII, 1923, pp. 355–83; The Quest for Quadratus in *ibid.*, VIII, 1924, pp. 384–97; The Sources of Barlaam and Joasaph in *ibid.*, IX, 1925, pp. 119–29. More important are: J. Armitage Robinson, The Passion of St. Catherine and the Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph in Journal of Theological Studies, XXV, 1924, pp. 246–53; and E. Klostermann und E. Seeberg, Die Apologie der heiligen Katharina in Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft, I, 2, 1924. See especially the review of all the above by Father H. Delehaye in Analecta Bollandiana, XLV, 1927, pp. 151–3.

⁷ Wolff, op. cit., pp. 241 ff.

⁸ He arrives at this *e silentio* — There is no mention of the Mohammedans in the Greek *Barlaam*.

⁹ In it concur: E. Kuhn, Barlaam und Joasaph, Eine Bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie, in Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XX, 1894, pp. 1–87; J. Jacobs, Barlaam and Josaphat, London, David Nutt, 1896, who follows Kuhn entirely; and K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches, 2nd ed., München, 1897, pp. 889–91. This last contains an excellent bibliography up to 1897.

¹⁰ The material in this and the following paragraphs may be fully elucidated by reference to the following: P. Peeters, La Première Traduction Latine de Barlaam et Joasaph et son Original Grec, Analecta Bollandiana, XLIX, 1931, pp. 276–312; and Wolff, op. cit., p. 234, note 2.

¹¹ Zapiski Vostočnago Otdelenija Imp. Russk. Arch. občestva, II, 1887, pp. 166–74. (This periodical hereafter referred to as *Zapiski*.)

his conclusions upon the two Greek manuscript-titles mentioned above as exceptional. These name Euthymius as the author. They are Venice, Marc. VII, 26, of the eleventh century, which also names Georgian as the language from which he translated, and Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1771, of the fifteenth.¹² Von Rosen also called attention to a reference in a Georgian life of Euthymius, which ascribes to him the translation of "Balavari" — the Barlaam story.¹³ Then followed the actual discovery, publication, and translation of the Georgian text,¹⁴ and the support of Von Rosen's suggestion by Hommel and Marr,¹⁵ opposed as we have seen especially by Kuhn.

So the matter remained vexed until the publication by Père Peeters of a brilliant article already cited — *La première Traduction Latine de Barlaam et Joasaph, et son Original Grec*.¹⁶ This 'first Latin translation' exists in a fourteenth century manuscript, VIII, B. 10. of the National Library at Naples.¹⁷

¹² Venice Marc. VII, 26, as follows:

[Ἴσ]τορία [ψυχ]ωφελῆς ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν Αἰθιόπων χώρας πρὸς τὴν ἡλίαν πόλιν μετενεχθεὶς δὲ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ μονῆς τοῦ ἀγίου σάββα μεταφρασθῆσα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰθήρων πρὸς τὴν ἐλάδα γλῶσσαν ὑπὲρ εἰθυμί[ου] ἀνδρὸς τιμίου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς τοῦ λεγομένου ἥβηρος.

Paris Bibl. Nat. 1771 as follows:

Ἄργοι ψυχοφελῆς μετενεχθεῖσαι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἐθιόπων ἐσωτέρας χώρας τῆς Ἄρωμαίων γῆς καὶ μεταβληθῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἐθιόπων διαλέκτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλληνίδα γλῶσσαν παρὰ Εὐθυμίου τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἡβύρος τοῦ καὶ γεγωνότος καθηγητοῦ τῆς μεγάλης λάβρας τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἀγίου ὄπους. Peeters, op. cit., pp. 282–3.

¹³ Wolff, op. cit., p. 234 note 2. 'This life, written by Euthymius' relative and successor, St. George the Hagiorite, is now available in a Latin translation by Father Paul Peeters: *Vies des S.S. Jean et Euthyme in Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, extract from *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVI–VII, Bruxelles, 1923. The Balavar reference appears on p. 15: "Balahvarum . . . ex hiberico sermone in Graecum convertit."

¹⁴ Partially published by N. Marr, *Mudrost' Balavari* (The Wisdom of Balavar) in *Zapiski*, III, 1888, pp. 223–60. Then published in full (in Georgian) by E. Takaishvili, *Sibrdzne Balahvarisi*, Tiflis, 1895, and translated into Russian by I. Džavakhov in *Zapiski*, XI, 1897–8, pp. 5–48. An English translation by Prof. R. P. Blake is available in the Widener Library at Harvard.

¹⁵ F. Hommel in N. Weisslovits, *Prinz und Derwisch*, Munich, 1890, pp. 129–78, and N. Marr, *Armjano-gruzinskie materialy dlja istorii Dužepoleznoi Povesti o Varlaame i Ioasafe*, in *Zapiski*, XI, 1898, pp. 49–78, and *Agiographičeski Materialy*, in *Zapiski*, XIII, 1901, pp. 89–103.

¹⁶ See above, note 10.

¹⁷ A. Poncelet, Catal. Cod. Hag. Lat. Bibl. Neapolitanarum, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXX, 1922, pp. 173–7 catalogues this manuscript, and reprints part of the prologue to the Barlaam translation. B. de Gaiffier, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII, 1930, p. 428, in reviewing G. Moldenhauer's *Die Legende von Barlaam und Josaphat auf der Iber-*

The Barlaam translation occupies the last portion of this manuscript, from folio 416v to folio 502v.¹⁸ Its title reads as follows: *Hystoria Barlae et Iosaphat de interiori Aethiopia deducta per venerabilem monachum monasterii sancti Sabae in Heliam urbem et translata in eolico per Eufinium sanctum virum.*¹⁹ Eufinium is the equivalent of Euthymium.

The prologue to this manuscript, from which Peeters starts his article, is a remarkable circumstantial account, specifically dated, by the anonymous translator, of the circumstances under which he came to make the translation from Greek to Latin of this edifying story. The relevant portions of this prologue I here translate.²⁰ (*Italics mine.*)

“*In the sixth year of Constantine Monomachus, Augustus, the most holy, the lord triumphator, I was ensnared (irretirer) within the curving walls of the mistress of cities by imperial duties (augustalibus curis); and my eager desire for intensive research (assidua conjecturae intentio militantis) led my intention among Greek books, that I might set down something worthy of remembrance, taking it, like a bee, from the various flowers of the Achivi. This I was driven to do by the continual contemplation of my solitude, so far from home, pondering the present, and fearing the future. With my troubles as incentive while my mind was fluttering hither and thither (cum in talibus incitamentis sollicitudinum ventilaretur animus in diversa) a certain man named Leo handed me a book.*

“He begged me, for the sake of an offering to God, and the memory of the holy Barlaam, that I translate *from the Greek into Latin* in simple language, this unknown work from the ancients, *never before translated, and up to my time completely buried in oblivion*. Then anxiety for work and brotherly love urged me on, so that eagerness for activity spurred me to undertake a task of whose performance literary inertia was disapproving. And strengthened by the prayers of my brother, I bound myself to translate word for word, and sense for sense, after the manner of the ancients, and also undertook to

ischen Halbinsel (Iberisch here refers to Spain and Portugal, not to Georgia) Halle, 1929, points out that Moldenhauer has neglected this Latin translation. Except for these mentions, until Peeters' article this manuscript has as far as I know been ignored by scholars.

¹⁸ It has been my privilege to work from a photostatic reproduction of this section of the manuscript, now available in the Widener Library. I have entirely transcribed it, and find that it throws some interesting sidelights upon the legend, besides supplying the material here published. I hope soon to publish further articles on these matters.

¹⁹ Peeters, op. cit., p. 281. Naples ms. 416v 2. The ms. is double-columned: Thus the above notation means folio 416, verso, column 2.

²⁰ Peeters, op. cit., pp. 277-9 reprints this prologue, which, in the ms., runs from 416v 2 to 417v 1.

make the text clearer in the proper places, or in part to change it, so that my editing would at once render it delightful reading for the diligent, and stop forever the mouths of the carpingly critical."

Here he begins to translate, and the remainder of the prologue is simply a Latin version of the Greek.

But we have received invaluable clues, of which Peeters proceeds to take every advantage. In the first place, we have a definite date: the sixth year of Constantine Monomachus fell between June 1048 and June 1049. Secondly, we know that, at least in the opinions of our translator and of the *quidam Leo*, who gave him the book, the story of Barlaam and Ioasaph was as yet completely unknown in the west. Peeters draws the following conclusions: the translator was a "Latin," a churchman, conscious of his own good literary reputation, discontented at being in Constantinople (*domina civitatum*). He proceeds with great plausibility to identify him as a member of the entourage of Argyros, a Latin military leader in Constantinople at the time, and Leo as a member of the Amalfitan Monastery on Mt. Athos, whence he could easily have brought the Greek work of Euthymius, the recently deceased *καθηγητής* of the Georgian monastery on the same mountain.²¹

Thus we now have a considerable body of evidence brought to bear in support of Euthymius' authorship. As to the language from which he translated or rather adopted the Greek *Barlaam*, no one who is prepared to admit that he was the author would support the claim of any language other than Georgian — Euthymius' native tongue, and the one into which he translated many works of Greek authors.²² Those scholars, however, who adhere to the views of Kuhn, and therefore refuse to admit that Euthymius wrote the Greek Barlaam, adapting it from the Georgian, insist upon imagining, together with the unknown author of the year 600, a hypothetical Syriac version as the bridge between the ancient oriental versions and

²¹ Ibid., pp. 279–80 and 286–7. Peeters cites also the evidence for Euthymius' authorship afforded by the Gelathi ms. of the Testament of St. John, Euthymius' father. Cf. Wolff, op. cit., p. 246 and notes. Thus we have Euthymius' authorship confirmed twice in Georgian, twice in Greek, and once in Latin.

²² See R. P. Blake, Georgian Theological Literature, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVI, 1924, pp. 54 ff.

the Greek. This imaginary Syriac version they derive immediately from the Pehlevi, whose earlier existence no one contests.²³ By telling philological proof, and a clear demonstration that Kuhn was both ignorant of and flippant concerning Georgian, Peeters has shown that all notions of any such Syriac version must be abandoned, and that all arguments in its favor can be transmuted into more powerful ones which militate for the Georgian as the source for the Greek and an Arabic version as the source of the Georgian.²⁴ Since, however, Peeters had available for study only the prologue of the Naples manuscript, he has been limited to these philological arguments for the Georgian source.

To these arguments we are able to add those presented by the following passage, which occurs without warning or explanation, not, as might be expected, at the very end of the Naples manuscript, but a little before the end.²⁵ It is a personal message from the translator to the reader; nothing like it occurs in the Greek which he was translating. As we have seen, he states in the prologue his intention of changing the Greek and editing his Latin text where he may feel it desirable. In this part of the manuscript²⁶ these expansions and changes are longer and more noticeable than those anywhere else in his translation; so here, too, while closing the Latin story in a burst of his own

²³ The Pehlevi version, or rather versions are noted in the *Kitab-al-Fihrist* of Abu'l Faraj an-Nadim, who died about 1000 A.D. This work is a list of those Pehlevi (middle Persian) books translated into Arabic. The Pehlevi version was probably done at the court of Khusro I in the sixth century when many pieces of Indian literature were translated, and was almost certainly the first Christian form of the legend. The reason for assuming a Syriac text is that many works passed into Greek from the Pehlevi *via* Syriac; Barlaam and Ioasaph, however, took the more unusual route of Arabic and Georgian. See A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, vol. 48 of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris & Copenhagen, 1936, p. 424; Peeters, op. cit., p. 306. The *Kitab-al-Fihrist* is edited by G. Fluegel, J. Rödiger and A. Müller — 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1871-2. The oldest Arabic version of Barlaam and Ioasaph is published by F. Hommel, *Die älteste Arabische Barlaamversion*, in *Verhandlungen des 7 internationalen Orientalisten Congresses, Semit. Section*, Vienna, 1887, pp. 115-65, and is translated into English by E. Rehatsek, *Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series*, XXII, pp. 119-155.

²⁴ Peeters, op. cit., *passim*.

²⁵ Naples ms. 501r 2-501v 1.

²⁶ In a forthcoming study I expect to discuss at length the technique of this translator.

verbiage, he also inserted his own interpolation telling the reader clearly once more where he had got his material:

Hunc autem libellum ex indicō / sermone in argolico transtu- / lit primum quidam eufimius mona- / chus abasgo genere stilo. quem se / cutus quidam in anno Milesimo quadra- / gesimo octavo. ab incarnatione / domini nostri ihesu christi. et sanctissimi impera- / toris nostri constantini monoma- / chi sexto anno. indictione quintade- / cima, et translatoris etate sexa / gesimo et incolatus sui tricesimo / primo. Qui per instigationem r//v. cuiusdam nobilis viri leonis filii / iohannis et amore dei et sanctorum horum simili / conatu aggressus compendioso sermo- / ne ex argolico stilo ad latinita- / tis leporem studiosius transtulit / et ubi expedit immutavit atque ad- / iecit more nostrorum. Quam obrem lec / tores et inspectores ammoneo ut pro / nobis ad deum veniam delictorum po- / stuletis dicentes versus: “Crimina qui / miseris laxas te cuncta precamur. / Parcere misellis cuncta piacula deus” / Et ne a laceratoribus bonitatis in / famemur ideo opere pretium duxi ut / et translationem reliquiarum sanctorum istorum / translationi nostre prosico combinarem ser- / mone ut liquidius omnes agnoscant / qualiter omnipotens deus de una ad ali / am corruscando miraculis atque / signis transmutando glorificat. Ut / adimpleatur quod scriptum est. “Si ha- / bueritis fidem ut granum sinapis di- / cetis monti huic transferte et trans- / feretur.” Et alibi “Signa que ego / facio et vos facietis et maiora / horum facietis.” Sicut in translatione / reliquiarum subsequens sermo / narrationis nostre liquidius omnibus / gestum fuisse declarabit.

This passage confirms so strongly as to leave little possibility of doubt, the above-quoted statement in the manuscript title, that Euthymius was the author of the Greek version. The date 1048, is not here as in the prologue obliquely arrived at through the year of the emperor, but stated by the author in so many words to be the date of his translation from Greek to Latin. He gives his own age as sixty, and says that he has been resident in Constantinople for thirty-one years. Leo's father's name is given as John. An elegiac couplet — the only one in the whole translation, is inserted. But beyond all these things, which are at best only of incidental interest, are the three words — abasgo genere stilo — “from the language of the abasgian race.” This language is of course Georgian.

Abasgians — Ἀβασγοί, properly speaking, is the Greek name for a Caucasian tribe living along the east and northeast shores of the Black Sea,²⁷ more usually known as Abkhasians, and to

²⁷ W. E. D. Allen, History of the Georgian People, London, Kegan Paul, 1932. Passim, especially map to illustrate historical geography of Georgia from the tenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D.

the earliest geographers as Apsilai. The name may have to do with a Caucasian root meaning *water*.²⁸

At any rate, they appear in Procopius, as a tree-worshipping tribe which until recently supplied the Byzantine court with eunuchs, but which Justinian had succeeded in converting to Christianity and to enlightenment;²⁹ and are mentioned by later Byzantine historians including Theophanes,³⁰ Theophanes Continuatus,³¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus,³² and Nicephorus Gregoras.³³

After Justinian they were under strong Greek influence, and in the late eighth century "the remote position of the Abkhaz had enabled them to escape both the domination of the Arabs and the ravages of the Khazars; their dense forests protected them from the dangers of effective Byzantine control over the interior of the country, while their proximity to the sea enabled them to receive through their coastal towns the benefits of trade and cultural contact with Byzantium and Kherson."³⁴ In the year 1008 Bagrat III, whose mother was of the royal house of the Abkhasians, and whose father was curopalates of Kartli, succeeded to the throne of both of these; and his dynasty, thenceforward until the coming of the Turks the most important in the Caucasus, was known as the Abkhasian.³⁵ During the entire eleventh century the Abkhasian rulers of Georgia had constant relations with Byzantium — at times hostile, as when Basil II attacked the Abkhaz in 1021, at times friendly, as when finally in 1065 Michael son of Constantine X Dukas married Martha daughter of the Abkhasian king Bagrat IV, who ruled 1014–72.³⁶

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 28–9.

²⁹ Procopius, *De Bello Gothicō* IV, 4, ed. Haury, II, pp. 498–500, Leipzig, Teubner, 1905; see also K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder und Völkerkunde*, vol. V of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturtkunde* ed. R. Stübe, Leipzig, 1912, I, p. 52.

³⁰ Ed. De Boor, Leipzig, Teubner, 1885, II, pp. 309–10, 391 ff.

³¹ Ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, p. 203.

³² *De Administrando Imperio*, Chapter 46, cited by Dieterich, op. cit., I, p. 50.

³³ II, Chapters 4 and 5 — cited by Dieterich, op. cit., II, p. 27.

³⁴ Allen, op. cit., pp. 80–1.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 84 ff.

³⁶ See M. Brosset, *Histoire de La Géorgie*, St. Petersburg, 1849, I, p. 330; and *Additions et Eclaircissements*, 1851, *Addition XII, Rapports entre la Géorgie et la Grèce sous Bagrat IV*, pp. 218–226.

Enough has now been said to demonstrate that the fortunes of Georgia during the eleventh century were in Abkhasian hands. It is not strange then to find in 1048 our translator from Greek to Latin referring to the language from which his Greek original had been translated by Euthymius as Abasgian. Indeed we have a perfectly parallel instance supplied in an article by Marr on John Petritsi (Petritski, or Petritsoneli), a Georgian philosopher of the eleventh to twelfth centuries.³⁷ John Petritsi was a Neo-Platonist, and, as Marr says (I translate) he and "Michael Psellos and John Italos were not only active in the same period but plowers of the same field."³⁸

Italus met a certain Georgian philosopher, who, Marr thinks, was possibly Petritsi, and addressed him in a letter (found in a manuscript at Vienna) as a learned *Abasgos*. Marr writes: (Italics mine) "He met a certain Abkhazian — that is to say a Georgian, — for at this time the Abkhazians had long been associated with Georgian national culture, — Abkhazia was then one of the central boiling points of Georgian activity in ecclesiastical literature," and adds in a note "The Abkhazians, long joined by the closest ties to Byzantium, and under her immediate cultural influence, were, in their turn, one must suppose, leaders of Byzantine education in Georgian centers."³⁹

The point need not be further labored. It is clear that the term *abasgos* was used in Greek to mean Georgian, and that our translator, long resident at Byzantium, so used it.

Thus we have from an author writing only twenty years after Euthymius' death a simple statement of the facts: Euthymius, a monk, translated the Georgian version of Barlaam and Ioasaph into Greek. This then strikingly confirms Peeters' philological arguments for a Georgian original, and disposes of both other hypotheses as to the author of the Greek *Barlaam*, a text which fathered many widespread and influential romances of the Middle Ages.

³⁷ N. Marr, Ioann Petriski, Gruzinski Neoplatonik XI–XII veka, Zapiski, XIX, 1909, pp. 53–113.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 100. Italus' story is found in Anna Comnena, Alexiad, tr. Dawes, London, Kegan Paul, 1928, pp. 132–7.

³⁹ Marr, op. cit., p. 108, and note 1.

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THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE FRANCISCANS

By ROBERT LEE WOLFF

I

When one considers the absence of reliable information about events in general within the city of Constantinople itself between the death of the second Latin Emperor Henry in 1216 and the recapture of the city by the Greeks from Nicaea in 1261,¹ it is surprising that the references to the Franciscans there, comparatively abundant in the sources, have not previously been used to shed some light on the religious and social history of the capital during this dark period.²

By 1220 the Franciscans, their missionary activities in full swing only a few years after their foundation as an order, were already well-established in Constantinople. On December 9, of that year, Pope Honorius III wrote the papal legate in Constantinople, Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, about a dispute which had

¹ There is a good deal of data on the diplomatic and military history of the Latin Empire, and on the travels in Western Europe and the private lives of the individual emperors. There is also some information about commerce and the economic situation in general. The social, religious, and intellectual development of the capital, however, (which itself was the Empire during its last years) is so badly documented that most historians have made no attempt to treat it at all, deserting it for the much more fully known history of the Frankish States in Greece proper. J. Longnon, *Les Français d'Outre-Mer* (Paris, 1929), 200–259, for example, has a chapter, which he calls "L'Empire Latin de Constantinople et la Principauté de Morée," and of which only about three pages are devoted to the Empire. (Then Longnon says (p. 206–207): "L'Empire Latin ne se présente donc pas comme un état viable; dès la première génération il s'effrite, il est réduit à sa capitale . . . Aussi ce n'est pas tant l'éphémère Empire Latin qui sera étudié ici, que la principauté de Morée, établissement durable où se sont succédé des générations de Français . . ." William Miller's famous book *The Latins in The Levant* (London, 1908), refers only occasionally and in passing to the Empire. It is, of course, rather what its subtitle would indicate: *A History of Frankish Greece, 1204–1566*, and its Greek edition uses this as the main title. Ernst Gerland's *Geschichte des Lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel* (Homburg, 1905), stops in 1216. Although Longnon is perhaps right in feeling that the more lasting settlements are more important and easier to study, the capital, to which the Latin Empire was reduced, was, after all, Constantinople, a city so important that any period in its history, no matter how obscure, deserves illumination.

² Much of the source material appears in print scattered through the first two volumes of Golubovich's *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano* (Quaracchi, 1913), whose purpose is to present a complete collection of source material for the Franciscan order in the East. Very little has turned up since, but what has, together with some sources missed by Golubovich, is considered in O. van der Vat, *Die Anfänge der Franziskanermissionen und ihre Weiterentwicklung im nahen Orient und in den Mohammedanischen Ländern während des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Werl in Westf., 1934), 104–117, in a section on the *Provincia Graeciae*, written of course from the Franciscan point of view. It is interesting to note that the Dominicans seem to have got their missionary activities in Romania started considerably later, and under way more slowly than the Franciscans. At this period they were much less important. Berthold Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Habelschwerdt, Schles., 1924), 9–19, has a chapter on the *Provincia Graeciae* almost all of which is devoted to the period after 1261.

arisen there. A certain Johannes, provost (*praepositus*) of the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, had complained to the Pope that the Cardinal legate had injured him by appointing a dean (*decanum*) to the same church, which could not afford to pay both him and the dean *propter tenuitatem reddituum*. The legate had made this appointment because he had believed, without giving Johannes a chance to clear himself, a lie told him by Johannes' enemies, to the effect that he had been a monk, and had vowed to become a Franciscan. The Pope had investigated this, and,

dilecto filio Fratre Luca magistro (or: ministro) fratrum Minorum de partibus Romaniae, in cuius vivisse manibus idem praepositus dicebatur, coram nobis omni contra eum lite cedente,

ordered the legate to restore matters to their former state, to compensate the provost for his trouble, and not to bother him again. On February 18, 1221, the Pope confirmed this order, in a letter to Patriarch Matthias of Constantinople.³ These off-hand references to Brother Luke are his only known appearances in the sources except for an unreliable document which indicates that he may have come from Apulia, but they inform us that the Franciscan organization was functioning in Constantinople at least as early as 1220. From this date on, we find increasing evidence of their Order's importance in the Empire. Influential at the Imperial court, powerful in ecclesiastical affairs, playing an important rôle in the Papal attempts to reunite the Greek and Latin churches, and engaged in manifold cultural activities, their accomplishments deserve to be studied in themselves, and also incidentally illumine some dark chapters of Constantinopolitan history.

II

The influence of the Order at the Imperial court begins with the reign of John of Brienne (1229–1237). Two studies⁴ have recently appeared, devoted to that redoubtable warrior of the thirteenth century, King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, and father-in-law to his successors in both posts, the great Western Emperor Frederick II, and the miserable Eastern Emperor Baldwin II.⁵

³ Both letters are printed in Johannes Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum* (Rome, 1759), I, 6–8. They are numbers 6431 and 6566 respectively in A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Berlin, 1874); and 2845 and 3105 respectively in P. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III* (Rome, 1888). References to them may be found in Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, I, 128–129, and Van der Vat, *op. cit.*, 105.

⁴ Louis Bréhier, "Jean de Brienne," *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, X (1938), 698–709, and Ludwig Böhm, *Johann von Brienne, König von Jerusalem, Kaiser von Konstantinopel* (Heidelberg, 1938).

⁵ The main outlines of John's adventurous life are well known: born about 1148 to a modest family of Champagne, he had a somewhat obscure youth and middle age, and, at the age of nearly sixty, emerged on the scene as a member of the fourth Crusade, and participant without reward of fief in the siege of Constantinople. In 1208, somewhat to the disappointment of the barons, he was selected by Philip Augustus as the proper candidate for the empty throne of Jerusalem. He was proficient as warrior and husband; he begat four children after the age of seventy-four when he married Berengaria of Castile, and he led the armies at the siege of Damietta during the fifth Crusade (1218–1221). He imprudently

About the significant question of John's last moments the authors of these new works disagree. Bréhier says:

La huitième année de son règne à Constantinople, Jean de Brinne, qui avait connu St. François d'Assise au siège de Damiette, reçut l'habit franciscain des mains de son ami frère Benoît d'Arezzo, provincial d'Orient, . . . et peu après le 23 mars 1236⁶ ils s'éteignit, revêtu de la robe séraphique.⁷

Böhm contradicts this:

Völlig unkontrollierbar ist die Nachricht der *Historia Anglorum* des Matthaeus Parisiensis [MGSS XXV,⁸ S. 409], sein, wonach Johann in seinen letzten Lebensjahren Minorit geworden sei.⁹

To substantiate his doubts, Böhm then refers his reader to Raynaldus's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, and Du Cange's *Histoire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs Français*.¹⁰ Thus we have a complete divergence of opinion as to whether or not

consented to his daughter's marriage to Frederick on condition that he be allowed to retain Jerusalem for life; when Frederick proceeded to cheat him out of his kingdom, John conceived an undying hatred for him and accepted the command of the papal troops in Southern Italy in order to fight him. In 1229, at the age of eighty-one, he was selected as Emperor of Constantinople and regent for young Baldwin II; thereafter he performed further military feats in defense of the Empire, saving it temporarily from the Greeks. He died in 1237.

⁶ Bréhier accepts the traditional date 1148 for John's birth, and the traditional age of eighty-nine for his age at death. Thus he cannot have meant to place John's death in 1236, but in the traditional year 1237. The date 1236 here is therefore a misprint or a piece of carelessness as, incidentally, is the attribution in Bréhier's bibliography, col. 709, to Gerland of the well known book by Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903).

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 708.

⁸ Böhm's reference here is wrong. He is referring to the excerpts from Matthew Paris which appear in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, volume XXVIII, not XXV.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 97, note 40.

¹⁰ Odoricus Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno 1198 ubi desivit Cardinalis Baronius* (Lucca, 1747), II, 180–181, Year 1237, chapter 75. Du Cange, *Histoire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs Français*, ed. Buchon in *Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises* (Paris, 1826), I, 232. (I expand Böhm's references, which are inconveniently sketchy). Böhm accepts the date, March 24, 1237, for John's death, but challenges (p. 101) the traditional statement that John was eighty-nine, and so disputes the correctness of 1148 as the year of his birth. He wishes to place John's birth in 1170, maintaining that the date 1148 rests only on the authority of George Akropolita's remark that John was eighty or more in 1232; and that all that Akropolita meant by eighty was "very old"; that John's well known military feats at the siege of Damietta could not have been performed by a man over seventy; and that a man in the Middle Ages was old at sixty. All these arguments are purely conjectural, and prove nothing, but Böhm goes on to quote J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1932), 46, note 1. La Monte, he says, calls John of Brienne "approximately sixty years old" in 1210, and this he cites triumphantly in support of his contention for a late birth date. In point of fact, La Monte accepts the traditional date of about 1148, though he says that it seems to be a bit too early. Böhm's last and least trustworthy argument (p. 12 and p. 102) for a late date—that John's grandfather married in 1148 and that John could thus not have been born before 1170—is based on the third edition of *L'art de vérifier les dates* (1784), II, 546, surely a poor source, in which, as Böhm himself admits (p. 12, note 23), the name itself of the noble being married on this occasion is wrongly given. So, until some better evidence turns up, 1148 must still be accepted as the approximate year of John's birth, and March 23, 1237 as the date of his death.

it can be proved that the Emperor John of Brienne became a Franciscan before his death. An examination of the sources will show that he almost certainly did.

The passage in Matthew Paris, to which Böhm refers as *unkontrollierbar*, is the note which appears under the year 1237 in the unique manuscript of the *Historia Anglorum*, from Matthew's own hand. This reads as follows (the first sentence is from the text, the remainder from the note):

Tempore quoque sub eodem migraverunt ab hoc seculo immortalis memoriae inclitus rex Jerusalem, Johannes de Bresne, jam poene nactus culmen graecorum imperiale . . . Iste rex Johannes excellentissimae vitae, vir sanetissimus, et corpore fuit elegantissimus. Qualibet nocte, quasi vir religiosus, surrexit ad matutinas, et ante mortem aliquot annis factus frater Minor, usque ad mortem sanitatem continuavit. Et sic a regno terrenae Jerusalem ad coelestem transvolavit.¹¹

If this were in fact the only mention in the sources of John's entry into the Order, as Böhm implies by calling it *unkontrollierbar*, his skepticism might be justified. Böhm's own doubts, he says, are based on Du Cange's and Raynaldus' doubts of Matthew Paris; in fact Du Cange does not doubt Matthew Paris at all, but another historical tradition entirely. "La mort de l'empereur Jean de Brienne est rapportée par quelques écrivains avec des circonstances qui méritent d'être racontées," he writes, and in a note he gives the names of these writers: "Marian. et Jordan. apud Wadding; Raynald. et Bzov. Plat. de statu Relig."¹² Then he reports their detailed story: how John had a dream in which an old man dressed in white appeared to him, carrying the garb of a Franciscan, and told John that he was destined to die in this garb; and how, after several increasingly alarming repetitions of the vision, John joined the Order, and died, wishing aloud on his death bed that he might follow Jesus in His holy poverty. Du Cange continues:

Plusieurs révoquent en doute la vérité et les circonstances de cette narration, vu que l'auteur qui le premier l'a laissée par écrit en a avancé d'autres notoirement fausses. . . .

and in a note he identifies the doubter of this story of John's dream as Raynaldus, but does not further identify the author who, he says, first told it.¹³

The somewhat cryptic abbreviations, cited by Du Cange as the historians who tell this story, can be identified as follows: Luke Wadding (1588-1657), in whose works *Marian.* and *Jordan.* are said to appear, is the great Irish Annalist of the Franciscans. His *Annales Minorum* have recently been reedited.¹⁴ Du Cange derives his own version of the story direct from him. Mariano of Florence, 1450-1523, is the author of a *Compendium Chronicarum Fratrum*

¹¹ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Sir Frederick Madden (Rolls Series, London, 1806), II, 396, text and note 3. This passage in itself has but one improbable feature: the *aliquot annis*, since, as will be shown, John entered the Order almost immediately before his death.

¹² Du Cange, *op. cit.*, 232, and note 1.

¹³ *Ibid.* 233, and note 1.

¹⁴ Lucas Waddingus, *Annales Minorum* (Quaracchi, 1931-4), 27 vols. Wadding's own *Vita* is to be found in I, xxvii-clxxxviii.

Minorum and one of Wadding's chief sources.¹⁵ But of the historians cited by Du Cange, Jordanus is the most important, because he is the unnamed author whom Du Cange credits with having first told the story of John's dream, and it is from him that Wadding, as will be shown, gets his account. "Jordanus" is in reality one of the most important Franciscan historians of the fourteenth century, whose name was not Jordanus at all, but Paulinus, usually called Paulinus de Venetiis. He was Bishop of Pozzuoli, (d. 1345), and wrote the chronicle entitled *Satyrica gestarum rerum Regum atque Regnorum, et summorum Pontificum historia a creatione Mundi usque ad Henricum VII, Romanorum Augustum*, which stops in the year 1320. Of this chronicle several manuscripts survive, but there is as yet no printed edition.¹⁶

Du Cange thus doubts the dream-story but not John's entrance into the order; he doubts "Jordanus", but not Matthew Paris, who does not even tell the story of the dream. He gives us a whole line of Franciscan historians, "Jordanus", Mariano, and Wadding, who do tell the dream-story, and tell it quite independently of Matthew Paris. From Wadding he himself takes his version. Thus in Du Cange, one of Böhm's own sources for skepticism, there is reference to these Franciscan historians—a second tradition besides that of Matthew Paris which maintains that John became a Franciscan. From Du Cange alone then, it is possible to show at least that Matthew Paris' account is *not* "un-kontrollierbar".

Raynaldus's version shows that Du Cange has been following him very closely:

Illum (John) porro coelestibus visis admonitum deposito regio fastu abjectaque saeculi pompa, paucis ante diebus quam morbo lethali tentaretur, Minorum ordini, summo animi ardore ac pietatis sensu dilibutum sese aggregasse narrat Waddingus remque describit his verbis Jordanus.

¹⁵ P. Th. Dominichelli, ed. "Compendium Chronicarum Fratrum Minorum," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, I (1908), 98–107; II (1909), 92–107, 305–18, 457–72, 626–41 etc. His dates are found in Michele Falocci Pulignani, "Un' opera sconosciuta di Fra Mariano da Firenze," *Miscellanea Francescana*, X (1906), 57, note 2. The other three authors cited by Du Cange are our Odoricus Raynaldus, mentioned above, who died in 1657, the best continuator of Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici*; Abraham Bzovius (Bzowski), 1567–1637, another continuator of Baronius, less good than Raynaldus, and Hieronymus Platus, 1545–1591, author of a work on the happiness of the religious state. The last two are of no importance to us, and Raynaldus is important only as a doubter of Jordanus.

¹⁶ Parts of the chronicle have been edited very sketchily by Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (Milan, 1741), IV, col. 949–1034, as *Excerpta ex Jordani Chronico*. Muratori says in his introduction that he has no idea who Jordanus was. Portions omitted by Muratori but important for the life of St. Francis have been edited by M. F. Puglignani, "Leggenda francescana liturgica del XIII secolo", *Miscellanea Francescana*, VIII (1901), 49–75. A good full discussion of Paulinus' life, works, and ms. tradition, and excerpts from certain of his works are to be found in Golubovich's *Biblioteca*, II, 74–102. The first to identify "Jordanus" as Paulinus was H. Simonsfeld, "Handschriftliches zur Chronik des sogenannten Jordanus," *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, XV (1875), 145–156. He and C. Eubel have written other articles about Paulinus. For references, see Golubovich, *op. cit.* 78, note 2.

There follows the story of the dream, and John's entrance into the Order. Raynaldus continues:

Haec Jordanus, cuius narrationem fictionis suspicionis non carere aliquis existimare potest: ut enim pium mortis genus de piissimo principe, inficiandum non sit, ita non parum ab historiae veritate aberrant, quae auctor his praemittit.¹⁷

Here Matthew Paris has disappeared as an authority. Raynaldus, far from doubting him, does not even mention him in connection with John of Brienne. Raynaldus, however, doubts "Jordanus" because he has found him telling tall stories before. But even he does not necessarily doubt that John of Brienne became a Franciscan, for he later quotes "Jordanus" again to this effect in a passage not noted by Böhm.¹⁸ Neither Raynaldus nor Du Cange doubts Matthew Paris; both doubt "Jordanus", whom Böhm does not even mention.

Unfortunately the printed edition of "Jordanus" does not include his version of John's dream and entrance into the Order, but Raynaldus acknowledges, as we have seen, that he is quoting him directly. Wadding, also, when he tells the story, attributes it to "Jornandus" (who, as his editors point out, is "Jordanus", and whom they, of course, know to have been Paulinus):

Imperatorium in humilem hunc mutasse statum . . . adhibeo . . . , Jornandum in Chronico ms. in Bibliotheca Vaticana, . . . Translationis seu tantae mutationis historiam do ex citato ms. Vaticano.¹⁹

Then follows the story of John's dream.

Thus the chain of tradition is clear: Paulinus ("Jordanus"),—Wadding,—Raynaldus,—Du Cange. Doubt of "Jordanus'" veracity is first expressed by Raynaldus, who none the less quotes him verbatim, and he is followed by Du Cange. Their ground for doubt is only that "Jordanus" is known to have erred elsewhere, which seems a fairly weak position. On the other hand, if "Jordanus'" account of John's entrance into the Order were the earliest we possessed, and if he were, as Du Cange says, indeed the first to tell the story of the dream, writing as he was a century after John's death, one might be forced to acknowledge that the story of the dream is perhaps made up out of whole cloth, and that for the act itself of entrance into the Order, Matthew Paris is our only check.²⁰ At any rate the use only of the material known to Böhm shakes his conclusions.

¹⁷ Raynaldus, *op. cit.* II, 180 f. Year 1237, chapters 74 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* II, 234, note 1. Year 1237, chapter 81.

¹⁹ *Annales Minorum*, III, 39. The editors say that the story of John's dream appears in Jordanus, ch. 232 of part 3. A small portion of this chapter is printed in Muratori's edition, *Antiquitates*, IV, 997, but is not the part containing the dream. Vat. ms. 1960, Muratori's source, is also apparently the one where Wadding's editors found the story, and is certainly the one from which he himself took it.

²⁰ The Bollandists (*Acta Sanctorum Augusti*, Venice, 1753, VI, 808 f.), in their life of Benedict of Arezzo, the Franciscan provincial of the East, who is said to have taken John into the Order, quote Wadding, and share Raynaldus' doubts as to "Jordanus'" worth as a source. I owe this reference to Van der Vat, *Die Anfänge der Franziskanermissionen*, 106, note 7.

In point of fact, however, Du Cange too was wrong; "Jordanus" (Paulinus) was not the first, nor by any means the only historian to tell the story. There can now be presented a series of accounts from excellent thirteenth and fourteenth century sources, confirming him in every detail—accounts for the ignorance of which one can perhaps excuse Raynaldus and Du Cange, but which Böhm ought certainly to have known and consulted.²¹

Salimbene, born October 9, 1221, whose famous chronicle covers the years 1167-1287, gives a splendid description of John of Brienne. He mentions John in order to support the story that the Emperor Frederick II was really the son of a butcher (*beccarius*), for, says Salimbene, during a bitter quarrel (brought on by Frederick's alleged intention of murdering at the chess-table John's nephew, young Walter of Brienne), John called him so,

dicendo in Gallico suo: "Fi de becer diabele!" Et timuit imperator, nec ausus fuit dicere quicquam. Erat enim rex Iohannes magnus et grossus et longus statura, robustus et fortis et doctus ad prelum ita ut alter Karolus Pipini filius crederetur. Et quando in bello cum clava ferrea percutiebat hinc inde, ita fugiebant Saraceni a facie eius, sicut si vidissent diabolum aut leonem paratum ad devorandum eos.²² . . . Factus est enim frater Minor et toto tempore vite sue perseverasset in ordine, si Deus prolongasset ei vitam. Recepit enim eum et induit minister Grecie, scilicet frater Benedictus de Aretio, qui fuit sanctus homo.²³

Bernardus de Bessa, a Franciscan, born in the first half of the thirteenth century, and later in life secretary to the great Bonaventura, among other works wrote, sometime shortly after 1277, his *Liber de Laudibus Beati Francisci*.²⁴ It is this work in which there actually appears for the first time the story of John's dream:

Vir illustrissimus Iohannes imperator Constantinopolitanus beati Francisci habitum divina praemonitus revelatione suscepit . . . Qui cum circa ultimum vitae sua recogitaret devote, quanta sibi (Deus) contulerat bona viventi, immissum (est) ei coelitus, ut creditur, desiderium maximum praesciendi, cuiusmodi finem concederet morienti. Aliquando tempore in hoc desiderio et ob hoc instanti ad Deum supplicatione perstiterat, cum nocte quadam illi apparuit dormienti venerabilis homo quidam albis indutus fratrum Minorum, habitum, chordam et soleas in manibus suis ferens et vocans imperatorem ex nomine: "Iohannes", inquit, "quia de fine tuo sollicite desideras modum scire, noveris, te in isto habitu

²¹ Some notice is given these in Van der Vat, *op. cit.* 106, note 7, and more particularly in Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, I, 131, 137 f., 178 ff., and *passim*.

²² The remainder of the description, though not strictly relevant, is worth quoting: "Revera non fuit tempore suo, ut dicebatur, miles in mundo melior eo. Unde de eo et de magistro Alexandro (de Hales) qui erat melior clericus de mundo et erat de ordine fratrum minorum et legebat Parisius, facta fuit ad laudem eorum quedam cantio, partim in Gallico, partim in Latino, quam cantavi multotiens. Que sic inchoato:

Avent tutt mantenen
nostris florent temporibus.

Iste rex Iohannes quando armabatur a suis iturus ad bellum, tremebat sicut iuncus in aqua. Cumque interrogaretur a suis qua de causa sic tremeret, cum in bello contra hostes robustius et validus esset pugnator, respondebat, quod de corpore sibi cure non erat, sed timebat ne anima sua bene ordinata esset cum Deo."

²³ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. O. Holder Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905-1913), XXXII, 43-44.

²⁴ *Analecta Franciscana*, III (Quaracchi, 1897), 666 ff.

moriturum et hoc esse voluntatis divinae." Evigilans imperator et secundum hominem tantam sui futuram humiliationem horrescens eos, qui prope ipsum more regio quiescebant, clamoroso gemitu excitavit; quibus tamen occurrentibus indicati clamoris causam noluit indicare. Sequenti nocte viri duo similiter albis induiti sibi apparuerunt in somnis, praeostensus habitum, chordam quoque ac soleas deferentes et voluntatis divinae esse, quod (in) illo moreretur habitu, replicantes. Horruit ut prius spiritus eius et expergefactus ingemiscendo clamavit, nec tamen causam festinantibus ad eum cubiculariis revelavit. Tertia nocte tres similiter viri apparuerunt in visu, albis instar priorum induiti, dictum sibi habitum, chordam et soleas afferentes et sicut prius de ipsis in illis futuro transitu repentes et adiuentes dicebant: "Non credas, haec illusionem vel somnium vanum esse, sed sicut dicimus, in veritate complendum."

Excitatus imperator iubet statim fratrem Angelum confessorem suum vocari. Qui veniens imperatorem in stratu suo lacrymantem invenit. Cui et dixit: "Scio, cur me vocastis, et de vobis eadem quae vobis est mihi visio revelata." Post paucos dies tertiana febris imperatorem arripuit et deliberato consilio, ingressus Ordinem iuxta visionis tenorem suos ibi dies feliciter consummavit. Sed cum adhuc vivens infirmitatis et debilitatis grave-dine impeditur a consuetis in Ordine humilitatis officiis exercendis, memorabili verbo devotum mentis affectum dicitur expressisse: "O dulcissime Domine, inquit, Iesu Christe, utinam ego, qui deliciose in pompa saeculi vixi, in vestibus pretiosis induitus, modo in isto habitu eleemosynam cum saeco ad collum petendo te pauperem et humilem vere pauper et humili sequi possem!" In quo vir tantus maximum reliquit exemplum, ut ad ea, quae sunt paupertatis et humilitatis, nec magni nec mediocres et multo minus alii erubescant. Implevit in hoc voto quod sibi nobiles in isto solent Ordine vindicare, ut scilicet humiliores et mitiores et simpliciores existant; nimurum mansuetudinis et humilitatis sobrietas maximum est nobilitatis insigne. Saepe ignobiles nobilitat gratia, et ex nobilibus ignobiles superbiae vel ignaviae facit noxa. Et quid vilius quam ex nobili rusticus fieri? Nec spernendi sunt infimi genere, quibus datum est Domino militare; nulla maior est nobilitas quam militem Christi esse.²⁵

As Bernard tells us, John had a Franciscan confessor. These two are the only thirteenth-century accounts of John's becoming a Franciscan, but in the fourteenth century, besides Paulinus, no fewer than five other references to, or full recounts of the story can be cited:

(1) The earliest is the brief remark to be found in the *Vita et Miracula Beati Benedicti Sinigardi de Aretio*, the Benedict of Arezzo who was Franciscan provincial of the East, an extremely important person in the early history of Franciscan missionary activity,²⁶ who, Salimbene tells us, initiated John. This life was written in 1302 by a certain Nanni di Arezzo.²⁷ Here is the relevant passage: Benedict "...recepit etiam in Sanctam Ordinem sancti Patris nostri Francisci Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum et Regem Jerusalem."²⁸—All the following also contain the entire story of the dream, expanded from Bernard of Bessa:

(2) The *Chronicon seu Liber Ystorie plurime*, written in 1336 by an Umbrian Franciscan, possibly Fr. Joannis Elemosina;²⁹ (3) A ms. of the middle of the fourteenth century in the college of San Antonio de Urbe, containing many texts

²⁵ *Ibid.* 680 f.

²⁶ For a biography of him, and publication of relevant source materials, see Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, I, 129 ff.

²⁷ Printed *ibid.* 143 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 145.

²⁹ *Ibid.* II, 116–141. Dream story on p. 122A.

of importance for Franciscan History;³⁰ (4) The *Chronicon Generalium Ministeriorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, a very important Franciscan history, written before 1369, where indebtedness to Bernard of Bessa is specifically stated: "ut refert frater Bernardus de Bessa Provincia Acquitaniae in quodam libello,"³¹ (5) The *De Conformatitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Jesu*, by Bartolomeus de Rinonico of Pisa, called Pisanus, written about 1390, but going back to the oldest and best sources, which contains not only the dream story but, in connection with Benedict of Arezzo, two additional short references to the induction of John.³²

Thus, excluding "Jordanus", and Matthew Paris (whom there is really no good reason to exclude), there are no fewer than seven affirmations that John of Brienne became a Franciscan shortly before he died. When one considers that all seven sources are Franciscan, one ought perhaps to enter the *caveat* that the modern scholar need not, unless he wishes, believe in John's dream; but it is difficult not to believe that he joined the Order.³³ There is such scanty information available, in general, for events in the Latin Empire of Constantinople during the years from 1216 to its fall in 1261, that if the historian began to discard as "unkontrollierbar" items as well documented as this, he would shortly have nothing whatever to say.³⁴

The Franciscans continued to be influential at the court of John's successor, Baldwin II, as is shown in a striking passage from Brother Thomas of Pavia, a thirteenth-century Franciscan chronicler, who died about 1280.³⁵ Four or five days before the battle of Tagliacozzo (1268), when Charles of Anjou finally defeated the Hohenstaufen, two Franciscans went to see him on a matter of business. Charles asked one of them from whence he came. Upon his answering, "Arezzo", Charles eagerly asked for news of Benedict of Arezzo, famous Provincial of the East:

"Quid est de fratre Benedicto, qui beati Francisci socius fuit?" Et frater ait "Domine, bene est, michique imposuit ut ex parte sua vos salutarem, vobisque dicerem de Deo confi-

³⁰ P. Livarius Olinger, "Descriptio Codicis S. Antonii de Urbe una cum Appendice textuum de S. Francisco", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XII (1919), 321-401. Dream story, p. 399.

³¹ *Analecta Franciscana*, III (Quaracchi, 1897), 1-575. Dream story pp. 4-5.

³² *Analecta Franciscana*, IV (Quaracchi, 1906). Dream story p. 347. Other mentions pp. 253 and 519.

³³ As to the date of John's entrance into the Order, we know it could not have been before 1234, and there seems no reason to doubt that the dream stories are right in dating John's initiation just before his death. (Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, I, 165, prints a letter from the patriarch in 1234, in which John is referred to as *Imperator* without any mention of his having become a Franciscan).

³⁴ John's other relations with the Franciscans are not immediately connected with the Constantinopolitan phase of his career, and may be found resumed in the *Note* following this article.

³⁵ Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, I, 306-9, discusses Thomas fully, pointing out that it is wrong to call him, as does his editor, Thomas Tuscus, since there is no evidence that he was a Tuscan.

dere quia etsi magnum periculum vobis immineat, Deus tamen et auxilium dabit et praestabit in fine victoram."

Tunc rex ylaris factus nimis, dixit ad fratrem: "Dixit hec? Dixit hec?"

Cumque ille sic eum dixisse assereret, rex adiunxit: "Carior michi est hec fratris Benedicti promissio, quam si milites michi mille in auxilium advenissent. Scio enim per Bauduinum imperatorem, qui michi fratrem hunc notum fecit, quod ipse in Romania ipsi imperatori predixit que postea sibi in imperio integre evenerunt."³⁶

Here then is a clear statement of Baldwin II's friendship for Benedict, whom he consulted on matters of importance in Romania, whom he regarded highly as a prophet, and whom he had introduced to Charles of Anjou.

From Baldwin II also, in 1241, two Franciscans succeeded in securing a notable collection of relics to add to those already in the possession of St. Louis, who, two years previously, before Baldwin's coronation, had received from Constantinople the Crown of Thorns from some Dominicans. In 1240 Louis got news of a piece of the True Cross in Syria, and sent two Franciscans to Constantinople to get safe-conduct from Baldwin, enabling them to proceed thence to Syria and secure this new prize. They were anticipated, however, by a certain French knight named Guy, who had been staying at Constantinople with Baldwin; he got the safe-conduct instead, went to Syria, and took back to France not only the piece of the True Cross, but also some of Christ's blood, His childhood garments, some of the blood which flowed from a miraculous image, the chain with which Christ was bound, a certain *tabula* which His face touched when He was lifted down from the Cross, a large stone from His tomb, some of the milk of the Virgin, the top of the head of Saint John the Baptist, and the heads of Saints Blaise, Clement, and Symeon. Nothing daunted, the Franciscans managed to extract from Baldwin himself the following impressive collection: the sacred Lance, the triumphal cross which the Emperor Constantine had used as a standard, the purple garment which the soldiers made Christ wear when they mocked His calling Himself King of the Jews, the cane they gave Him for a sceptre, the sponge, a part of the napkin in which He had been wrapped in the tomb, the cloth with which He wiped the feet of the Disciples at the Last Supper, a cloak of the Virgin, and the rod of Moses which brought water forth from the rock.³⁷

³⁶ Thomas Tuscus, *Gesta Imperatorum et Pontificum*, ed. Ernest Ehrenfeuchter, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXII (Hanover, 1872), 523. Golubovich gives this passage (*Biblioteca*, I, 142), as part of his discussion of Benedict of Arezzo, and with no comment on its significance for Constantinople. He quotes it from a ms. of the Laurentian Library (Plut. XXI sin. Cod. 5) and thus his text differs in minor points from Ehrenfeuchter, who used all mss., and whom I therefore prefer to cite here.

³⁷ The account of these various transactions is to be found in Gerard de Saint-Quentin, entitled *Translatio Sancte Corone Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi*, printed in Golubovich *Biblioteca*, II, 306-311. Golubovich gives a full bibliographical account of this document, citing all previous editions and secondary works.—It was precisely such trafficking in relics which had prompted Pope Innocent III in 1215 to decree at the Fourth Lateran Council: "Inventas autem de novo [relicquias] nemo publice venerari praesumat, nisi prius auctoritate Romam Pontificis fuerint approbatae" (c. 62 [Mansi, XXII, 1050], repeated in *Decretales Gregorii IX*, III, 45, 2)—evidently without much success.

III

Besides thus wielding personal influence over the last two Latin Emperors of Constantinople, the Franciscans played a large part in the ecclesiastical life of the empire in its last days. Pantaleon Giustiniani, of a Venetian noble family, lords of Ceos and Seriphos,³⁸ was the last Latin patriarch in residence at Constantinople. Appointed by Pope Innocent IV on February 15, 1253,³⁹ he went to the East at a time when the last frail props of authority were being knocked out from under the Latin regime, and fled the city only when the Greeks recaptured it in 1261. He was always in need of money; from his hand comes the only surviving original document of a Latin Patriarch. Dated September 14, 1253, at Venice, only a few months after his elevation to the patriarchate and before he went to Constantinople, the document significantly enough is an acknowledgement of his having, by special permission of the Pope, received from the Venetian Doge Zeno a large loan, one third of which he promises to repay within two years.⁴⁰ No wonder, then, that after he did get to Constantinople things grew steadily worse.

On July 15, 1257, Pope Alexander reveals just how bad they were. In a letter addressed to the Provincial Minister of the Franciscans of Romania, the Pope reports a complaint from the Patriarch, whose income has been so much diminished by the frequent attacks of the Greeks that his financial state is desperate. He had tried to get subsidies from the Prelates subordinate to him but they had refused *contumaciter*, and so he had excommunicated them:

. . . dictus patriarcha propter haec promulgat excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti sententias in eosdem, sicque frequenter inter ipsum et eosdem praelatos et clericos occasione hujusmodi turbationis, et discordiae seminaria pullulant; unde commune religionis negligitur commodum, et contra ipsum patriarcham, ac alios negotium Constantinopolitani imperii prosequentes eorumdem Graecorum feritas fortius invalescit.

³⁸ Margarethe Merores, "Der Venezianische Adel", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XIX (1936), 200 ff. See also the article by Karl Hopf, "Giustiniani" in Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, LXVIII, 303–8, and the same author's *Chroniques Greco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), 486, for a genealogy.

³⁹ Berger, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* (Paris, 1884–97), no. 6804. See also L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 1204–1261 (Weimar, 1938), pp. 42 ff.

⁴⁰ This document is edited for the first time by Santifaller, *ibid.* 71 ff. He points out that since it was produced in Venice it "schliesst sich eng an die äusseren Formen der italienisch-venetianischen Notariatsurkunde" (p. 45). Special permission of the Pope was necessary, Santifaller shows, because of the Church's ancient stand against the alienation of church property, which Giustiniani would need to do to raise the money to repay the debt. Since the first Latin patriarch of Constantinople, Thomas Morosini, there had been a clause in the oath of the Patriarch on receiving the pallium from the Pope, which bound him not to sell or give or otherwise rid himself of church property. From the first, however, this had to be relaxed. Innocent III excused Morosini from this oath the same day it was taken; and Gregory IX and Innocent IV had to rescue patriarchs from financial troubles. (*Ibid.* 64–6).

Therefore the Pope ordered the Provincial of the Franciscans to call a general assembly of all the churchmen in Romania, to see to it that they pay the Patriarch five hundred marks a year and to prevent their being forced to pay more. The Provincial is told to use papal threats to help to put the plan through. Thus concord may be restored, and a united front presented to the Greeks. The Franciscans are specifically not exempted from the request.⁴¹ Thus the Pope turns to the Franciscans to restore order in the chaotic affairs of the Patriarchate, and to handle a delicate and crucial financial matter.

Whatever effect the Pope's letter may have had, and whatever hope he put in the Franciscans to make things right, final disaster could not be staved off. However, when the Greeks took the city in July 1261, and the Patriarch Giustiniani fled with Emperor Baldwin II, he left behind a Franciscan, Brother Antonius, as his vicar. Another Papal letter, this time from Urban IV, written to Brother Antonius on October 31, 1263, from Orvieto, confirms the appointment:

Venerabili fratre nostro (Pantaleone Justiniano) patriarcha Constantinopolitano accepimus exponente, quod ipse ad ordinem tuum speciale habens charitatis affectum; ac gerens de tuae circumspectionis industria, et fidei puritate fiduciam plenioram, in suo discessu de partibus Romaniae te ibidem suum in spiritualibus et temporalibus vicarium instituit generalem.

The appointment is to be valid until specifically revoked, but Antonius is not exempt from the jurisdiction of his superiors in the Order, and is not to let any command from them interfere with the Papal mandate.⁴²

It is thus abundantly clear that Emperor, Patriarch, and Pope alike relied heavily on the Franciscans, entrusting them with important tasks in the internal affairs of Romania as long as the Empire lasted, and turning over all ecclesiastical affairs to them when it fell. Beyond these tasks within Constantinople itself, however, the Franciscans were deeply engaged in an even more important work, on whose success there seemed to depend the future of Christianity itself, and for whose maneuvers Constantinople was used as a base.

IV

The Popes, who had expected the successful Latin conquest of the city in 1204 to lead to an immediate and permanent Union between the Greek and Roman Churches, had been early disappointed, and, by 1216, had ceased to look upon the Latin Empire and the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople as effective unifying forces. They now favored negotiations with the Latin Empire's most serious rival, the Lascarid Empire of the Greeks at Nicaea, hoping to achieve the Union which they had longed for since the schism of 1054.⁴³ The second Em-

⁴¹ Printed in Johannes Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, II, 229. Registered in Pott hast, *op. cit.* no. 16,925, and Bourel de la Roncière, *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV* (Paris, 1902), no. 2072.

⁴² Sbaralea, *op. cit.* II, 524. Potthast, *op. cit.* no. 18,697. Guiraud, *Les Registres d'Urban IV* (Paris, 1901-4), no. 434.

⁴³ Theodore Lascaris, first Emperor of Nicaea (1204-1222), was anxious to obtain a Greek succession to Constantinople by diplomatic as well as by military methods. He himself

peror of Nicaea, John Dukas Vatatzes (1222–54), was worried at the arrival in Constantinople in 1231 of so formidable an opponent as he conceived the newly-arrived John of Brienne to be.⁴⁴

Possibly at his suggestion, Germanus, Patriarch of Nicaea, opened in 1232 with Gregory IX and the Cardinals of the Roman Church a correspondence looking toward Union. Apparently, however, Germanus was also influenced by the suggestion of five anonymous Franciscans, who arrived by chance in Nicaea on the way home from the Holy Land, and who brought Germanus' letters to Rome.⁴⁵ Germanus' admiration for their asceticism, and his account of their activities in behalf of Union in Nicaea is contained in his letter to Gregory: "These brothers, as I believe, by divine Providence, came also unto our dwelling . . . and the conversation turned especially on the schism—which has lasted many years . . . and no man will come to the bride of Christ clad as she is in a rent garment."⁴⁶ Gregory answered the letter, July 26, 1232, strongly urging that the evils of the schism be abolished, and that the Greek Church repent and return to the fold.⁴⁷ He followed this in May, 1233, with another letter, this time accompanying it with a Greek version, and sending, as bearers, a mission of four, Hugo and Peter,⁴⁸ Dominicans, and Aymon and Rudolph, Franciscans: "ut si cum eis de omnibus, quae in questionem veniunt, tractare fideliter et socialiter conferre decreveris."⁴⁹

actually married Marie de Courtenay, daughter of the murdered Latin Emperor Peter (1217–1219) and betrothed his daughter Eudoxia to Peter's eventual successor Robert (1221–1228). His intention to call a council of Greek clergy, and achieve Union, however, never came to fruition, probably through the opposition of the Greeks themselves. W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, (Berlin, 1903), 342–347.

⁴⁴ This is Norden's view (p. 348). His account of the negotiations is too short to be of much service here, save in its discussion of their political implications. All seven documents pertaining to these negotiations are registered, and the chief one, *Disputatio Latinorum et Grecorum*, edited by P. G. Golubovich, "Disputatio Latinorum et Grecorum seu Relatio Apocrisiorum Gregorii IX de Gestis Nicaeae in Bythnia et Nymphaeae in Lydia", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XII (1919), 418–470. This supersedes the discussion in the same author's *Biblioteca*, I, 163–169.

⁴⁵ Golubovich, *Archivum*, 419; *Biblioteca*, I, 161–162; II, 510–512.

⁴⁶ Παρέβαλον [οἱ ἀδελφοί] δὲ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἰκήματι κατὰ θέλαν πρόνοιαν, ὡς πεπίστευκα, . . . ἐπολυπραγμονεῖτο πλέον τῶν ἄλλων τὸ πολυχρόνιον σχίσμα . . . , οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐλθὼν τὴν νύμφην χριστοῦ οὕτω διερρήμένην φορούσαν ἴμάτιον,—Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, II, 512. For bibliographical details on each of the documents to be discussed, where Latin and where Greek texts (when they exist) are to be found, see Golubovich, *Archivum*, 420–424. The Latin text of Germanus' letter is also registered with a list of printings in Lucien Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX* (Paris, 1896), I, number 803, col. 502 and note I. Its most convenient appearance in print is in Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, II, 333, (Year 1232, number 34). The Greek text has not been printed in full since 1730; the excerpt recently printed by Golubovich and just quoted is authoritative, but henceforth the Latin must be cited.

⁴⁷ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, II, 343–346, gives the text of the letter. (Year 1232, no. 38.)

⁴⁸ It was this Dominican, Peter, of Sezanne in France, who in 1233, converted a Moslem to Christianity in Constantinople. The account of the conversion mentions a visit by the Moslem, before his conversion, to the convent of the Franciscans. Chronologically, then, it is the second document we possess about the Franciscans in the city, preceded only by the papal letters mentioning brother Luke. Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, II, 302 f.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* II, 365. Both the Greek and Latin texts are printed here, 362–367.

The first-hand report of this papal mission is preserved, signed by all four members, but written by one of the Franciscans, probably Rudolph.⁵⁰ Traveling by way of Constantinople the envoys arrived in Nicaea on January 15, 1234. They were most hospitably received, and held a series of conferences with the Patriarch Germanus and the Emperor John Dukas Vatatzes about the two chief points at issue during the whole schism, whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, and whether it was proper to make the sacramental wafer of unleavened bread. On both questions the Latins had always taken the affirmative stand. After several days of consultation, chiefly amicable, the Greeks proposed to hold a general council, including the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, but the ambassadors refused to attend, because their orders from the Pope did not extend so far. They suggested that they go back to Constantinople, where they would wait to hear the results of a council which Greeks should hold without them.

Before they left, John Dukas Vatatzes asked them a very significant question which illustrates the political aims of the Greeks in all negotiations for Union after 1204, and indicates that their chief desire was simply to put an end to Latin political and ecclesiastical control, and to resume their ancient power over the Empire and Patriarchate of Constantinople. If the Patriarch should promise to obey the Pope, Vatatzes asked, “*restituet ei dominus Papa ius suum?*”, meaning of course by *ius* the patriarchal See. With their marked ability, evinced throughout the controversy, for straightforward, yet evasive answers, the messengers replied only, that if the patriarch returned to the fold “*misericordiam maiorem inveniet quam credat.*”⁵¹ They then went back to Constantinople. Vatatzes had hitherto maintained a friendly attitude toward the envoys; but this answer must have been discouraging. The rest of their story indicates that the Greek Emperor was now angry with them.⁵²

In mid-March, 1234, the envoys received from the Greek Patriarch a letter blandly ignoring their express intention of staying away from the council, and urging them to be present. At first they merely answered reminding him of their previous stand; but then he wrote again, expressing his grief that they would not appear. He sought to put further pressure on them by writing also to Benedict of Arezzo, Franciscan Provincial minister of the East, and to Brother Jacobus de Russano, an important Franciscan missionary who had been on a papal errand with letters to the King of Georgia,⁵³ both of whom were then in

⁵⁰ *Disputatio Latinorum et Grecorum*, p. 33. Golubovich, *Archivum*, 425–426, shows that all the mss. give the Franciscans preference in the title: *Determinatio fratrum minorum*, etc. There is also internal evidence that one of the two Franciscans must be the author. Golubovich chooses Rudolph because when all four signed, the other three wrote “*sic credo et ita sentio,*” while Rudolph wrote “*sic subscribo et ita credo.*”

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 445.

⁵² The entire question of the papal negotiation for Church Union during the period of the Latin Empire should be examined afresh, since much material not available to Norden has been published, but no attempt has been made at a new synthesis. The present author is now at work on this problem.

⁵³ Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, I, 162, II, 299–300. Wadding, *op. cit.* II, 358.

Constantinople. Germanus asked them to urge their brothers to cross the straits once more and attend the council. John Dukas Vatatzes wrote also, telling the envoys that a ship was prepared to take them directly home to Italy after their mission should be completed. They did decide to go back to Asia Minor, but it was for other reasons, which they give us in a paragraph most important for the history of Constantinople:

Preterea terra Constantinopolis quasi destituta fuit omni presidio: dominus Imperator Ioannes [John of Brienne] pauper erat. Milites stipendiarii omnes recesserunt. Naves Venetorum, Pisanorum, Anconitanorum et aliarum nationum parati fuerunt ad recedendum et quedam vero iam recesserant. Considerantes igitur terram desolatam, timuimus periculum quia in medio inimicorum terra illa sita est. Arsanus rex Bachorum ab Aquilone [John Asen, King of the Bulgars and Vlachs, (1218–1241)], Vatacius ab Oriente et Meridie [John Dukas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea (1222–1255)], Emanuhel circumdat eam ab Occidente [Manuel, Despot of Epirus (1230–1236)]; et ideo proposuimus tractare de treugis inter Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum et Vatacium usque ad annum. His causis compulsi, redire in terram Vatacii fuit omnibus voluntas. Verum tamen ne talia nostra tantum attemptare videremus voluntate, capitulum Sancte Sophye et prelatos terre nec non et ipsum Imperatorem super hoc consuluimus negotio, qui omnes unanimiter idem nobis consuluerunt.⁵⁴

This passage presents a hitherto unused and highly circumstantial eyewitness picture of the wretched state of Constantinople during the reign of John of Brienne, and incidentally provides further evidence, if any were needed, that John and the Franciscans were intimate. What became of the plan for a one year truce with Vatatzes we do not know; the envoys do not mention it again, and the very next year Vatatzes attacked and was repulsed by the enormous bravery of the 87-year-old John and a handful of knights, aided by the opportune arrival of a Venetian fleet.

The Franciscan and Dominican envoys, however, returned to Asia Minor, were summoned to Nymphaeum in Lydia, and joined against their will in the deliberation of the synod, which broke up with mutual and violent recriminations, the Greeks maintaining that their attitude of enmity toward the Roman Church was due to the plunder and blasphemy of the sack of Constantinople in 1204, and the Western monks retorting that this could not be blamed on the Church, since the Crusaders were excommunicated sinners. A last interview with Vatatzes himself bore no fruit, for he first tried to bribe the envoys with promises of splendid presents to the Pope, asserting that other Greek Emperors, such as Manuel Comnenos (1143–1180), and his own predecessor Theodore Lascaris, had been friendly with the Popes, though schismatic; and then, remarking that a schism which had lasted nearly 300 years (*sic*) could not be healed quickly, he proposed a compromise, which he could scarcely have intended seriously: the Greeks would use unleavened bread for the sacramental wafer, if the Latins would drop the *filioque* from the creed. Amid menacing scenes with Greek clerics, who stopped their transport by threatening to excommunicate their servants, the envoys set out for Constantinople on foot, leaving much of their

⁵⁴ Golubovich, *Archivum*, 446.

baggage behind them, a journey across lonely and difficult country, where, they were warned, they would meet bandits in the mountains. They were searched before their departure by the Patriarch's treasurer or *cartofilax*, and a summary of the Greek creed which they had wanted to keep, was taken from them by force; they managed to retain a Latin translation. With the transcription of this the ms. ends, and we do not know how they eventually did get home, and wrote their story.⁵⁵

In March 1245, just before the opening of the Council of Lyons, Innocent IV sent to the East several important missions. Besides the expedition to the Mongols⁵⁶ led by the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini, and famous among scholars and laymen alike because of John's extraordinary account of the journey, the Pope sent Eastward among others, Dominic of Aragon, also a Franciscan, to whom he gave letters of recommendation, which still survive, and indicate that Dominic's task was to negotiate for better relations with schismatics and infidels.⁵⁷ The exact orders he was to carry out may have been delivered to him orally, and are in any case unknown, but since he was sent *ad filios subversionis qui Ecclesiae non obedient*, we may conjecture with some safety that Innocent had ordered him to treat with John Dukas Vatatzes about the possibility of Union between the Churches.⁵⁸ After visiting Syria, lesser Armenia and Cilicia, Palestine and Egypt, Dominic arrived in Constantinople about the end of the year 1246,⁵⁹ and found himself unable to carry out his orders from the Pope, because Vatatzes, far from being accessible for negotiations, was actively campaigning in Thrace and the neighborhood of Thessalonica, and in the next spring made a successful attack on Tzurulum, near Constantinople itself.⁶⁰

Dominic, troubled at being unable to complete his job, and feeling it necessary to get proof for Innocent that it was not his fault, had drawn up, just before his departure from Constantinople, a remarkable document which Cardinal Tisserant has discovered and published.⁶¹ Meeting on April 4, 1247, in the church of the

⁵⁵ Although there were other attempts at Union before 1261, and although John of Parma, General of the Franciscans, was in charge, in 1249, of an expedition, from which he returned with legates to the Pope from Vatatzes, none of these add particularly to our knowledge of Constantinopolitan history; Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-383.

⁵⁶ For the most recent discussions of these missions with new material unknown even to Van der Vat see the still unfinished series of articles of Paul Pelliot: "Les Mongols et la Papauté", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXIII (1922-3), 3-30; XXIV (1924), 225-335; XXVIII (1931-2), 3-84, and the full-length book of Giovanni Sorranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana, e i Tartari* (Milan, 1930).

⁵⁷ E. Tisserant, "La Légation en Orient du Franciscain Dominique d'Aragon", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXIV (1924), 336-355. This article is unknown to Van der Vat.

⁵⁸ Tisserant makes this suggestion (p. 346).

⁵⁹ Tisserant reconstructs Dominic's itinerary from Armenian and Arabic sources.

⁶⁰ *Akropolita*, ed. A. Heisenberg, (Leipzig, 1903), 91 ff. Cf. also the contemporary, semi-official *Brevis nota* of the Council of Lyons, ed. L. Weiland, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Constitutiones*, II (Hannover, 1896), 514: ". . . tertio de scismate Grecorum, quomodo Vatacius imperator Grecorum cum Grecis scismaticis occupauerant et dextruxerant terram fere usque ad Constantinopolim et de ciuitate timeri poterat, nisi a Christianis uelocem succursum haberent".

⁶¹ *Op. cit.* 340.

Pantokrator in Constantinople, Philippe de Toucy, *bail* of the Empire in the absence of Baldwin II, and Egidio Quirino, later *podesdā* of the Venetians, declare, at the request of the Empress and of all the barons, counsellors, and viscounts, and with the advice of all the prelates then in the city,—that is the Vicar of the Patriarch, Nicholas of Santo Arquato of Piacenza, the Archbishops of Heracleia and Selymbria, and all the clergy of Constantinople itself—that Dominic has stayed in Constantinople because his departure was judged by them all to be dangerous, and his presence necessary:

cum Vatacius inimicus Dei et Ecclesie Romane guerram nobis indicens iniustum, totique Imperio Constantinopolitano cominaretur graviter obsidionem urbi saepe fate magno apparatu collecto ac eiusdem devastationem totis nisibus moliretur.

They assure the Pope that Dominic has not been negligent or disobedient but has worked for the benefit of the whole Church of Constantinople. The document is signed by all the above dignitaries, and also by the Abbots of two of the Cistercian monasteries, and of the Amalfitans, and the Preceptors of the Hospitals of the Templars, of the Teutonic knights, and of Saint Samson.

Besides presenting us with a veritable Who's Who of the remaining lay and clerical figures in the Empire, all of whom were exonerating Dominic, this document deepens our perception of the city's danger. Both Emperor and Patriarch were absent and represented by Vicars. Only the bishops of Selymbria and Heracleia—both almost suburbs of the city—were present. To this little band of Westerners on whom the enemy always seemed to be closing in, the presence of a Papal envoy was indeed a comfort, as a link with the world they had left behind. Their excuses for Dominic's apparent contravention of orders and his delay ("mora . . . necessaria et fructuosa, et ad honorem sacrosancte Romane ecclesie et salutem predicte civitatis . . . quod ad honorem fidei et ecclesie ac necessitatem Civitatis Constantinopolitane . . . factum est . . .") demonstrate how much respect and admiration a solitary Franciscan could command, especially as the Pope's representative, and how useful he seemed to the beleaguered Latins.⁶²

V

In addition to the political activities of the Franciscans in Romania on behalf of church and state, they engaged as well in cultural pursuits. Although the members of the 1234 mission to Asia Minor were not properly speaking Constantinopolitan Franciscans, some of the statements of their chronicler shed

⁶² Reference ought to be made in this context also to the pause in Constantinople of the Franciscan William of Rubruck (de Rubruquis). On his epic travel to the court of the Great Khan at Qaraqorum, he preached the sermon in St. Sophia on Palm Sunday, April 12, 1253; cf. *Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruck*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, I (Quaracchi, 1929; pp. 147–332), c. 1, no. 6: "Ego tamen praedicaveram publica in ramis palmarum apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non essem nuntius nec vester [St. Louis, King of France] nec alicuius, sed ibam apud incredulos secundum regulam nostram." See also (transl.) W. W. Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck* (Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. IV, London, 1900), p. 48.

light on a subject of paramount importance for the history of the relationship between Latins and Greeks: did many Latins understand Greek? During their weeks of debate with the Greeks in Asia Minor on highly technical theological subjects, the Latin monks never mention an interpreter. Moreover, the Latins constantly cite Greek Church Fathers in refuting the Greeks, and never quote a Latin Father, although they maintain that they could do so to prove their points. When the Greeks are discomfited by the Latin success in proving a point from the works of St. Cyril, whom they have been citing,

recogitantes quod . . . multas habuimus contra illos auctoritates sanctorum et copiosam multitudinem librorum Grecorum, quam nobiscum de Constantinopoli detuleramus, machinati sunt quomodo possent nos paucis questionibus confundere aut verbis capere.⁶³

And later,

. . . unus de fratribus nostris cui Dominus dederat gratiam in litteratura Grecorum, revolvit librum beati Kyrilli de IX anathematismo et incipit grece legere.⁶⁴

Their books from Constantinople were a trouble to them at the end: when they were forced to set out on foot, they had to take with them only those they could carry, and leave the rest behind in their boxes and chests.

These passages would seem to indicate that the Franciscan monastery at Constantinople had a considerable Greek library, for where else in the city would they have been likely to get their *multitudo librorum grecorum*? The possession of the library in itself implies the study of Greek, and it is clear from other sources that this was in fact carried on zealously. Salimbene, in 1249, en route to the Council of Lyons met an interesting monk.

Post ivi Lugdunum cum generali ministro [John of Parma]. Et cum fuimus Vienne invenimus nuntium Vatacii, quem miserat ad Papam pro generali ministro. Hic erat ex ordine fratrum Minorum et dicebatur frater Salimbene sicut et ego, et erat Grecus ex uno parente et Latinus ex altera; et optime loquebatur Latinis verbis, . . . optime etiam in vulgaris nov erat grecam et linguam Latinam. Quem generalis assumpsit et duxit Lugdunum.⁶⁵

And at Lyons:

Erat autem tunc temporis Lugduni lector Constantinopolitanus frater Thomas Grecus ex ordine Minorum, qui sanctus homo erat et Grece et Latine loquebatur. Hunc generalis assumpsit ut ad Graecos duceret secum.⁶⁶

By far the most important of the Constantinopolitan Franciscans was Johannes de Barastro, whose most important activities do not fall within our period. He was a leading figure of the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, when the centuries-old efforts at Union met with an ephemeral success. Previously he had served as messenger from Michael Palaeologus to Gregory X, and as teacher of Michael, imparting especially the Latin doctrine of Purgatory.⁶⁷

⁶³ Golubovich, *Archivum*, 434.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 437.

⁶⁵ Salimbene, *Cronica* (note 23, *supra*), 321.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 321.

⁶⁷ Van der Vat, *op. cit.* 107 f., 172 ff. with copious references.

Thus if other factors had permitted a Union of the Greek and Latin Churches, or had made it possible for a Latin domination of Constantinople to succeed, the efforts of the Franciscans would have had no small part in the success. Their fate in 1261 may have been exile from Constantinople, but this did not last for long; sometime before 1296 they returned, retaining a monastery in the city until 1307, when they were again forced to leave. Pera too, across the Golden Horn, to which the Italian colonists were restricted, later became the site of a Franciscan establishment.⁶⁸ They also had many monasteries in Greece proper, and on the islands.⁶⁹

The Franciscans took one Latin Emperor into their Order, and were the close advisers of another; they cooperated with the Papacy and the Latin patriarchate in an attempt to keep the Roman Church of Constantinople peaceful and financially stable; they engaged in cultural activities of a kind likely to lead to a better understanding between Latin and Greek; they took a leading part in the efforts to bring about a Union of the Churches; they have left an account of their activities which reveals something of the condition of Constantinople under the Latin Emperors. The sources for Franciscan history in Romania are by no means full, but from those which survive, it seems safe to conclude that the work of these Minorite brothers must loom large in any attempt to evaluate the Western influences at work in the last-founded, shortest-lived, and least studied of the Crusader States.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Now that there can be no reasonable doubt of John of Brienne's initiation into the Order, it may be of interest to examine his other alleged relations with the Franciscans. He is said to have known Saint Francis personally during the siege of Damietta in 1219–1220; to have been present as commander of the papal armies at the canonization of Saint Francis in 1228; and to be buried in the Church of Saint Francis at Assisi.

(1) As to the meeting at Damietta: this, as we have seen in the quotation above from Bréhier, is often stated categorically to have taken place. For example, a recent author passes it over in a subclause: "Giovanni di Brienne, che aveva conosciuto di persona S. Francesco negli accampamenti crociati di Damietta fra l'aprile 1219 e il febbraio 1220 . . ."¹ John, of course, was there as commander of the besieged armies, though hindered constantly by Cardinal Pelagius. There is no doubt either that Francis arrived there during the siege, predicted the unfavorable outcome of the assault of August 29, 1219, visited and preached to the Sultan of Egypt, and secured for his followers grants in Damietta after the Crusaders took the city. Many sources, both Franciscan and otherwise, testify to this simple outline of events. But no source, except, as we shall see, a very late one, implies specifically that John and Francis actually knew each other. Neither of the two

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 108–109.

⁶⁹ In Greece, the Franciscans had several establishments, the locations and names of some of which are no longer known. On Euboea (Negroponte) and in Crete, in Thebes and Corinth, however, their monasteries were founded before 1261; those at Athens and Clarentia were later. (*Ibid.* 110–112).

¹ Giuseppe Gerola, "Giovanni e Gualtero di Brienne in S. Francesco di Assisi," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XXIV (1931), 339.

standard secondary accounts, told, one from the point of view of the Crusaders, and one from that of Saint Francis, mentions a meeting, much less an acquaintance.²

Sources for the Crusade are collected and discussed in the three well-known works of Reinhold Röhricht,³ in which John of Brienne of course appears constantly, and Saint Francis somewhat less often, but the two are never mentioned together. In Golubovich's *Biblioteca*, so frequently referred to, there are reprinted twelve thirteenth-century and ten fourteenth-century accounts of Saint Francis' trip to the East. None of these mention John of Brienne.⁴ It is only when we come to Mariano of Florence, who about 1480 wrote his *Libro delle vite de Sancti Frati Minori*, (printed by Golubovich from an Italian manuscript) that we find a mention of the two together:

Et Messer Giovanni Colonna Cardinale et Legato delle S. Chiesa nelle parti di Ierusalem fu preso da Saraceni e fu messo fra due asse per esse segato pel mezzo, ma per divina dispositione schampo tanta crudel morte. Onde fu poi S. Francesco dal chapitano de Christiani che era Giovanni Re di Hierusalem et da Messer Jachopo de Vitriacho chardinale et legato (*sic*) della Chiesa in Egipto, et da tucto lo esercito Christiana avuto in grande reverentia.⁵

This passage seems of very little value coming so many years after the event, yet it is the only one I can find which refers to an acquaintance between the two men.⁶ Thus, we must conclude that John was almost certainly aware of Francis' presence in the camp, that it would be curious if they had not met, but that a meeting cannot be proved.

(2) John is also declared categorically to have been present at the canonization of Saint Francis by Pope Gregory IX in July 1228. Gerola says: "Giovanni di Brienne assistette alla canonizzazione del Poverello nel 1228 come protettore e defensore degli Stati Pontifici,"⁷ and refers as authority to the most recent edition of Thomas of Celano's *Vita* of Francis. There the text reads: "Convocantur episcopi, abbates adveniunt, de

² Herman Hoogeweg, "Der Kreuzzug von Damiette, 1218-1221," *Mittheilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, VIII (1887), 188-218; IX (1889), 249-88, 414-47; and Herman Fischer, *Der Heilige Franziskus von Assisi während der Jahre 1219-1221*, (Freiburg [Schweiz], 1907).

³ R. Röhricht, *Quinti Belli Sacri Scriptores Minores*, (Geneva, 1879), *Testimonia Minorum de Quinto Bello Sacro* (Geneva, 1882), and *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges*, (Innsbruck, 1891).

⁴ Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, I, 1-76.

⁵ *Ibid.* 78.

⁶ The latest publications about Saint Francis at the siege are no more helpful: P. G. Golubovich, "San Francesco e i Francescani in Damiata (5 nov. 1219-2 febb. 1220)", *Studi Francescani*, XXIII, N. S. XII (1926), 307-330; and P. L. Lemmens, "De Sancto Francisco Christum praedicante coram Sultano Aegypti", *Archivum Historicum Franciscanum*, XIX (1926), 559-578. Golubovich deals with the period after the successful capture of the city, discussing five hitherto unnoticed Bolognese documents on the division of the city by the various factions among the Crusaders, two of which he reprints, and which refer to houses given to the Franciscans. By working out Francis' itinerary, Golubovich is able to show that he was probably still in the city, and personally received the church and houses which the legate Pelagius and the Bolognese Crusaders turned over to him. There is but one mention of John of Brienne in the article, as Commander of the besieging Crusaders. Lemmens' article examines the sources—Jacques de Vitry, Ernoul, Eracles, the *Life* by Thomas of Celano, Jordanus à Giano, and others, but does not once mention John of Brienne.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 339.

remotissimis partibus paelati Ecclesiae adsunt; regalis se offert praesentia, comitum et procerum advenit nobilis multitudo;”⁸ and in a note to *regalis praesentia*, the editors say:

Scilicet Johannes de Brienne (Brienne), rex Hierosolymitanus Anno 1225 . . . in Summi Pontificis servitia et stipendia transiit. Honorius III Iohanni regi tunc “pro vitae sustentatione terram commisit ecclesiae a Viterbo usque ad Montem Fiasconem” ait Riccardo de S. Germano . . .⁹

but they cite no authority for John’s presence at the canonization. The chief sources for Saint Francis’ life do not mention John’s presence¹⁰ nor, perhaps naturally enough, do any of the contemporary letters of Gregory IX written at the time announcing the canonization,¹¹ nor does Wadding.¹²

In fact the evidence for Gerola’s categorical statement appears to be simply the unsupported dictum of the editors of Thomas of Celano. Honorius’ generous gift to John of Brienne (recently dispossessed of Jerusalem by the unscrupulous tactics of Frederick II) took place in 1226.¹³ During 1227, Richard of San Germano is silent about John’s activities. In 1228 he reports the canonization as follows:

Gregorius papa mense Iulii de Perusio vadit Assisium, ubi fratrem Franciscum, Minorum fratrum Ordinis inventorem, propter . . . miracula . . . canonizavit, et Perusium rediens, ibi anniversarium magnifice celebrat Innocentii Pape predecessoris sui.

The nearest mention of John occurs, however, in the next entry but one. In August, 1228, Raynaldus duke of Spoleto, Frederick’s commander in South Italy during the Emperor’s absence in the East, invaded papal territory, and, says Richard,

Gregorius papa in ducem ipsum . . . excommunicationis sententiam promulgavit . . . cumque nec sui revocare posset eundem, vim vi repellere licitum putans, . . . materiali gladio nisus est contra ipsum . . . et tunc Iohannem quondam Herosalymitarum regem et Iohannem de Columpna cardinalem, cum copioso militari et pedestri exercitu dirigit contra eum.¹⁴

Clearly then, John was at the Pope’s disposal for military purposes the very month succeeding the canonization. We also know from the document drawn up by John in the following April, 1229, upon his being offered the throne of Constantinople, that he was back in Perugia, in the presence of the Pope.¹⁵ About his presence at the canonization, however, it is impossible to share the certainty of the editors of Thomas of Celano; again

⁸ “Legenda S. Francisci Assisiensis,” *Analecta Franciscana*, X (1926), 99.

⁹ *Ibid.* note 5.

¹⁰ They are named and discussed with full references to the best editions in the “Etude critique des sources” in Paul Sabatier, *Vie de St. François d’Assise*, (Paris, 1931), 490–577. Besides those there considered, I have consulted the *Vita* by Brother Julianus de Spiro and the verse *Vita* by Henry of Avranches, both of which are in *Analecta Franciscana*, X (1936), 335–371, and 407–521 respectively.

¹¹ J. H. Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, I.

¹² *Annales Minorum*, III.

¹³ Ryecardus de Sancto Germano, *Chronica*, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, VII, part II (Bologna, 1937–1938), 141. Also to be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XIX (Hanover, 1866), 347.

¹⁴ RIS. 151 and 152. MGH, SS. 350.

¹⁵ G. L. Tafel und G. M. Thomas, “Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig,” *Fuentes Rerum Austriacarum*, XIII (Wien, 1856), 265 ff.

it is reasonable to suppose that John as the commander of the papal forces, and as a possible old acquaintance of Saint Francis, was the *regalis praesentia* of whom Thomas speaks, but it is not certain, and has not been proved.

(3) In the Lower Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi there is an interesting and elaborate fourteenth-century tomb, usually called the tomb of the Queen of Cyprus. Although it suffered somewhat from eighteenth-century restoration, it is probably still much as it was. On the plinth there is repeated ten times a coat of arms which appears again above in the apex of the tympanum; above, in the central portion, two angels holding back a curtain disclose the reclining figure of the occupant; while in the topmost section beneath the tympanum are displayed a Madonna, and, mounted on the back of a lion, a crowned and enthroned figure of the dead person in life. There has been considerable disagreement as to the identity of the person buried beneath this tomb, and conflicting traditions go back to sixteenth-century inventories and descriptions of the church. Recent scholarship seems finally to have settled the question in favor of John of Brienne. Since the materials are widely scattered, it may be of interest to review the question here.¹⁶

The earliest reference to the tomb is in Bartholomaeus Rinonico (Pisanus), who wrote just before 1390. Immediately after his story of John's initiation and death, Bartholomaeus says: "Hic sepultus est Assisii, etsi super sepulturam in habitu regali sit sculptus."¹⁷ The next is from a list of graves in the church and cemetery compiled in 1509 by Galeotto, sacristan of the Basilica:

Item nella ditta ecclesia iace Giovanni re di Jerusalem et imperatore Constantinopolo il quale fo fra minore e la sua figliola la quale fo moglie di Federico imperatore secundo.¹⁸

The two earliest sources, then, both affirm John's presence in the tomb, but by the time of Galeotto, the issue is already becoming clouded by the mention of John's daughter—perhaps because it is hard to tell whether the reclining sculptured figure behind the curtains on the lower level, and the enthroned figure above are male or female. John's daughter Yolande, the wife of Frederick II, died and is buried at Adria, so that Galeotto must be wrong about her since there is no possibility of her having been buried at Assisi.¹⁹

As the sixteenth century progressed, the tradition that a woman was buried in the tomb appears to have taken hold; and we have no fewer than three references to the Queen of Cyprus who is by now said to be buried there.²⁰ There follows a quotation

¹⁶ The two most recent articles are Giuseppe Gerola, "Chi e il sovrano sepolto in San Francesco d'Assisi?", *Dedalo*, VIII (1927), and "Giovanni e Gualtero di Brienne in S. Francesco di Assisi", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XXIV (1931), 330–340. There is a less complete discussion, which none the less gives much of the source material, in I. B. Supino, *La Basilica di San Francesco d'Assisi* (Bologna, 1924), 68–72.

¹⁷ *Analecta Franciscana*, IV (1906), 347.

¹⁸ Published by B. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilica San Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin, 1928), III, 65. This is the first publication of the list of graves, which thus was not available either to Supino or to Gerola in his first article. He uses it, however, in the second.

¹⁹ A. Haseloff, *Die Kaiserinnengräber zu Andria* (Rom. 1905), 3. Haseloff's sources are Richard of San Germano *sub anno 1228* and one of the continuators of William of Tyre.

²⁰ These sources, cited by Supino, *op. cit.* 70–71, are a *Libro della Sepoltura*, said to be in the archives of the church at Assisi, a description of the Basilica by Brother Lodovico da Pietralunga, who died in 1580, and a sixteenth-century record. Lodovico da Pietralunga has been published by Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.* III, 8–26, since Supino's work and Gerola's first article appeared.

from the most important of these, that of Brother Lodovico da Pietralunga, dating from 1580:

Circa le cose nottabile . . . e uno assai bello sepulcro della regina elisabea quale si fu, civi era, Venitiana, quale era regina di Cipro, il qual regno e nello ierosolimitano verso il levante . . . la qual do[po] essendo versata et privata da una infirmita, facece voto . . . de venire personalmente a visitar la sepultura et chiesa di S[an] F[rancesco].²¹

Her generosity to the church is related, and the tomb then described.

More recent scholars, from Vasari down, have had their choice between these two traditions; Is the tomb occupied by John of Brienne or by a Queen of Cyprus? Vasari repeats that the occupant is a Queen of Cyprus, and states that the tomb was sculpted by a certain Fuccio.²² Roberto Papini has chosen John of Brienne, relying on the statement of Bartholomaeus, and maintaining that the arms on the tomb are those of Jerusalem, not of Cyprus.²³ Henry Thode agrees with Papini.²⁴ Kleinschmidt has decided that the occupant is Princess Marie of Antioch (whom Papini and Thode have both confused with John's daughter Marie, Baldwin II's wife and Empress of Constantinople; who contested the rights of Hugh III de Lusignan to the Jerusalemite throne after the death of his father Hugh II, and finally sold her claims to Charles of Anjou in 1277.²⁵) Supino answers this proposal as follows:

Come si giustificano allora quelli stemmi gerosolimitani sulla sepoltura della "damoiselle" Maria d'Antiochia, che non fu mai regina e per di più aveva ceduto i suoi vantati diritti sul regno di Gerusalemme . . . ?

and himself decides that John of Brienne is buried there,²⁶ agreeing with Papini that the arms are those of Jerusalem. Other scholars, too, not primarily interested in the history of art, have believed John to be buried in the tomb, and have said so categorically. Alphonse Belin remarks flatly: "Son corps fut transporté en Italie et ses restes reposent à Assise, auprès du tombeau de S. François ou on lui a élevé un monument digne de lui;" and Golubovich actually translates Belin's unsupported statement, accepting it as true.²⁷

²¹ Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.* 10. Supino, 70. Kleinschmidt gives the name as *Elisabea*, Supino, no doubt through a misreading of the manuscript, as *Eugubea*; the former certainly seems more reasonable. As Supino says (p. 71), Eugubea or Ecuba is "persona del tutto sconosciuta alla storia del regno di Cipro e di Gerusalemme." Elisabea, however, though a more likely name, also appears nowhere in the genealogy of the royal family of Cyprus, cf. Comte J. M. J. L. de Mas Latrie, "Généalogie des Rois de Chypre de la Famille de Lusignan," extrait de *L'Archivio Veneto*, (Venice, 1881), table at the end of the article. It may perhaps be possible that the name of the princess Echive de Montfort, first wife of Peter I of Lusignan (killed in 1369) whom he married in 1342 and who died before 1353 (Mas-Latrie, p. 25), could somehow have been twisted to give a ms. appearance *Eugubea* of *Elisabea*, but this seems improbable (Wadding gives her name in Latin as *Echina*, *Annales Minorum VII*, 301); and in any case she probably died somewhat too late to be buried in the tomb.

²² Vasari, *Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori* (Florence, 1878), I, 653.

²³ R. Papini, *Notizie sicure della morte sepoltura, canonizzazione e traslazione di S. Francesco d'Assisi* (Folignano, 1824), 329-331.

²⁴ H. Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien* (Berlin, 1904), 297-298.

²⁵ B. Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.* I, 54-56; For the litigation see J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge, 1932), 77-79.

²⁶ I. B. Supino, *op. cit.* 71.

²⁷ Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (2nd ed., Paris, 1894), 81. Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, I, 137-138.

Gerola's first attempt to solve the problem of the tomb led him to two definite conclusions: that the two traditional portrait figures of the occupant, the one below dead, and the one above enthroned alive, are male figures, and that therefore the occupant is a man, not a woman; and that the arms displayed in eleven places on the tomb are those of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, not those of Jerusalem or of Cyprus.²⁸ After having thus disposed of any possible Queen of Cyprus, he discusses one by one the burial places of the actual and titular Latin Emperors of Constantinople, and decides that the occupant of the tomb is probably the son of Baldwin II, Philip I de Courtenay, titular Emperor, who died in 1283.

In the interim between Gerola's two articles, Galeotto's grave-list was published. This Gerola now knows and cites; and he has found other reason also to change his opinion: Some of the arguments he has used to support Philip of Courtenay he has been forced to discard, while others he has easily converted into arguments supporting John of Brienne. He has in addition found a new piece of evidence which lends support to the ancient tradition that John of Brienne rests in the tomb. This evidence comes from the two famous frescoes by Pietro Lorenzetti in the Lower church at Assisi, the small Virgin and Child between Saint Francis and Saint John the Evangelist, and the large Crucifixion. In the first, below the main picture there appear five small compartments, displaying respectively in the center a crucifix, to the left and right of it two shields repeating the same coat of arms and at the extreme right a portrait of the donor. The compartment at the extreme left has been destroyed. Vasari says of these shields "In quest'opera . . . ho trovato l'arme di Gualtieri duca d'Atene,"²⁹ and Pietralunga describes the coat of arms on each of the shields, well-preserved in his day, as lions rampant, *or* on a field *azure*. He also tells us that in the Crucifixion there is a portrait of the Duke of Athens on mule-back, and that the chapel in which the Lorenzetti frescoes appear "est capella illustrissimi et excellentissimi ducis Athenarum . . . divo Iohanni Evangeliste dicata."³⁰ These arms, as Gerola shows, are those of the fourteenth century Duke of Athens and Lord of Florence (1342–1343), Walter of Brienne.³¹ He proposes to regard as a portrait of Walter the

²⁸ That Supino was wrong in imagining the throned figure to be a woman, while admitting the reclining one to be a man, had already been shown by Camille Enlart, as Gerola points out: "La figure assise, jambes croisés, qu'il croit féminine, est une effigie de roi, vêtu et coiffé comme des femmes d'aujourd'hui, mais aussi comme l'étaient les hommes vers 1300." ("La Basilique d'Assise," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Série V, XIII [1926], 394.) Gerola is right, and the arms are actually those of Constantinople; thus previous art historians who have believed the tomb to be John's have been right, but for the wrong reason, through the strange historical accident that he was entitled to display both the arms of Jerusalem and those of Constantinople.

²⁹ *Op. cit.* I, 1878. Cited by Gerola, 330, n. I.

³⁰ Kleinschmidt, III, 22. Cited by Gerola, 331, n. I.

³¹ Walter VI of Brienne, last Duke of Athens, was the great, great grandnephew of John, and great, great grandson of John's brother Walter III, who, in 1200, married Albiria, heiress of Lecce, and thus inherited a quarrel with the Hohenstaufen, which dated back to the time of Roger II. This marriage took Walter III to South Italy, where he was killed in 1205, instead of to the Fourth Crusade. It was his posthumous son Walter IV, whom Frederick II was allegedly planning to kill over a chess-game, and who was the cause of the famous quarrel, reported above by Salimbene, between John and Frederick. Walter IV married in 1233 Marie (or Alix) de Lusignan, daughter of King Henry I of Cyprus, and was killed in 1246 in captivity at Cairo by the Saracens after a display of great hardihood at Joppa. His son Hugh maintained, as had his ancestors, the quarrel with the Hohenstaufen, fighting on the side of the Angevins at Tagliacozzo, 1268, and dying in battle against the Aragonese in 1296. He married twice, first in 1277, Isabelle (or Helen) daughter of Guy I

small figure of the donor in the small fresco rather than the large figure of the mounted knight on horseback in the large fresco.

We know independently, moreover, two other facts; first that Walter was extremely generous to the Franciscans;³² and second, that he actually did bring back from Greece the head of his father, cut off in the battle of Cephissos the year before.³³ Gerola argues that Walter probably also brought back from the East the body of his ancestor John, known to have become a Franciscan, and had it buried in the church of St. Francis. This view coincides with the testimony of the earliest sources as to the occupant of the tomb. It is difficult to disagree.

Washington, D. C.

de La Roche, Duke of Athens, widow of the baron of Carytena, and sister of William I de La Roche of Athens; and second, in 1291, Helen (Dukas-Angela-Comnena) widow of this William I, through whom the duchy of Athens passed to the family of Brienne. Their son Walter V, last actual Duke of Athens, was killed by the Catalan Grand Company at the great battle of the Cephissos, in 1311, which cost the family the duchy as well. It is his son by Jeanne de Chatillon whose arms appear in Lorenzetti's fresco and after whom the chapel in S. Francis was named. This Walter VI, titular Duke of Athens, married in 1322 Marguerite, niece of Robert, Angevin king of Naples, and daughter of Philip of Anjou-Taranto, who himself had married Catherine de Valois, heiress to Constantinople. For a brief period in 1326, Walter was Angevin governor of Florence; he failed in an attempt (1331) to reconquer Athens; he was called by the Florentines to be ruler of Florence (1342), and forced to abdicate after one turbulent year. He became Constable of France, and died in the battle of Poitiers (Maupertuis) in 1356. C. Hopf, *De Historiae Ducatus Atheniensis Fontibus* (Bonn, 1852). Comte Fernand de Sassenay, *Les Brienne de Lecce et d'Athenes*, (Paris, 1869), *passim*, especially the last chapter. For confirmation of genealogical detail, C. Hopf, *Chroniques Greco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), table II, 473. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue d'actes des Comtes de Brienne* (950-1356), (Paris, 1872). For Walter VI, C. Hopf, "Walther von Brienne, Herzog von Athen, und Graf von Lecce," *Historisches Taschenbuch*, III, S (1854), 301-399; C. Paoli, "Della Signoria di Gualtieri duca d'Atene," *Giornale Storico degli archivi Toscani* (1862); A. von Reumont, "Der Herzog von Athen," *Historische Zeitschrift*, XXVI (1871), 1-74. C. Paoli, Review of the Comte de Sassenay's book, cited above, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie III, XV (1872), 126-132. W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), *passim*.

³² C. Paoli, "Nouvi documenti intorno a Gualtieri VI di Brienne," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, XVI (1872), 22-62, prints the full text (39-52) of Walter's will, in which there are several legacies to Franciscan foundations. W. Miller's statement (*op. cit.* 265), is of interest: "Every visitor to the Lower church of St. Francis at Assisi, a church traditionally associated with the family of Brienne, who were terciers of the order, has seen in the foreground of Lorenzetti's 'Crucifixion' the knightly figure of the titular duke of Athens." I can find nowhere any confirmation of his statement that the family of Brienne were Franciscan tertiarys, although it would not be surprising.

³³ W. Miller, *op. cit.*, 228.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1204–1261:
Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1204–1261

SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF THE LATIN CONQUEST*

By ROBERT LEE WOLFF

Ecclesiastical problems naturally loom large in any investigation of relations between Greeks and Latins after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. The story of the negotiations between the Popes and the Patriarchs at Nicaea—the diplomacy and debate with regard to a union of the Churches—has been well told by Walter Norden; except for materials discovered by Schillmann and Heisenberg, little important information has become available since he wrote. I have therefore not re-examined this range of problems here. The purpose of this study is two-fold: first, to investigate within the Empire itself certain of the local ecclesiastical relationships between Greeks and Latins; and, second, to discover the modifications in ecclesiastical organization brought about by the Roman Church in the newly-conquered Byzantine territories which, from 1204 on, formed part of the Latin patriarchate. It is, then, the social and administrative rather than the theological and diplomatic aspects of the subject which engage our attention here.

I

After the conquest, Innocent III was at first anxious that the Greeks, newly subject to Latin domination, be won over by persuasion and gentle treatment. He was much distressed at the excesses of the Latins in their sack of the city.

* W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin 1903); F. Schillmann, 'Zur byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV,' *Römische Quartalschrift* 22 (1908) Heft 4, 108–131 (see also V. Laurent, 'Le Pape Alexandre IV [1254–1261] et l'Empire de Nicée,' *Échos d'Orient* 34 [1935] 26–55); A. Heisenberg, 'Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion,' *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, (Munich 1922–1923) I–III. The following paper is one of a series of articles now in the course of publication which deal with issues peripheral to the general history of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, a history covered in my forthcoming book on the Empire. Previous students of the Latin Patriarchate almost ignore the questions here considered. G. Cuper, *Ad Tomum I Augusti Tractatus praeliminaris de Patriarchis Constantinopolitanis*, appendix to *Acta Sanctorum Augusti I* (Venice 1750) 147–152, excerpts previous authors on the Latin Patriarchs; M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (Paris 1740) III, 796–809 summarizes the reigns of the individual Patriarchs; so do A. Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (2d ed. Paris 1894) 44–91, who commits a series of glaring errors, and L. de Mas Latrie, 'Les Patriarches Latins de Constantinople,' *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895) 433–456. For similar summaries see A. Palmieri, 'T Vicarii patriarchali de Constantinopoli,' *Bessarione* 7 (1904) 41–53 and S. Vailhé, 'Constantinople,' DTHC 3 (1908) 1500–1501. The recent book of L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel 1204–1261 und der Venezianischen Urkunde* (Weimar 1938) concerns itself primarily with the character of the five surviving documents issued by the Patriarch and secondarily with the history of the development of the cathedral chapter of Santa Sophia under the Latins. It is thus chiefly a study in diplomatics, and an admirable one. Santifaller provides useful check-lists of the papal letters concerning the patriarchate. See the review by J. Longnon, *Journal des Savants* (1941) 174ff. where two documents unknown to Santifaller are printed. The emphasis of the article by R. Janin, 'Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine,' *Études Byzantines* 2 (1944: Bucharest 1945) 134–184, is upon the fortunes of the individual churches of the capital. Even the portion on Santa Sophia, 139–151, does not attempt to discuss the organization of the patriarchate. In another article I expect to give an account of the history of the patriarchate based on an analysis of the political and economic issues at stake, a contribution still to be made to our literature on the Latins in Constantinople.

'How can the church of the Greeks,' he wrote to the Cardinal legate Peter Capuano, 'be expected to return to devotion to the Apostolic See, when it has seen the Latins setting an example of evil, and doing the devil's work, so that already, and with good reason, the Greeks hate them worse than the dogs?'¹

He reproached Boniface of Montferrat, for example, in the same words, emphasizing the effect upon the Greeks of the Latin despoliation of their churches, the removal of the silver tablets on the walls, and the seizure of icons, crosses, and reliques.² This early spirit of understanding for the Greeks under Latin attack, and the hope for a peaceful reconciliation extended over into the sphere of administration.

Sometime in 1206 Thomas Morosini, the first Latin Patriarch, wrote the Pope a long letter, now lost, reporting on conditions in Romania, and asking for instructions on certain administrative matters. On August 2, 1206, Innocent replied, first summarizing and then answering Morosini's questions. Some of the Greek bishops of Romania, the Patriarch had complained, who had refused him obedience, although they had received due warning, none the less continued to collect the revenue from their sees. Others had fled, and could not be reached; their sees had been vacant for six months and more. What should Morosini do, he inquired, in such cases? Innocent replied that he should proceed with the greatest deliberation. Because of the recent shift in the Empire and the unsettled state of affairs, Morosini was to cite such bishops not once but two or three times. If after such repeated warnings they should still prove recalcitrant—and provided that they had not in the interim appealed to Rome—the Patriarch could suspend them from office and excommunicate them. Only if this proved ineffective could he and the Cardinal legate Benedict of Santa Susanna proceed to remove these Greek bishops from their bishoprics, and replace them by suitable (Latin) clerics. But excommunication should be resorted to only after all other methods had failed, and, in the case of absent bishops, only after the citation had been thrice published in their churches. Upon the legate's return to the west, Morosini might act alone in such cases.³

Detailed instructions issued by Innocent in 1210 to the Archbishop of Athens and to the Bishops of Thermopylae and Zeituni with regard to the church of Corinth, whose capture was momentarily expected, reveal that the Pope had not

¹ PL 215, 699 (Book VIII, no.126); Potthast 2564, July 12, 1205: 'Quomodo enim Graecorum ecclesia . . . ad unitatem ecclesiasticam et devotionem sedis apostolicae revertetur, quae in Latinis non nisi perditionis exemplum et opus tenebrarum aspergit ut jam merito illos abhorrent plus quam canes?' Peter Capuano was of an ancient and noble Amalfitan family, Counts of Prata, and should not be called Peter of Capua. See M. Camera, *Memorie Storico-diplomatiche dell'antica Città e Ducato di Amalfi* (Salerno 1876) I, 90 n. 1; 383ff., 665.

² PL 215, 710 (Book VIII, no.133); Potthast 2573; G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, zweite Abtheilung, Diplomataria et Acta 12–14 [hereafter T.-Th.]) I, 561, no. 155.

³ PL 215, 963 (Book IX, no. 140); Potthast 2860; T.-Th. II, 19, no. 170: ' . . . propter novitatem mutationis imperii . . . sit cum maturitate plurima procedendum.' Exactly the same words are used by Innocent in a letter of April 19, 1207, to the Latin Archbishop of Patras, who had reported that, when the Latins had conquered Achaea, certain of the Greek bishops subject to Patras had fled. Some refused to return to their dioceses, though cited; others could not be reached. Innocent required the archbishop to follow the same procedure as that laid down for the Patriarch, except that the Cardinal legate Benedict alone was empowered to substitute new Latin bishops. PL 215, 1142 (Book X, no. 51); Potthast 3090.

altered his basic approach to this problem, although his prescribed procedure had become simplified, as though he had learned that there was little hope of securing Greek cooperation. If the clerics addressed should find an incumbent (Greek) archbishop when Corinth fell, he wrote, they should 'prudently and effectively induce him to be converted to the Holy See.' But should he refuse, they were to remove him from his post, and appoint a Latin cleric, whom Innocent had already selected. If no Greek archbishop should be found in residence, the clerics were to appoint the Latin at once, and were to admonish the subordinate Greek clergy to show him due reverence.⁴

Morosini's original letter of 1206 had also asked for instructions with regard to those bishoprics inhabited exclusively by Greeks, and to those of mixed Greek and Latin population. Innocent replied that, to purely Greek sees, the Patriarch should appoint Greek bishops if he could find any who were devoted and faithful to the Pope and to himself, and who would humbly accept consecration at Thomas' hands. In mixed districts, Thomas was to appoint Latins.⁵

Although the conditions laid down for the retention of Greek bishops in their sees doubtless seemed reasonable and even generous to Innocent, and although he prescribed caution as the guide in any moves designed to replace them by Latins, the minimum requirement, that they accept the jurisdiction of a Latin Patriarch and acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, in most cases seems to have been too great. The attitude of the average high Greek ecclesiastic of the period toward the primacy of Rome was crisply and ironically stated, for example, by the Greek Archbishop of Corfu in the spring of 1203, when the Venetian fleet carrying the Crusaders aboard stopped at the island. The archbishop invited some of the Latin bishops to dinner; they fell to discussing the primacy of Rome, and the Greek archbishop remarked that he knew of no reason for recognizing Rome's prerogative unless it was the fact that it had been Roman soldiers who crucified Christ.⁶ By early March 1208 Innocent is found commanding the Latin Emperor Henry, the barons, the Venetians, and the people of Constantinople to give the Patriarch aid and counsel in his efforts to bring the Greeks back into the fold, and to observe unswervingly the sentence of excommunication passed against those Greeks who had rebelled against the requirement that they render obedience to Rome and to the Latin Patriarch.⁷ The implication, of course, is that the Greek prelates continued stiff-necked.

There were some Greek bishops, however, although we do not know how many, and presumably cannot identify all of them, who consented to obey Morosini. They rendered him the oath of fidelity, and promixed obedience to

⁴ PL 216, 201 (Book XIII, no. 6); Potthast 3925, March 4, 1210.

⁵ Reference as in note 3: ' . . . in illis ecclesiis in quibus sunt solummodo Graeci, Graecos debes episcopos ordinare, si tales valeas reperire, qui nobis et tibi devoti et fideles existant, et a te consecrationem velint accipere humiliiter et devote. In illis vero in quibus cum Latinis Greci sunt misti, Latinos praeficias et paeferas ipsos Graecis.'

⁶ *Gesta Episcoporum Halberstadiensium* (Anonymous of Halberstadt), MGH SS 23, 118: 'Cum apud Corphinum exercitus moram fecerit, archiepiscopus civitatis eiusdem quosdam ex prelatis eorum ad prandium invitavit. Qui cum inter se conferendo disputarent et de principatu Romane sedis plurima disceptarent, idem archiepiscopus dixit: nullam aliam causam se scire primatus vel prerogativam sedis Romane, nisi quod Romani milites Christum crucifixissent.'

⁷ PL 215, 1352 (Book XI, no. 21); Potthast 3318; T.-Th. II, 67, no. 187.

the Apostolic See. But even with these a new difficulty arose: they refused to be anointed as bishops according to the custom of the Latins, presumably feeling that this would constitute a tacit admission that their first consecration according to the Greek rite had not been canonical. In response to a question from Morosini as to how to meet with this situation, Innocent replied, on March 8, 1208, that the Patriarch was to overlook this refusal on the part of those Greek bishops who had already been consecrated according to the Greek rite. Any Greek bishop who had yet to receive this consecration, however, would have to accept it according to the Latin custom, i.e. with unction, or not receive it at all.⁸

One of the Greek bishops who consented to obey Morosini and Innocent III was Bishop Theodore of Negropont (Euboea), whose church Innocent early took under his special protection,⁹ perhaps as a reward for Theodore's capitulation, perhaps because a Greek turn-coat bishop would stand in need of support both as against the new Latin hierarchy now being installed in most archbishoprics and bishoprics, and as against his own Greek subjects. Theodore's new Latin superior was Bérard, Archbishop of Athens, who replaced the celebrated Michael Choniates, now in exile on Ceos. Simultaneously with the special protection given to Theodore, however, Innocent III granted Bérard all the jurisdiction which his Greek archiepiscopal predecessors had ever exercised over the churches and clergy of Athens.¹⁰ There seems to be more than a coincidence in the simultaneous issuance of these two privileges. Innocent doubtless hoped to protect Theodore from Bérard. But if this was the Pope's intention, it did not succeed. In 1208, Theodore complained to Rome that, although he had sworn before Benedict, the Cardinal legate, to manifest true canonical obedience to Rome, and although Benedict had confirmed him in his bishopric, Bérard had ejected him, and had installed another (presumably Latin) bishop in his stead. Bérard's excuse was that Theodore did not wish to be anointed according to the custom of the Latins. Innocent commanded the Archbishop of Neopatras, the Bishop of Diauleia, and the Abbot of St. Luke of the diocese of Negropont to restore Theodore to his throne.¹¹ This was almost certainly done: in 1224, Honorius III ordered that a Greek priest, vicar of the Bishop of Negropont, be removed from the diocese of Loretos which he had fraudulently obtained.¹² It is altogether unlikely that any bishop except Theodore would have had a Greek vicar to whom such license was granted.

⁸ PL 215, 1353 (Book XI, no. 23); Potthast 3320; T.-Th. II, 68, no. 188: ' . . . si qui jam consecrati sunt induci nequeunt ut recipient unctionem, id in hac novitate sub dissimulatione poteris pertransire. Consecrandos vero nullatenus consecres, nisi more Latino voluerint consecrari . . .' —On the complex canonical problem of the effectiveness of schismatic ordinations see Gratian, C.9 q.1; C.1 q.7 c.24; *Decretales* 5, 8, 1-2, and the relative commentaries. The doctrine of substantial validity, provided that the *forma ecclesiae* was observed in the consecration, had been worked out in passionate discussions by the canonists (cf. L. Saltet, *Les réordinations*, Paris 1907). The anointing, to be supplied for Greek bishops under Innocent III's ruling in the letter to the Archbishop of Tirnovo, 'Primate of the Bulgars and Vlachs' (PL 215, 282; Book VII, no. 3; *Decr.* 1, 15, 1; Potthast 2138, February 25, 1204) was a requirement of ritual, not of the sacramental form. But it is understandable that the Greeks remained suspicious of these fine points of distinction.

⁹ PL 215, 1030 (Book IX, no. 193); Potthast 2921, November 27, 1206.

¹⁰ PL 215, 1031 (Book IX, no. 194); Potthast 2922. See addition, note 105 below.

¹¹ PL 215, 1492 (Book XI, no. 179); Potthast 3552, December 8, 1208.

¹² P. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III* (Rome 1888-1895 [hereafter Pressutti]) 4730.

Theodore of Negropont is one of the very few Greek bishops whom we can surely identify as still active under the Latins; but his role was certainly an ambivalent one. He remained in regular correspondence with his former Greek superior, Michael Choniates, who at first wrote anonymously for fear that the letters would fall into the hands of the Latins, and, even after he had abandoned this practice, disguised many of his references to 'Latin tyranny,' and couched his communications in a most allusive style. Around Theodore on Negropont there congregated a circle of refugee Greek clerics, including the former Archbishop of Patras, now ousted and replaced by a Latin.¹³ It is almost as if an official decision had been reached by the Greek hierarchy that one of their number would have to pretend to go over to the Latins, to serve as a center of refuge for the others and as a spy in the Latin camp. Certainly, although details of the plotting among the Greeks on Negropont no longer survive, it is not unreasonable to question the sincerity of Theodore's loyalty in his adherence to the Latins.

But the chief center occupied by the Latins in which Greek ecclesiastical authorities still functioned was the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica. There, the first Latin ruler was Boniface of Montferrat, military commander of the troops of the fourth Crusade. Boniface, disappointed at not securing election to the imperial throne of Constantinople (from which he had been barred by the Venetians, who had secured instead the election of Baldwin of Flanders), had been made King of Thessalonica in 1204. After coming to the east he had married Margaret, sometimes called Maria, a Hungarian princess, the widow of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac Angelus (1185–1195).¹⁴ As early as the late summer of 1205, Innocent III took Margaret under his protection, recounting how she had been born of Roman Catholic parents, had gone over to the Greek Church when she married Isaac, and had been reconverted to the Latin rite by her new husband, Boniface, and by the Cardinal legate, Peter Capuano.¹⁵ In the summer of 1207, Boniface was killed in a skirmish with some Bulgarian troops of Ioannitsa, King of the Vlachs and the Bulgars, who had already accounted for the first Latin Emperor, Baldwin.¹⁶ Thereafter, Margaret, for the second time a widow, ruled Thessalonica on behalf of her infant son, Demetrius. Where Boniface had shown himself a ruthless and extortionate lord to his Greek

¹³ G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Orientalia Christiana 33, ii [1934]) 193 and *passim*.

¹⁴ Boniface's candidacy for the imperial throne is discussed by Gunther of Pairis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Riant (Geneva 1875) 53; and his efforts to secure the election, including his marriage to Margaret (doubtless entered into because her position as widow of a Greek Emperor would strengthen Boniface's claim in the eyes of the Greeks) are reported by Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris 1874) 146, 154; ed. E. Faral (Paris 1938–39) II, 50–52, 68; by Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris 1924) 80, 91–92, 97; and by Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1835) 792. For the Venetian attitude toward his election, inspired by their distrust of his close relations with Genoa, see Nicetas 789–790. For his final acquisition of Thessalonica, after a quarrel with Baldwin, see Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly 180; ed. Faral II, 110; Robert de Clari 97. The question whether Boniface had an ancestral claim to Thessalonica is a complex one and will be discussed in detail elsewhere.

¹⁵ PL 215, 714 (Book VIII, no. 134); Potthast 2574, August 16–September 17, 1205.

¹⁶ Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly 298–300; ed. Faral II, 312–314. See also A. Ceruti, 'Un codice del monastero cistercense di Lucedio,' *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4th Series 8 (1881) 378 n. 4.

subjects,¹⁷ Margaret proved quite the reverse. Almost from the first, she was faced by a rebellion of Boniface's Lombard vassals, who wished to bring William of Montferrat, Boniface's son by an earlier marriage, out to Greece to succeed his father, and to rid themselves of Margaret and the infant Demetrius. The second Latin Emperor, Henry, whose position was also threatened by the Lombard schemes, put down this revolt (1208–1209).¹⁸ Henry supported Margaret, to whom he gave the estates in Thessaly which had belonged to the Byzantine Empress Euphrosyne, wife of Alexius III Angelus (1195–1204),¹⁹ and in person crowned the baby Demetrius as King of Thessalonica on January 6, 1209.²⁰

But it is clear that Margaret also sought the support of her Greek subjects against the Lombard rebels, and that, in this connection, she continued to follow a policy of expediency with regard to ecclesiastical affairs. As early as the autumn of 1208, the Pope is found reporting the complaints of the Latin Archbishop of Larissa (like Margaret's estates his diocese was in Thessaly) who alleged that Margaret had not only interfered with the movements of abbots, abbesses, and priests of Larissa (presumably Latin) but had even dared to show favor to Greek bishops against them, encouraging the Greek prelates not to obey the Pope. 'If this is true,' wrote Innocent, 'we regard it as a serious offense and unworthy.' He commanded Margaret to release the clerics she was holding; and instructed the Archbishops of Patras and Thebes and the Bishop of Thermopylae to see that she did so.²¹ Although repeatedly admonished by Rome, Margaret had not made amends by the summer of 1210. Her offense also appears to have included the grant of protection to Greek suffragan bishops²² of the Latin Archbishop of Larissa, who were refusing canonical obedience to him. The Pope once again made an effort to bring pressure upon her, this time through the Archbishop of Neopatras and the Bishops-elect of Nazoreska and Kitros.²³ Moreover, Margaret not only did not pay tithes, a Latin custom

¹⁷ Nicetas (p. 794) says he extorted money from them 'as a weasel (or polecat) goes after suet.'

¹⁸ The sources for the Lombard revolt are Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri*, ed. N. de Wailly, following his edition of Villehardouin, 304–420; and a *sirventès* by the Provençal troubador Elias Cairel. See H. Jaeschke, *Der Troubadour Elias Cairel* (Romanische Studien, ed. E. Ebering, Heft 20, no. 9; Berlin 1921) 149–156; and V. de Bartholomaeis, 'Un sirventès historique d'Elias Cairel,' *Annales du Midi* 16 (1904) 468–494. See also G. Paris, 'Hugues de Berzé,' *Romania* 18 (1889) 559 n. 5. See addition, note 105 below.

¹⁹ On March 30, 1210, Innocent III confirmed the gift by Henry to Margaret of the Thessalian lands of Vissena, Demetrias, Archontochora, and the two Halmyroses (PL 216, 227 [Book XIII, no. 34]; Potthast 3956). Except for Archontochora all the other places are named in the celebrated Partition Treaty of 1204, by which the successful Latins divided up the Byzantine territories, and are there called 'Pertinentia Imperatricis,' the private estates of Euphrosyne (T.-Th. I, 467). When Boniface of Montferrat took custody of Alexius III and Euphrosyne in 1204, he sent the Greek Emperor and Empress into temporary retirement on these Thessalian estates (Nicetas 808).

²⁰ Henri de Valenciennes, ed. de Wailly 368. See also *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris 1871) 391; Robert de Clari, ed. Lauer 109. Both Ernoul and Robert have the date wrong.

²¹ PL 215, 1467 (Book XI, no. 152); Potthast 3506, October 4, 1208: ' . . . verum etiam Graecis episcopis contra ipsos (quod si verum est grave gerimus et indignum) ne nobis obedient, favorem suum impendere non formidat.'

²² One of these seems to have been the Bishop of Demetrias, a suffragan of Larissa, who, 'fultus laicali potentia,' had refused obedience to his superior. Doubtless the *laicalis potentia* was Margaret. PL 215, 1505 (Book XI, no. 189); Potthast 3553.

²³ PL 216, 299 (Book XIII, no. 103); Potthast 4031, July 2, 1210. See addition, note 105 below.

which the Greeks generally resented, but did not permit her subjects, either Greek or Latin, to do so.²⁴

During these years, however, some members of the Greek clergy at Thessalonica did consent to offer their obedience to Rome, asking for a confirmation of the privileges which they had enjoyed under Greek rule, and for a suitable income for their churches. In March 1210 Innocent instructed the Bishops of Gardiki and Thermopylae to protect any such Greek clerics against those who might attempt to deprive them of these rights.²⁵

From an extraordinary and little-noticed document, a letter of Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of Achrida, giving his opinion upon a law suit of a private citizen of Thessalonica, we learn that, in the year 1213, there was a Greek δούξ in Thessalonica, lord George Frangopoulos, appointed by Margaret, who sat in judgment on law suits in the great church of the Virgin. With him, as fellow judges, there also sat the Greek bishops of Ierissa, Kitros, Berrhoea, Kassandreia (whose name was Strumbakos), and Adramereus (whose name was Phliagrios). These sees, five of the eleven normally comprising the Greek ecclesiastical Province of Thessalonica, had thus remained in Greek hands. Moreover, the letter specifically informs us that only the Archbishop, Garinos, was a Latin, and comments that he followed the Latin custom in assessing a small contribution upon the estates of those who had died in the city. So completely was the administration of justice in the hands of the Greeks, however, that, we are told, no Greek citizen feared that his case would be given a biased hearing.²⁶ This was an extraordinary situation, made possible only by Margaret's

²⁴ PL 216, 302 (Book XIII, no. 112); Potthast 4045, July 10, 1210.

²⁵ PL 216, 229 (Book XIII, no. 41); Potthast 3951, March 29, 1210.

²⁶ *Analecta sacra et profana spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, ed. J. B. Pitra, (Paris and Rome 1896) VII, 447–462. Analysed in M. Drinov, 'O nekotorych trudach Demetriya Chomatiana kak istoricheskoy materialye,' *Vizantiiski Vremennik* 2 (1895) 1–23, and, so far as I know, not referred to elsewhere. For the full list of bishoprics subject to the Greek Metropolitan of Thessalonica, see below, table 3. The Latin Archbishop called 'Garinos' in the letter of Demetrios appears as Guarinus in the Latin sources; he was a Fleming named Warin. First appointed to the archbishopric of Verissa, the Greek Vrysis (*Bόρεις*), he was later called to that of Thessalonica (M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* III, 1092–1094). There was some doubt as to whether his election had been canonical (PL 215, 1473 [Book XI, no. 171]; Potthast 3529, November 1, 1208; and PL 216, 213 [Book XIII, no. 13]; Potthast 3934, March 11, 1210). While the appeal was pending, Guarinus supported the Latin Emperor Henry in the struggle with the Lombard rebels in Thessalonica (Henri de Valenciennes, ed. de Wailly 364–366). He survived the re-capture of Thessalonica by the Greeks in 1223, and appears in Italy as witness to a charter of the Emperor Frederick II on March 11 of that year. (J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi* [Paris 1855] II.1 329, who notes [n. 1] that the Archbishop's name appears as 'Darius' in one copy and as 'Garinus' in another. He prefers to call him 'Martinus.' Of course, 'Garinus' is correct.) For gifts of relics sent by Guarinus to the west, see P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva 1877–1878) I, clxx; II 104, 124, the last dated June 29, 1239. In that year he returned to the East with Baldwin II (Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, MGH SS 23, 946).

Guarinus was the third Latin Archbishop of Thessalonica, the first actually to reside in the see. The first, Nivelon of Soissons, a Frenchman but the personal choice of Boniface of Montferrat for the post, had died in the West in 1207 while recruiting an army to help the Latin Empire, and before he had ever come to Thessalonica. (PL 215, 1035–1037 [Book IX, nos. 197, 198, 199, 200]; Potthast 2927, 2928, 2931, 2929; PL 215, 1082 [Book IX, no. 252]; Potthast 2993; PL 215, 1131 [Book X, no. 38]; Potthast 3069; PL 215, 1174 [Book X, no. 74]; Potthast 3127. The only source that reports Nivelon's death correctly is the Chronicle of the Anonymous Canon of Laon, Bouquet, *Recueil* 18, 713; see also Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, MGH SS 23, 886 and the continuation of Robert de Monte or de Tornigni, Bouquet, *Recueil* 18, 343.) The second Archbishop of Thessalonica was Peter, Abbot of Locedio in North Italy, a Cistercian,

philhellenism, in which she was supported by the Emperor Henry, and without parallel elsewhere in the Latin Empire.

Indeed, except for Theodore of Negropont, and these bishops in the Province of Thessalonica, we know of only two other Greek clerics of episcopal rank who held office under Latin rule. One of these was John, Bishop of Rodosto, who apparently agreed to accept papal supremacy in 1212. In July of that year Innocent assured him that, since he had now acknowledged the authority of the Roman Church, he was to be entitled to the same privileges as the Latin bishops of Romania, and was to enjoy the same jurisdiction over his subjects as they had over theirs. The Pope also urged him to exhort his Greek fellow bishops, monks, and priests to follow his example and return to Rome.²⁷ We do not know whether John followed these instructions; but he, like Theodore of Negropont, was in correspondence with Michael Choniates,²⁸ and his emergence in 1212 as a loyal son of the Pope is open to suspicion. Rodosto, a Venetian port town on the Sea of Marmora, was so near the capital, and so convenient to Asia Minor, center of Greek opposition to the Latins, that it may not be far-fetched to conjecture that John was 'planted' there to serve as a Greek agent free to function under Latin rule. Indeed, in 1215, George Bardanes, later Greek Bishop of Corfu, a distinguished ecclesiastic, undertook some sort of secret mission from Greece to Nicaea, and returned by way of Rodosto.²⁹ In a recently published Venetian document of 1232 a Bishop John of Rodosto acknowledges a loan of ninety-five hyperpers, used for embellishing his church and for the purchase of vestments;³⁰ but we cannot tell if this is the same Greek John, to whom Innocent wrote twenty years before.

Finally, a Greek bishop continued to rule on the Ionian island of Zante (Zakynthos), but he retained his authority in spite of, rather than because of, Latin sanction. In September 1207, Innocent instructed the Latin Archbishop of Patras to compel this Greek Bishop of Zante to render obedience to the Apostolic See, against which he had been in rebellion, and whose commands he had treated with contempt, and to reform his scandalous private life.³¹

Elsewhere—that is to say in the overwhelming majority of metropolitan archbishoprics, autocephalous archbishoprics, and bishoprics as constituted under the Greeks—Latin prelates were substituted for the former Greek occupants, who in many cases fled into exile, and continued to use their titles while their sees were under Latin control. As the Greeks re-conquered territory from the Latins, during the reign of the Latin Emperor Robert (1221–1228) and after,

who, like Nivelon, had served as elector in the imperial election of 1204. He was appointed on June 27, 1208 (PL 215, 1425 [Book XI, no. 106]; Potthast 3444). Before he could take his place he was appointed on March 5, 1209 Patriarch of Antioch, where he died in 1217. He had also served as Bishop of Ivrea. (F. Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia* [Turin 1898] I, 210ff; F. Gabotto, 'Un millennio di storia eporediese, 356–1357,' *Eporediensiæ*, Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina 4 [1900] 74ff.)

²⁷ PL 216, 647 (Book XV, nos. 134, 135); Potthast 4563, 4564.

²⁸ S. P. Lambros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομνάτον τὰ Σωζόμενα* (Athens 1879) II, 334.

²⁹ Stadtmüller, *op. cit.* (note 13 *supra*) 205.

³⁰ R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII. Documenti e studi per la storia del commercio* (Turin 1940) II, 195, no. 658.

³¹ PL 215, 1225 (Book XI, no. 128); Potthast 3187, September 18, 1207.

the sees were abandoned by the Latin prelates, and re-established under the Greek patriarchate. The ousted Latin archbishops and bishops in their turn became titular only. For this reason the history of many Latin sees is a very short one. It is only with regard to Greece proper, where the Latin establishment was more lasting, that we have many surviving papal letters for the period of the occupation. Most of these have been noticed and commented upon by the various historians of Frankish Greece, such as William Miller, and, most notably, by Ernst Gerland in his history of the Latin Archbishopric of Patras. This ground I shall not go over again in detail.

Below the new Latin bishop and his newly-installed cathedral chapter (in many cases very small, in keeping with reduced revenues), the lower levels of the clergy seem to have remained Greek. In the sources there are fairly frequent mentions of the Greek priests, the *papas*, and their rural parishes, the *papates rurales*, which, as in the time of the Greeks, paid the *crustica* (*ἀκρόστικον*) to the secular authorities, and were a valued source of revenue. The priests continued to marry; the question as to whether their sons were liable for military service was one which preoccupied both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and was finally settled by a compromise: priests' sons must render such service unless or until they should themselves receive orders; thereafter, they were exempt.³²

By special request of Othon de la Roche, Burgundian lord of Athens, Innocent in 1210 instructed the Archbishop of Athens to establish a Latin priest in every settlement containing the permanent residences of twelve Latins.³³ This would seem to show that in the communities near Athens, where Frankish settlement took hold, there was a demand for the Latin rite at a level below that of the bishop and his chapter. But this request for Latin priests is unique among the surviving documents. The Venetians had their own churches, subject to their own Patriarch of Grado, in each of their colonies; so did the other Italian cities, although subject to the Patriarch at Constantinople. It is to be assumed that those barons who resided on their fiefs had their personal chaplains. Except for such centers as Constantinople, Thessalonica, and the cities of continental Greece and the Morea, however, the traces of the presence of Latin secular clergy below the level of the cathedral chapter are few. While references to individual members of the Latin clergy abound, they are usually to members of the chapters or of some foundation in the capital. Indeed, Romania seems to have been regarded as a place where there was a career open to talent and an adventurous spirit; a member of the lower clergy might find himself a bishop in short order; and there was an influx of badly qualified job-seeking Latin ecclesiastics, who could not even produce proof that they had been properly ordained.

³² For the *papas*, see for example Henri de Valenciennes, ed. de Wailly 408; the question of the liability of their sons for military service was settled at the second Parliament of Ravennika in 1210, whose acts are preserved in the confirmation issued by Honorius III in 1223: Pressutti 4480; *Honorii III Romani Pontificis Opera Omnia*, ed. Horoy (Paris 1878–1880) IV, 409 (Book VIII, no. 10). For discussion see E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel I: Geschichte der Kaiser Balduin und Heinrich 1204–1216* (Homburg v.d. Höhe 1905) 192–210.

³³ PL 216, 216 (Book XIV, no. 16); Potthast 3933, March 9, 1210.

Innocent instructed Morosini to exercise great caution in making use of such applicants for preferment.³⁴

Although Innocent III specifically warned Morosini to permit the Greeks to retain their own rite,³⁵ and despite isolated instances of Latin tolerance,³⁶ the new system, as might have been expected, gave rise to all sorts of abuses. In 1218, Cardinal John Colonna, a papal legate in Constantinople, told Honorius III that some Greeks were being secretly ordained by men not their bishops—perhaps their former Greek superiors—and that some who had been excommunicated were continuing to celebrate Mass in churches under the interdict, altogether refusing to obey the Latin prelates, and clinging tenaciously to the Greek rite. Certain Greek and Latin bishops alike were performing consecrations in dioceses to which they had not been assigned, and were collecting tithes from the inhabitants, thereby injuring the rightful bishop—and this even though the collection of tithes had not previously been a Greek custom. Greek laymen continued to dismiss their wives of their own free will and to take others; they worked on the sabbath and on festival days. Latin and Greek lay lords detained church property and refused to pay tithes. The Archdeacon of Neopatras had even given certain merchants permission to go to Alexandria to trade with the Saracens. Honorius instructed the legate to punish all these offenders according to the provisions of already existing canon and civil law. He was to temper justice with mercy, however, in view of the disturbed state of the Empire, and in view of the fact that many westerners were leaving.³⁷

Four years later, Honorius granted all the archbishops and bishops throughout Romania permission to absolve Latins who laid violent hands on Greek clerics because the Greeks did not recognize them or were rebellious against the Roman Church. Only when the Latins should have committed really serious excesses against the Greek clerics would it be necessary for them to go to the Pope, or at least to the Patriarch, for absolution.³⁸ The violence was not all on one side,

³⁴ PL 215, 959 (Book IX, no. 140); Potthast 2860; T.-Th. II, 19, no. 170.

³⁵ *Ibid.*: ‘ . . . ut eos in suo ritu sustineas, si per te revocari non possint, donec super hoc apostolica sedes maturiori consilio aliud duxerit statuendum.’

³⁶ [R. Saulger,] *Histoire nouvelle des anciens ducs de l'Archipel* (Paris 1699) 11: ‘Sanudo [Venetian lord of Naxos and Duke of the Archipelago] . . . mit tous ses soins à se gagner l'affection de ses sujets, dont il connoissoit l'antipatie naturelle contre les Latins. Il voulut qu'ils eussent la même liberté qu'auparavant d'exercer leur Religion suivant leur Rite: il confirma l'Archevêque Grec, les Prêtres, et les Religieux, dans tous leurs priviléges: il exempta tous les Monastères de l'Ordre de St. Basile, de tailles et de toutes sortes d'impositions; ce que lui gagna si fort l'esprit de ces schismatiques qu'ils ne pouvoient assez témoigner leur joie de se voir sous la domination d'un Maître si modéré.’ The loyalty of the Greeks to Sanudo was demonstrated by the assistance they loaned him in putting down a Greek revolt on Crete in 1212. J. K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo* (Oxford 1915) 92 n. 6 and p. 108 for passages from the unprinted source, Daniele Barbaro. Sanudo's grandson, Marco II, caused a revolt on the island of Naxos by casting down an altar sacred to ‘St. Pachys,’ but in reality a relic of local pagan superstition. Mothers were accustomed to pass thin and ailing children through a hole in this rock in the belief that they would regain weight and health. (Saulger, *op. cit.* 65–67). Saulger, a Jesuit missionary to the Greek islands in the seventeenth century, had access to authentic Naxiot materials since lost; he therefore ranks as an independent source. I hope to publish a note on Saulger before long.

³⁷ Pressuti 1586; Horoy I, 176, August 18, 1218.

³⁸ Pressuti 3866, March 17, 1222. For the canonical background of this letter it will be well to remember that the Second Lateran Council had decreed the severe penalty of *ipso facto* excommunication for the crime of bodily attack against a cleric, reserving the absolution to the Holy See (can. ‘Si quis suadente diabolo:’ Gratian, C.17 q.4 c.29). A great number of papal

however. In 1212, the Latin Archbishop of Diauleia complained that certain Greeks had done him serious injury. Innocent III, realizing, he said, that these Greeks had no fear of excommunication, commanded their secular lords to punish them.³⁹

Abuses of another kind were also committed by the Latin clergy. In 1233, Gregory IX was forced to proceed against the Archdeacon of Athens, who was demanding that he be paid to perform marriages. Under the Greeks, Gregory wrote, it has been customary for those wishing to marry to do so at will, and of their own accord to give only a cock and a loaf of bread to the archdeacon of the church. The behavior of the present archdeacon had caused a scandal, and the Greeks were using it as a pretext to try to leave the Roman Church.⁴⁰ In 1210, the Archbishop of Patras complained that the local lords required Greek priests and monks to perform the *angareia* (*angariare*), the Greek equivalent of the western *corvée*, and did not permit them to show due obedience and reverence to the Latin prelates.⁴¹ Thirteen years later, the Latin Archbishop of Patras was accused of dealing with the Greek enemies of Geoffrey II de Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, presumably Theodore of Epirus and his successors, and of granting them free transit and entry for supplies into Achaia.⁴² In 1239, the chapter of Cephalonia complained against the actions of their (Latin) bishop, who had neglected the duties of his office, had squandered his church's resources, had taken a concubine and had children by her, and had allowed Greek priests to purchase canons' prebends, thus committing the sin of simony.⁴³

In 1244, Guy de la Roche of Athens petitioned Innocent IV to expel certain Greek monks resident in one of his *casalia* (villages), whom he suspected of 'revealing secrets' to their Greek neighbors, and thereby endangering the Latin population.⁴⁴ A five-year vacancy in the Latin church on the island of Melos led to the temporary adoption of the Greek rite of baptism and of the other sacraments, even by the Latin families of the island—a state of affairs regarded as most unfortunate by Innocent IV, who in 1253 responded to the appeal of the Latin population by appointing the cantor of Crete to the bishopric of Melos, and by asking the Latin Patriarch to confirm the appointment.⁴⁵ These examples may suffice to indicate some of the social consequences of the imposition of a Latin hierarchy over a Greek population, thinly sprinkled with Latin settlers.

rulings subsequently dealt with the interpretation of this law, especially with the construction of cases in which the violence could not be considered wrongful or malicious, or in which a relaxation of the requirement of seeking absolution in Rome was indicated; cf. *Decretales* 5, 39 *passim*.

³⁹ PL 216, 564 (Book XV, no. 27); Potthast 4424.

⁴⁰ L. Auvray, *Les registres de Grégoire IX* (Paris 1899–1910; hereafter Auvray) 1109, February 23, 1233.

⁴¹ PL 216, 343 (Book XI, no. 172); Potthast 4128.

⁴² Auvray 1638, December 20, 1233.

⁴³ Auvray 4795, March 23, 1239.

⁴⁴ E. Berger, *Les registres d'Innocent IV* (Paris 1884; hereafter Berger) 657, April 29, 1244. For the meaning of the term *casale*, see William of Tyre's definition, PL 201, 798f.; tr. Babcock and Krey II, 373. See also G. L. F. Tafel, 'Symbolarum criticarum geographiam Byzantinam spectantiam partes duae.' *Abhandlungen der historischen Klasse der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 5 (1848) ii, 82, who equates it with the Greek *xwptov*.

⁴⁵ Berger 6431, March 22, 1253.

II

The organization of the new hierarchy and the administrative changes brought about in the Greek system are also worthy of study, especially since they have been the subject of misapprehension by previous scholars. William Miller, for example, says: 'The Franks . . . simply annexed the existing Greek ecclesiastical organization . . . ousted the Orthodox hierarchy from their sees, and installed in their places Catholic ecclesiastics from the west.'⁴⁶ In fact the process was a great deal more complicated.

From the very first, Morosini contemplated certain changes in the organization of the Church. He wrote to Innocent that the number of bishoprics in his patriarchate was too large: the revenues of some were too small, and he asked for permission to reduce the number. In 1206, Innocent replied that, when necessary or desirable, the Cardinal legate Benedict might perform this function, if he agreed with Morosini as to its desirability. He was to grant each of the bishoprics whose independence he terminated in this way to a bishop already chosen, who would administer it in addition to his own diocese; no sees were to be abolished; so that, if it later became advisable again to separate the administration of these sees, this could easily be done. After the return of the legate to the west, Morosini himself might exercise the power.⁴⁷ In 1210, the Pope commanded the bishops of Achaia to keep the former Greek boundary lines between their dioceses, and not to quarrel over the extent of their jurisdiction;⁴⁸ but in practice the procedure envisioned by Morosini and approved by the Pope was frequently called into use.

Thus, in July, 1208, Innocent himself acceded to the petition of the Bishop of Domokos, a suffragan of Larissa, who complained that the revenues of his church were insufficient to support him. He reported that Amadeo Buffa, Constable of Thessalonica (and one of the leaders of the Lombard revolt), taking pity on his poverty, had bestowed upon him also the vacant neighboring bishopric of Calidonia. The Pope confirmed the gift 'until some other disposition is reached by the Apostolic See or its legate.'⁴⁹ Simultaneously he approved a similar gift

⁴⁶ W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge 1921) 77.

⁴⁷ PL 215, 959 (Book IX, no. 140); Potthast 2860; T.-Th. II, p. 19, no. 170: 'Tua insuper fraternitas postulavit ut, cum in partibus illis nimis sit episcopatum multitudo, illos, cum nimis sint tenues, ad paucitatem redigere tibi concedere dignaremur. Nos autem ita duximus providendum, ut, cum id necessitas vel utilitas postulaverit, per praedictum legatum, quandiu in partibus illis extiterit, tuo tamen accidente consilio, valeat adimplere, ita videlicet, ut episcopatus non uniat, sed illi, quem fecerit ad unam ecclesiam ordinari, aliquot tales ecclesias, secundum quod viderit expedire, committat, quatenus, si forte pro temporis necessitate de ipsis fuerit aliter ordinatum, quod factum est, facilius valeat immutari.'

⁴⁸ PL 216, 223 (Book XIII, no. 26); Potthast 3944: ' . . . mandamus quod in episcopatibus vestris illis contenti terminibus existatis quos Graecos predecessores vestros constiterit habuisse.'

⁴⁹ PL 215, 1433 (Book XI, no. 114); Potthast 3457, July 14, 1208: ' . . . proposuisti . . . quod cum ad Dimicensis ecclesiae regimen per electionem canonican evocatus . . . non possis de ipsis redditibus sustentari, nobilis vir A. comestabulus regni Thessalonicensis . . . tuae compatiens paupertati, episcopatum Calidonensem tuo contiguum tibi voluit assignare; cuius concessioni acquiescere minime voluisti nisi de nostra licentia speciali . . . Nos autem . . . tibi duximus concedendum, quatenus Dimicensem episcopatum tanquam tuum possidens . . . tandem episcopatum Calidonensem teneas . . . donec per apostolicam sedem aut ejus legatum aliud contigerit ordinari. . . .' For Buffa, see L. Ussaggio, *I Marchesi di Monferrato in Italia ed in Oriente* (Biblioteca della Società storica subalpina 101; Turin 1926) 308.

of the bishopric of Platamon to the Bishop of Kitros, made by another Lombard noble, Orlando Pescia.⁵⁰ The Bishop of Domokos, however, did not return to Greece; and when his superior, the Archbishop of Larissa, and his own cathedral chapter complained to the Pope about this in 1210, adding that the diocese had become so poor that it could barely support three clerics, the Pope commanded the Bishops of Zeitounion and Gardiki and the Bishop-elect of Nazoreska to compel the Bishop of Domokos to return.⁵¹ Apparently the Bishop of Zeitounion acquired the bishopric of Calidonia previously bestowed upon Domokos; for, in 1212, either the same Bishop of Domokos now in Greece or a new incumbent complained to this effect; and Innocent put the matter into the hands of a commission composed of the Archbishop and two members of the chapter of Thessalonica.⁵² The Bishop of Zeitounion, who seems to have been highly acquisitive, in 1212 also received the bishopric of Nazoreska, and was admonished to care for the souls of the people of this diocese as well as for those of his own;⁵³ but only a little more than a year later the dean and cantor of Nazoreska complained that the Bishop of Zeitounion had despoiled their church of grain, draught animals, and other property, and had expelled the chapter. The Bishop of Diauleia and two members of his chapter were commanded to compel him to make restitution, if his offense proved to be as charged.⁵⁴

Similarly, the bishopric called 'Medensis,' to which no bishop had been appointed, was in 1210 conferred by Innocent upon the Archbishop of Vrysis, to increase his income.⁵⁵ The Pope also confirmed the Archbishop of Larissa's gift of the vacant bishopric of Demetrias⁵⁶ to the Bishop of Gardiki.⁵⁷

In 1217, Honorius III conferred upon his legate, John Colonna, the power of 'uniting and dividing churches,'⁵⁸ a phrase which had reference to this practice of administrative adjustment of the former Greek organization; and in March 1222, the Pope confirmed a series of twelve such acts performed by John in Romania. He had united with Corinth the bishopric 'Geminensis,' almost certainly the Greek bishopric of Zemaina, traditionally a suffragan see of Corinth,⁵⁹ which 'was once a cathedral see but was now so small in income that it could not support a bishop without disgrace to the dignity of a pontiff.'⁶⁰ The bishopric of Damala, also formerly under Corinth, John Colonna had divided in two, bestowing one half upon the Archbishop of Corinth, and the other upon his suffragan, the Bishop of Argos. Damala had had no bishop since the Latin

⁵⁰ PL 215, 1433 (Book XI, no. 115); Potthast 3450, July 14, 1208. For Pescia, see Usseglio, *op. cit.* 313.

⁵¹ PL 216, 299 (Book XIII, no. 104); Potthast 4034, July 2, 1210.

⁵² PL 216, 579 (Book XV, no. 48); Potthast 4460, May 18, 1212.

⁵³ PL 216, 582 (Book XV, no. 54); Potthast 4468, 4469, 4470, May 21, 1212.

⁵⁴ PL 216, 899 (Book XVI, no. 97); Potthast 4794, August 24, 1213.

⁵⁵ PL 216, 355 (Book XII, no. 185); Potthast 4140, December 7, 1210.

⁵⁶ On its previous incumbent see note 22 *supra*.

⁵⁷ PL 216, 596 (Book XIV, no. 62); Potthast 4494, May 25, 1212.

⁵⁸ Horoy II, 374 (Book I, no. 307); Pressutti 536, April 24, 1217.

⁵⁹ See table 5 below.

⁶⁰ Pressutti 3844, March 11, 1222: '... olim fuit sedes cathedralis sed adeo tenuis erat in redditibus quod absque pontificalis dignitatis ignominio proprium non poterat episcopum substentare.'

conquest, and there were no Latin residents there.⁶¹ The former Greek archbishopric of Christianopolis was divided between the two Latin Bishops of Modon and Coron. A quarrel later arose between the two over one of the *casalia* claimed by the Bishop of Coron as formerly under Christianopolis, but actually, Gregory IX ruled, this *casale* had always been the property of the Bishop of Modon, to whom he awarded it.⁶² John Colonna had also united the bishopric of Zante with that of Cephalonia, Amiclae with Lacedaemon,⁶³ Carystos, Avlona, and Oreas with Negropont, the unidentified bishoprics of Anidus and Viligurda respectively with Madyta and Coron, and 'Quenicensis' with Patras, while he placed Megara under Athens.⁶⁴

Honorius himself gave the Bishop of Castoria, a suffragan of Thebes, the bishopric of Avilon;⁶⁵ he united to the Archbishopric of Mitilene (Lesbos) two bishoprics in Asia Minor formerly subject to Ephesus, as well as Chios, formerly subject to Rhodes.⁶⁶ In 1222 he made provision for the Latin Archbishop of Larissa, in exile, doubtless because of the steadily increasing victories of Theodore of Epirus in Thessaly, by conferring upon him the sees of Diauleia, Thermopylae, and Karmon.⁶⁷ He united the bishopric of Marmora to the see of Heracleia, confirming a previous act of John Colonna.⁶⁸ He adjusted the territory of the bishopric of Negropont by taking away several places, not named in the printed registers, and conferring them upon Athens.⁶⁹ He gave the bishopric of Helenos, never occupied under the Latins, to the Bishop of Lacedaemon.⁷⁰

Following the example of Innocent III, Gregory IX granted Simon of Tyre, Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, the privilege of reducing the number of his suffragan bishoprics.⁷¹ During Gregory's pontificate, the chapter of Avlona on Euboea complained at the action of John Colonna in uniting their church to that of Negropont. The resources of Avlona had increased, they argued, and it sorely needed its own bishop. Euboea was too big an island for one bishop to travel over, they maintained; for this reason some children had died without receiving the sacraments. They asked that their bishop be restored, and blamed the temporal greed of the Bishop of Negropont, who had persuaded John Colonna to unite the churches. In April 1235, Gregory commanded the Archbishop, Dean, and Archdeacon of Corinth to look into the matter and report.⁷² But the Cor-

⁶¹ *Ibid.*: ' . . . qui Latinorum tempore numquam extitit ordinatus, nec Latini habitant in eodem.'

⁶² Auvray 4811, March 23, 1239.

⁶³ Later confirmed again by Innocent IV, Berger 1385, July 24, 1245.

⁶⁴ Pressutti 3844, March 11, 1222.

⁶⁵ Pressutti 1113, February 24, 1218.

⁶⁶ Pressutti 3816, 3833, 3834, February 27 and March 9, 1222.

⁶⁷ Pressutti 4134, October 14, 1222. For these Greek victories in Thessaly, see G. Akropolita, *Opp. ed. A. Heisenberg* (Leipzig 1903) I, 25; V. G. Vassilievsky, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII,' *Vizantiiski Vremennik* 3 (1896) 244–246 and ff. (letters of John Apokaukos, Greek Metropolitan of Naupaktos); M. Wellnhofer, *Johannes Apokaukos* (Freising 1913) 25 n. 4. The bishopric of Thermopylae had been in difficulties for many years: PL 215, 1557 (Book XI, no. 252); Pottbast 3648.

⁶⁸ Pressutti 4486 and 4508, September 9 and 21, 1223.

⁶⁹ Pressutti 4502, September 18, 1223.

⁷⁰ Pressutti 4505, September 19, 1223.

⁷¹ Auvray 328, July 20, 1229.

⁷² Auvray 2530, April 27, 1235.

inthian clergy did not move in the case, and the Bishop of Negropont brought pressure on the canons of Avlona who had complained to the Pope, forcing them to renounce their complaint, and ruining their church financially by compelling them to go to Rome on the matter. In April 1237, Gregory commanded the Abbot of Daphni (near Athens) and the Dean and Archdeacon of Athens to proceed with a hearing.⁷³ But the second commission of inquiry, like the first, delayed for more than a year, while the chapter of Avlona went deeper and deeper into debt to bring their plight before the Pope for a third time. In January 1233, Gregory named a third commission, composed of the Bishop of Andros, the Archdeacon of Thebes, and the Treasurer of Corinth to set a date by which the parties must appear, or submit to a papal judgment. The commission was to protect the chapter of Avlona, and to pay their expenses out of the funds of the chapter of Negropont.⁷⁴ By the end of 1240, the case was still undecided, the commissioners inquiring of the Pope how to proceed: whether to investigate the question only in the former bishopric of Avlona, as the faction of the former Bishop of Negropont wished, or to make inquiries all over the island. Gregory instructed them to inquire of Greeks and Latins alike, all over Euboea, with regard to income, services owed, corvées, revenue, and all other episcopal property, and to determine whether there was enough for two bishoprics. If so, Avlona was to be restored to its former station, and its new bishop reimbursed for the cost of the inquiry.⁷⁵

With this, our information on this case comes to an end, and we may conclude only that it was easier to suppress a bishopric than to revive one. In this connection, it is worth noting that Innocent III in 1209 upheld the sentence of excommunication passed by Morosini against the citizens of Pegae, who had asked the Patriarch for a bishop of their own and had refused to accept the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Parion, to whom Morosini had committed their city. The Patriarch had hesitated, he told the Pope, to create a bishop where none had been before, without the special approval of the Holy See.⁷⁶ From this it might well be deduced that the Latins confined themselves to reducing the number of bishoprics by uniting former Greek sees; but this, as we shall see, was not the case; and, indeed, Pegae itself soon had its Latin bishop.

Gregory IX caused the Bishop of Andros, exiled by the lord of the island, Marino Dandolo, to be given temporarily the three bishoprics of Karmon, Diauleia, and Thermopylae,⁷⁷ formerly given by Honorius to the Archbishop of Larissa, when he had been in exile. Although the Archbishop of Athens acquiesced in this for three years, at the end of that time, he conferred two of the bishoprics upon one of his canons, while the Patriarch conferred the third upon one of his canons. The destitute Bishop of Andros was reduced to beggary; he made three trips to Rome, and finally the Pope commanded that he be reinstated.⁷⁸

⁷³ Auvray 3618, April 29, 1237.

⁷⁴ Auvray 4702, January 4, 1239.

⁷⁵ Auvray 5308, November 16, 1240.

⁷⁶ PL 216, 164 (Book XII, no. 144); Potthast 3844.

⁷⁷ Auvray 1053, January 21, 1233.

⁷⁸ Auvray 4581, October 26, 1238.

This examination of the papal correspondence indicates that the Latins were not hesitant to diminish the number of former Greek bishoprics by uniting with neighboring sees dioceses which were financially no longer self-supporting or were otherwise no longer needed. But from the papal letters alone, we cannot obtain a picture of the Latin hierarchical organization in the patriarchate as a whole. The letters give us no hint of the true number and variety of changes in the Greek organization which were actually made by the Latins. Such a picture of the entire hierarchy is provided by the so-called *Provinciale Romanum*, a catalogue of archbishoprics subject to Rome, each with a list of its subject bishoprics. In order to give a clear indication of the sources and amounts of papal revenue, a version of this list was included in the *Liber Censuum* completed in 1192 by Cencius Savelli, papal chamberlain and later Pope Honorius III. The patriarchate of Constantinople, not yet conquered by the Crusaders, and still under the Greeks, was naturally not included in this edition. In the new edition of 1228, however, brought up to date for Gregory IX, and found in Florence MS *Riccardianus* 228, we have a copy of Cencius' *Liber*, containing a version of the *Provinciale* which includes the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople and all its subject archbishoprics.⁷⁹ The *Provinciale* also appears in MSS of the thirteenth-century *Liber Cancellariae*, another miscellaneous collection of official papal documents, containing collections of formulae, and the oaths, privileges, and duties of Chancery officials, and the like, to which the *Provinciale* forms an introduction.⁸⁰ The oldest MS of this is *Cod. Colleg. Hispan. Bononien.* 275, which dates from about 1280, but which represents the organization of the Church in Romania as it was about 1210–1212. The other MSS are later. The readings of the Latin *Provinciale* in the table to follow will be taken from both lists, that of c. 1210 and that of 1228.⁸¹

The administrative changes made by the Latins can be discovered only by a detailed comparison of the Latin *Provinciale* with the appropriate Greek lists of bishoprics, the so-called *Notitiae Episcopatum* or *τακτικὰ*. From a very early period, the Greek Church, in contrast to the Roman, issued such lists, for the purpose of defining the respective ranks of the archbishops so that disputes over precedence at synods, imperial banquets, and like occasions might be avoided. Revised at intervals during the middle ages, these lists reveal the frequent changes in rank of the various archdioceses, and thus supply a good deal of incidental political and economic information. It was often Greek practice to continue to include cities in territory temporarily lost to the Empire, sometimes because the Greek Church survived in these places, sometimes because the force of tradition or the hope of speedy reconquest militated against dropping them.

A first glance at any such Greek list shows one basic difference between Latin custom and Greek: the Roman Church was organized by metropolitan arch-

⁷⁹ P. Fabre and L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine* (Paris 1901–10); the Riccardianus *Provinciale* is printed II, 3ff.

⁸⁰ M. Tangl, *Die päpstlichen Kanzeleiordnungen von 1200–1500* (Innsbruck 1894) 3–31.

⁸¹ Previous editions of the *Provinciale* will be found listed and discussed in D. Rattinger, 'Die Patriarchatsprengel von Constantinopel und die bulgarische Kirche zur Zeit der Lateinerherrschaft in Byzanz,' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 1 (1880) 77–106; 2 (1881) 3–55, especially 2, 25ff.

bishoprics and their subject bishoprics only, and the *Provinciale* naturally lists only these two types of see; the Greek *Notitiae*, on the other hand, from the beginning include an intermediate class: the autocephalous archbishoprics, called ἀρχιεπισκοπαὶ as distinguished from the μητροπόλεις. These autocephalous archbishoprics had no subject bishoprics, but were themselves directly under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate, and subject to no metropolitan. The form of the Greek lists is generally as follows: first, a list of the metropolitans; second, a list of the autocephalous ἀρχιεπισκοπαὶ; third, a repetition in order of the metropolitans, listing the subject bishoprics beneath each one. Since the subject bishoprics were all of equal rank, the order in which they are listed is of no consequence.⁸²

Our object here is to compare the hierarchy of the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople as revealed by the *Provinciale Romanum* of about 1210, with that of the Greek patriarchate as revealed by the Greek *Notitiae* most nearly contemporary, preferably those issued under the Angeloi, 1185–1204, the last Greek dynasty before the capture of Constantinople, or under the Lascarids, 1204–1261, the dynasty which carried on Greek affairs from Nicaea during the Latin occupation. So confused, however, is the state of the published editions of the *Notitiae*, and so complex are the problems connected with dating them that, in order to perform this comparison as accurately as possible, we must make use of no less than six published Greek texts, each supplementing the information supplied by the others. These are as follows:

(1) A *Notitia* dating from the year 1189 in the reign of Isaac Angelus, published by H. Gelzer from two Paris MSS, *graec.* 396 and 560, which contains only the lists of metropolitans (93) and autocephalous ἀρχιεπισκοπαὶ (39), but lacks the list of bishoprics subject to each metropolitan.⁸³ This must therefore be supplemented by the most nearly contemporary list containing the subject bishoprics. This is

(2) A *Notitia* dating from the time of Manuel Comnenus (1143–1180), prob-

⁸² The bibliography on the various problems connected with the Greek *Notitiae* is very large. A new edition of the entire corpus has been projected, but only the beginnings have appeared. The genesis of the *Notitiae* from the early conciliar lists has been considered and the published work stops with the Council of Ephesus of 431: *Corpus notitiarum episcopatuum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae I*; E. Gerland, *Einleitung* (Constantinople 1931) and II: V. Laurent, *Les listes conciliaires établies par E. Gerland, revues et complétées* (Constantinople 1936). The basic edition of the *Notitiae* thus remains G. Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatuum* (Berlin 1866). Parthey was wrong about the date of almost every *Notitia* he published; many others have been published since, and much work done to correct his errors. C. De Boor, 'Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatum,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 12 (1890) 303–326, 519–544; 14 (1893) 573–599 is important. But by far the most significant work on the subject is the group of studies and new publications by H. Gelzer: 'Zur Zeitbestimmung der griechischen Notitiae Episcopatum,' *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie* 12 (1886) 337–372, 528–575, hereafter referred to as *Zeitbestimmung*; 'Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistumsverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 1 (1892) 245–282; 2 (1893), 22–72; 'Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae Episcopatum,' *Abhandlungen der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. Klasse* 21 (1901) 529–642, hereafter *Ungedruckte Texte*.

⁸³ H. Gelzer, *Analecta byzantina I, Ordo Ecclesiasticus ab Isaacio Angelo Imperatore constitutus* (Index Scholarum Hibernarum . . . in Universitate . . . Jenensi . . . habendarum, Jena 1892), hereafter *Analecta*. Of this list, Gelzer says (p. 3): ' . . . urbes relatae sunt quae sedes metropolitanorum et archiepiscoporum autocephalorum fuerunt. Sedum episcopatum singulis metropolitis obnoxiarum descriptio quae ceteris in notitiis adnecti solet hic omittitur.'

ably between 1170 and 1179, published by Gelzer from an Athens MS (Cod. 1371). Gelzer, however, prints only the last portion of the last section of the *Notitia*, the metropolitans from number 50 to number 86, with their subject bishoprics. The subject bishoprics of the first forty-nine metropolitans, he says, simply repeat the lists given by *Notitiae* previously published.⁸⁴ Thus, for our purposes (1) and (2) must be supplemented by one of these previously published *Notitiae* containing a complete list of bishoprics, including those subject to the first forty-nine metropolitans. This is

(3) A *Notitia*, number X in Parthey's edition, which he printed from a Leipzig MS (Rep. 1, no. 66),⁸⁵ about whose dates there has been a good deal of discussion. Gelzer at first thought it dated from the time of the Angeloi,⁸⁶ later he felt able to place it more accurately shortly after 1189;⁸⁷ a third time, the discovery of a new and better MS (Geneva *Helvet. XXIII*) of the *Notitia* led him to date it considerably later, after 1256;⁸⁸ finally, Conrad Fink has recently proved it to date from sometime before 1216,⁸⁹ and this date has been accepted by Père Laurent.⁹⁰ We may therefore accept a date earlier than 1216, and conclude that *Notitia* X of Parthey may perhaps date from very late in the dynasty of the Angeloi or very early in that of the Lascards. It will thus prove of the utmost importance to us. Because of the fragmentary text of the Leipzig MS used by Parthey, which includes *only* those bishoprics subject to the first fifty metropolitans, and because of its numerous errors, this too must be supplemented by two more recent publications from better MSS of the same *Notitia*. These are

(4) Portions of the Geneva MS referred to above (the metropolitans from number 81 through 100 and the complete list of forty-seven ἀρχιεπισκοπαῖς, but no subject bishoprics) printed by Gelzer,⁹¹ and

(5) A version of the same *Notitia* from a Vatican MS (*grae. 640*), printed in full by Benešević.⁹² These five are the basic texts used as sources for the compila-

⁸⁴ *Ungedruckte Texte* 584–589.

⁸⁵ Parthey, *Hieroclis* 197–224.

⁸⁶ *Zeitbestimmung* 556: 'Notitia X ist Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts unter der Dynastie der Angeloi bearbeitet worden.'

⁸⁷ *Analecta* 10: 'Haud magno temporis spatio praeterlapso [after 1189] ordo sedum immutatus novusque constitutus est, quem Notitia X praebet, isque valuit usque ad id tempus quo Andronici imperatoris ethesis instituta est.' The ethesis of Andronicus is a *Notitia* dating from about 1300.

⁸⁸ *Ungedruckte Texte* 594: 'Damit ist die Zeit für diese Liste ganz sicher nach 1256 und vor Andronicus Ethesis festgelegt.'

⁸⁹ C. Fink, 'Neues zu den *Notitiae Episcopatum* und zur kirchlichen Geographie von Byzanz,' *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonische Abteilung*, 19 (1930) 674–679: '... die *Notitia* sogar vor 1216 zu datieren ist.'

⁹⁰ V. Laurent, 'Héraclée du Pont,' *Échos d'Orient*, 31 (1932) 318 n. 4: '... la *Notitia* X de Parthey ... loin d'être postérieure à 1256, comme le voulait Gelzer, serait antérieure à 1216, aussi que le démontre C. Fink.'

⁹¹ *Ungedruckte Texte* 592–593: 'Indessen der Codex Lipsiensis welchen Parthey abdruckte ist unvollständig, eine viel bessere Recenzion enthält der Genevensis *Helvet. XXIII*'

⁹² B. Benešević, 'Monumenta Vaticana ad ius canonicum pertinentia, No. 4, Vatic. 640,' *Studi Bizantini* 2 (1927) 131–135: '... inventur notitia patriarcharum, metropolitanorum, archiepiscoporum, episcoporumque quam totam hic transcribere juvabit, cum recensionem singularem ejusdem notitiae praebeat, quae ad notitiam X (ed. Parthey ...) compendium deserivit, cumque editio princeps haec multis mendis scateat; est haec supplementum ad edit. H. Gelzer.' (p. 130).

tion of the accompanying table, but we shall occasionally need to use still another. This is

(6) A *Notitia*, printed as II and III in Parthey,⁹³ but actually one list, which dates from the time of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118).⁹⁴

The following table compares the Latin *Provinciale* with the Greek organization of the hierarchy in the corresponding Archbishoprics as indicated by these six texts. Where the name of a bishopric also appears in the Latin Partition Treaty of 1204 (*supra*, n. 19), I have indicated to which of the three parties (Venetians, non-Venetian Crusaders, and Latin Emperor) it was assigned.

TABLE 1

<i>Archbishopric</i>	<i>Bishopric</i>	Previous Greek status of each Latin archbishopric or bishopric: metropolitan, autocephalous archbishopric, or bishopric or none, as indicated by one or more of the above-cited six Greek <i>Notitiae</i> . Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers 1–6 given these texts above.
Constantinopolitan ecclesia hos habet suffraganeos:	Solumbriensem	A <i>patriarchate</i> , outside and above the ranks of the metropolitans and autocephalous archbishoprics, having as subject sees no specific suffragan bishoprics, but having authority over all metropolitans and autocephalous archbishoprics.
	Naturensem	A <i>metropolitan</i> with no subject bishoprics. (1) 83 in list of 92 ὁ Σελυμβρίας, p. 5; (2) 85 in list of 86 τῷ Σελυμβρίᾳ Εὐρώπης θρόνος ὑποκείμενος οὐκ ἔστιν, p. 586; (3) 81 in list of 93, p. 200; (4) 81 in list of 100, p. 592; (5) 83 in list of 84, p. 133; (6) still only an autocephalous archbishopric, not yet promoted to metropolitan, 9 in list of 39, p. 99.
	Spigacensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Heracleia. (6), 17 in list of 17 ὁ Ἀθηρων, p. 104.
	Panadensem (Venice)	A <i>metropolitan</i> . (4) 97 in list of 100, p. 592. ὁ Πηγάν καὶ Παρίου.
	Derkensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Heracleia. (3) (5), 3 in list of 15, pp. 203 and 36; (6), 3 in list of 17, p. 103. ὁ Παντού.
	Calcedonensem	An <i>autocephalous archbishopric</i> . (1), 15 in list of 39, p. 5; (3), 17 in list of 40 or 44, p. 201; (4), (5), (6), pp. 592, 134, 99. ὁ Δέρκος.
		A <i>metropolitan</i> with no subject bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6). 9 in list of 92, pp. 3, 206, 139, 107. ὁ Χαλκηδόνος.

⁹³ Parthey, *op. cit.* 94–131.

⁹⁴ Zeitbestimmung 556: ‘... (Not. II–III) ist so wie sie uns vorliegt in den Tagen des Komnens Alexis (nach 1084) entstanden.’

TABLE 1—Continued

<i>Provinciale Romanum</i>		<i>Previous Greek status</i>
<i>Archbishopric</i>	<i>Bishopric</i>	
Archiepiscopatus Iraclensis hos habet suffraganeos. (Venice)	Redestonensem Rodestonensem (F) (Venice)	A <i>metropolitan</i> with fifteen subject sees. (1), (3), (5), (6), 3 in all lists of metropolitans, pp. 3, 197, 131, 95. Ἡρακλεῖα τῆς Εὐρώπης.
	Peristasiensem (Venice)	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Heracleia. (3), (5), (6), 2 in list of 15 or 17, pp. 203, 136, 103. ὁ Παιδεστοῦ.
	Calipolensem Calopoliense (F) (Venice)	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Heracleia. (3), (5), (6), 5 in list of 15 or 17, pp. 203, 136, 103. ὁ Καλλιουπόλεως.
	Danensem Dariense (F) (Crusader)	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Heracleia. (3), (5), (6), 8 in list of 15 or 17. References as above. ὁ Δανέιου or ὁ Δαοίου.
	Churlotensem Churlothense (F) (Emperor)	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Heracleia. (3), (5), (6), 15 in list of 15 or 17, pp. 204, 136, 104. ὁ Τυρούλλου, ὁ Τζουρούλος, ὁ Τζυρουλόντης.
	Archadiopolitanum (Archadeopolitano) (F) (Venice)	A <i>metropolitan</i> (1), 90 in list of 92; (3), 82 in list of 93; (4), 82 in list of 100, pp. 5, 200, 592. Arcadiopolis is still listed as an autocephalous see, not yet a metropolitan in (5), p. 134, 4 on list, and in (6), 5 on list. Implication: (5) is the earliest text of Parthey's <i>Notitia X.</i> ὁ Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως.
Archiepiscopatus Pariensis hos habet suffraganeos:	Missinensem	An <i>autocephalous archbishopric</i> . (1), (3), (4), (5), (6), 12 in list of 39, 14 in list of 40, 17 in list of 39, pp. 5, 201, 592, 134, 99. ἡ Μεσήγη.
Archiepiscopatus Squisicensis hos habet suffraganeos:	Lapsacensem	An <i>autocephalous archbishopric</i> (1), (4), (5), (6), pp. 5, 592, 134, 99. 5 or 6 in list of 44 or 39. Missing from (3) because of lacuna in ms. ὁ τὸν Παρέον, τὸ Πάρεον.
	Lindinensem	No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
	Destillaria de Stillaria (F)	No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
Archiepiscopatus Squisicensis hos habet suffraganeos:	Troianum	A <i>metropolitan</i> with twelve subject bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6), 3 or 5 in list, pp. 3, 204, 131, 104. ὁ Κυζίκου.
	Andrimitanum Adrimitano (F) (Emperor)	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Cyzicus. (3), (5), (6), 9 in list of 12, pp. 204, 137, 105. ὁ Τρωάδος.
	Lacorensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Ephesus. (3), (5), (6). 5 in list of 34, pp. 204, 135, 102. ὁ Ατραμυττίον.
		No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.

TABLE 1—Continued

<i>Provinciale Romanum</i>	<i>Bishopric</i>	<i>Previous Greek status</i>
<i>Archbishopric</i>		
(Cyzicus)	de Nicomedia (Emperor)	A <i>metropolitan</i> with twelve suffragan bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6). 7 on all lists, pp. 3, 197, 13, 106. ἡ Νικομήδεια.
	de Candimonia	No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
	de Palea	No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
	de Epygona Epigonia (F)	No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
	Libariensem	No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
Archiepiscopatus Verisiensis hos habet suffraganeos: (Crusaders)	Russoniensem Russionense (F) (Crusaders)	An <i>autocephalous archbishopric</i> . (1), (3), (4), (5), (6). 14, 19, or 16 on lists, pp. 5, 201, 591, 134, 99. ἡ Βρύσις.
	Aprensem (Crusaders)	A <i>metropolitan</i> without suffragan bishoprics. (1), (2), (3), (5), (6). 77 or 79, pp. 5, 586, 200, 133, 98. ὁ Πώσιον; τῇ τοῦ Πουσίου Θράκης θρόνος ὑποκέμενος οὐκ ἔστω, τὸ Πώσιον.
	Kypsalensum (Crusaders)	An <i>autocephalous archbishopric</i> . (1), (3), (4), (5), (6). 7, 8, 12, pp. 5, 201, 592, 134, 99. ὁ Κυψέλλων, τὰ Κυψέλλα.
Archiepiscopatus Maditensis nullum habet suffraganeum. (Crusaders)		A <i>metropolitan</i> with no subject bishoprics, formerly a bishopric subject to Heracleia. (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), 68 or 70, pp. 5, 586, 204, 133, 103. ὁ Μαδίτων, ὁ Μαδύτον.
Archiepiscopatus Andrimopolitanus nullum habet suffraganeum. (Venice)		A <i>metropolitan</i> with eleven suffragan bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6). 40 on all lists, pp. 4, 198, 132, 97. ὁ Αδριανούπολεως.
Archiepiscopatus Traianopolitanus hunc habet suffraganeum: (Crusaders)	Aniensem Ainense (F) (Crusaders)	A <i>metropolitan</i> with seven suffragan bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6). 37 on all lists, references as above. ὁ Τραιανουπόλεως.
Archiepiscopatus Makrensis hunc habet suffraganeum: (Crusaders)		A <i>metropolitan</i> with no subject bishoprics. (1), (2), (3), (5), (6). 62 or 64, pp. 4, 585, 199, 133, 98. ἡ Άτρος.
Archiepiscopatus Messinopolitanus hunc habet suffraganeum:	Maroniensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Trajanopolis. (3), (5), (6), pp. 218, 150, 122. ὁ Μάκρης.
		An <i>autocephalous archbishopric</i> . (1), (3), (4), (5), (6). 3 on all lists, pp. 5, 201, 592, 134, 99. ἡ Μαρώνεια.
		A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Trajanopolis. (3), (5), (6), pp. 218, 150, 122. ὁ Μοσηνουπόλεως.

TABLE 1—Continued

<i>Provinciale Romanum</i>	<i>Bishopric</i>	<i>Previous Greek status</i>
<i>Archbishopric</i>		
(Mosynopolis)	Xanthensem	A suffragan bishopric of Trajanopolis. (3), (5), (6). References as above. ὁ Ξανθέιας.
Archiepiscopatu Philippensis hos habet suffraganeos:	Christopolitanum	A metropolitan. (1), (3), (5), (6). 39 on all lists, pp. 4, 198, 132, 97. ὁ Φιλίππων.
	Draginensem	A suffragan bishopric of Philippi. (3), (5), (6), pp. 219, 151, 123. ὁ Χριστούπολεως.
	Chrisopolitanum	No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
Archiepiscopatus Serrensis nullum habet suffraganeum.		Probably suffragan bishopric of Philippi. (3), (5), (6), pp. 219, 257, 123. ὁ Καισαρούπολεως.
Archiepiscopatus Thessalonicensis hos habet suffraganeos:	Citrensem	A metropolitan with no subject bishoprics. (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), 58 or 60, pp. 4, 585, 199, 592, (here as autocephalous archbishopric about to be promoted), 132, 97. ὁ Σερρῶν, αἱ Σέρραι.
	Verisiensem	A metropolitan with eleven subject bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6), 16 on all lists, pp. 4, 198, 131, 96. ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης.
Archiepiscopatus Larissenus ho: habet suffraganeos: (Crusaders)	Dimitriensem	A suffragan bishopric of Thessalonica. (3), (5), (6), pp. 208, 141, 109. ὁ τοῦ Κίτρου.
	Almirenssem	A suffragan bishopric of Thessalonica. (3), (5), (6), references as above. ὁ Τερίσσης.
	Cardicensem	A metropolitan with sixteen suffragan bishoprics, (1), (3), (5), (6), 34 on all lists, pp. 4, 198, 132, 96 and 120–121. ὁ Δαρίσσης.
	Sidoniensem	A suffragan bishopric of Larissa. (3), (5), (6), pp. 217, 149, 210. ὁ Δημητρίαδος.
	Nazarocensem	A suffragan bishopric of Larissa. (6), p. 121. ὁ Αλμύρου.
	Dimicensem	A suffragan bishopric of Larissa. (3), (5), (6), pp. 218, 149, 121. ὁ Γαρδικίου.
Archiepiscopatus Neopatrensis habet suffraganeum:		A suffragan bishopric of Larissa. (3), (5), (6), pp. 218, 149, 120. ὁ Ζειτουρίου, ὁ Ζειτονίου.
		The same, references as above. ὁ Εὔερον, ὁ Εὔρο, ὁ Εὔερον.
		The same, (6). ὁ Δομενίκον.
		A metropolitan with subject bishopries. (1), 50; (2), 52 with 3 suffragan bishoprics; (3), 50, with one suffragan bishopric; (5), 50 with the bishoprics belonging to Mitylene listed under it by mistake; (6), 50, with 5 subject bishoprics, none the same as any listed elsewhere, pp. 4, 585, 222, 153, 127. αἱ Νέαι Πάτραι τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

TABLE 1—Continued

<i>Provinciale Romanum</i>		<i>Previous Greek status</i>
<i>Archbishopric</i>	<i>Bishopric</i>	
(Neopatras)	Lavacensem Lavaracensem (F)	No status under the Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
Archiepiscopatus Thebanus hos habet suffraganeos:	Zaratoviensem	A <i>metropolitan</i> with 5 subject bishoprics. (1), (2), (3), (5), (6). 59 or 57, pp. 4, 585, 199, 132, 97. ὁ Θηβῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
	Castoriensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Thebes. (2), p. 585. ὁ Ζαρατόβων.
Archiepiscopatus Atheniensis hos habet suffraganeos:	Termopilensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Thebes. (2), p. 585. ‘Besonders wichtig und gänzlich neu sind die Suffragane von Theben.’ ὁ Καιστροπόν.
	Davaliensem	A <i>metropolitan</i> with ten subject bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6), pp. 4, 215, 147, 118. ὁ Αθηνᾶν.
	Nigripotensem	A new foundation.
	Salonensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Athens. (3), (5), (6), references as above. ὁ Διαυλεῖας, ὁ Δαυλίας.
	Abelonensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Athens. (3), (5), (6). References as above. ὁ Εὐρίπον.
	Reonensem	A new foundation.
	Veonensem (F) (Venice)	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Athens. (3), (5), (6), references as above. ὁ Ωραῖον, ὁ Ωραιοῦ, ὁ Ωρεοῦ.
	Megarensem (Crusaders)	A new foundation.
	Eginensem Eginensium (F) (Venice)	An <i>autocephalous archbishopric</i> . (1), (3), (4), (6), pp. 33, 34, 37, pp. 5, 202, 592, 100. ἡ Αἴγινα.
Archiepiscopatus Corinthiensis hunc habet suffraganeum:	Argivensem	A <i>metropolitan</i> with ten subject sees. (1), (3), (5), (6), 27 on all lists, pp. 4, 215, 147, 117. ὁ Κορίνθου.
Archiepiscopatus Patracensis hos habet suffraganeos: (Venice-Villehardouin)	Olenensem	A <i>metropolitan</i> , without subject sees formerly subject to Corinth but promoted by Isaac Angelus. (1), (3), (5), (6), pp. 5, 215, 147, 117. ὁ Αργον.
	Mothonensem (Venice)	A <i>metropolitan</i> with five subject sees. (1), (3), (5), (6), 32 on all lists, pp. 4, 216-217, 148, 119-120. ὁ Παλαιῶν Πατρῶν.
	Coronensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Patras. (3), (5), (6), pp. 217, 148, 120. ὁ Μεθώνης.
	Amiclensem	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> o ^ν Patras. (3), (5), (6), pp. 217, 149, 120. ὁ Κορώνης.
	Amidensem (F)	A <i>suffragan bishopric</i> of Patras. (3), p. 217. καὶ ἡ Αμυκλέον ἀντὶ Λακεδαιμονίας

TABLE 1—Continued

<i>Provinciale Romanum</i>		<i>Previous Greek status</i>
<i>Archbishopric</i>	<i>Bishopric</i>	
(Patras)	Andrevillensem	A new foundation.
	Cephaluniensem (Venice)	A suffragan bishopric of Corinth. (3), (5), (6), pp. 215, 147, 117. ὁ Κεφαλληνίας.
	Jacinthensem (Venice)	As Cephalonia. ὁ Ζακύνθος.
Corfiensis	Corfiensis	A metropolitan with no subject bishoprics. (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), 73 or 75, pp. 5, 586, 200, 133, 98. τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τῆς Φαιακίας νήσου Ἀδριανικοῦ πελάγους...
Appears as Archbishopric in (F), as bishopric under Patras in earliest version of (T). (Venice)		
Duracensis	Duracensis	A metropolitan with subject bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6), 42, pp. 4, 220–221, 132, 124–125. ὁ Δυρραχίου τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ.
Appears as archbishopric in (F), as bishopric under Patras in earliest version of (T).		
Archiepiscopatus		A metropolitan with subject bishoprics. (1), (3), (5), (6), 30 on all lists, pp. 4, 215–216, 148, 118–119. ὁ Κρήτης.
Cretensis hos habet suffraganeos:		
	Canticensem	No status under Greeks. Hitherto unidentified.
	Arianensem	As above.
	Milopotamiensem	As above.
	Kyrothomissiensem	As above.
	Calamonensem (not in F)	As above.
Archiepiscopatus		A metropolitan with subject sees, (1), (3), (5), (6), 39 on all lists, pp. 4, 219, 151, 123. ὁ Πόδον.
Colocensis qui dicitur Rodo.		

From a study of this table we can conclude that the Latins had greatly altered the previous Greek hierarchical organization in every possible way, of which the reduction in number of bishoprics and the joining together of two sees was only one, while even this process had gone much further than the papal correspondence reveals.

The specific subjection to Constantinople of three former Greek metropolitans (Selymbria, Pegae, Chalcedon), one former Greek autocephalous archbishopric (Derkos), and two former suffragan bishoprics of Heracleia (Athyra, Panion) gave the former Greek patriarchal see a new aspect as itself a metropolitan. This Latin innovation may have been a deliberate imitation of the Latin church organization around Rome and Antioch.⁹⁵ It should be noticed, incidentally, that, despite Morosini's initial objection, supported by Innocent III,⁹⁶ a Latin bishopric was founded at Pegae.

Numerous changes were made in the number and status of suffragan bishoprics under individual metropolitans. Thus Heracleia, for example, retained but six of the fifteen suffragans, over which it had had jurisdiction under the Greeks,

⁹⁵ Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, II, 6A n. 3.

⁹⁶ Above, text and note 76.

but received in addition a former metropolitan (Arcadiopolis) and a former autocephalous archbishopric (Messene). Parium, a former autocephalous archbishopric, now received from the Latins three subject sees, two of which were new foundations. Adrianople lost eleven subject bishoprics, and, under the Latins, had none. Thessalonica lost nine of eleven, Larissa nine of sixteen, and Thebes three of five. Patras lost only one of its five subject bishoprics, but gained three new ones, two at the expense of Corinth, and one a new foundation. Trajanopolis lost all seven of its former suffragan sees, but received a former metropolitan as its suffragan.

The Latins sometimes reduced Greek metropolitans to the level of suffragan bishoprics (Selymbria, Pegae, Chalcedon, Arcadiopolis, Nicomedia, Rhousion, Apros, Ainos, Argos); they sometimes reduced former Greek autocephalous archbishoprics to the level of suffragan bishoprics (Derkos, Messene, Lopadion, Kypsella, Maroneia, Aegina). On the other hand, the Latins sometimes elevated to the rank of archbishopric sees which under the Greeks had held the rank of suffragan bishopric only (Makre, Mosynopolis); they sometimes put suffragan sees under the jurisdiction of former Greek autocephalous archbishoprics which had not previously had any (Parium, Vrysis). They sometimes created entirely new foundations, some still unidentified, which had never had a place in the Greek hierarchy.

The alterations in the Greek organization were so numerous and so varied that the Latins may be said to have brought about a substantial reorganization in that part of the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople which fell under their jurisdiction. The possibility at first suggests itself that part of the motive for the reorganization of the hierarchy was the wish to bring it into accord with the partition treaty of 1204; so that the Venetians, for example, might be able to name Venetian bishops in their territories. But an analysis of the table in conjunction with the provisions of the partition treaty does not tend to bear this out fully, since, for example, both Venice and the Emperor were allotted bishoprics under Constantinople, while Venice, the Emperor, and the Crusaders all had bishoprics subject to Heracleia. Although this motive is perhaps not entirely to be rejected, however, in view of the all-Crusader archbishopric of Vrysis, involving numerous changes in the Greek organization, it could not have been the decisive factor.

In the correspondence of Innocent III there survive four letters confirming in their sees respectively the new Latin archbishops of Athens,⁹⁷ Thessalonica,⁹⁸ Philippi,⁹⁹ and Corinth,¹⁰⁰ all former Greek metropolitans, and listing the bishoprics subject to each. By comparing the lists of bishoprics, given in Innocent's letters as subject to each of these four archbishoprics, on the one hand, with the Greek organization in each of the corresponding metropolitans, and, on the other, with the *Provinciale*, we can reach certain further conclusions. The following tables present the data.

⁹⁷ PL 215, 1559 (Book XI, no. 256); Potthast 3654, February 13, 1209.

⁹⁸ PL 216, 555 (Book XV, no. 18); Potthast 4422, April 7, 1212.

⁹⁹ PL 216, 584 (Book XV, no. 56); Potthast 4472, May 22, 1212.

¹⁰⁰ PL 216, 586 (Book XV, no. 58); Potthast 4478, May 22, 1212.

TABLE 2. THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ATHENS^{100a}

<i>Greek List</i> (3) and (5)	<i>Innocent III's letter,</i> February 13, 1209	<i>Provinciale</i> <i>Romanum</i>
1. Euripos	Nigropont (1)	Nigropont (4)
2. Diauleia	Diauleia (3)	Diauleia (2)
3. Koroneia	Coronaea (7)	
4. Andros	Andros (8)	
5. Oreos	Zorconensem? (5)	Oreos (6)
6. Skyros	Skyros (10)	
7. Karystos	Caristus (6)	
8. Porthmon		
9. Aulon	Aulon (4)	Aulon (5)
10. Syra	Thermopylae (2) Megara (9) Ceos (11)	Thermopylae (1) Megara (7) Salona (3) Aegina (8)

TABLE 3. THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF THESSALONICA

<i>Greek List</i>	<i>Innocent III's letter,</i> April 7, 1212	<i>Provinciale</i> <i>Romanum</i>
1. Citros	Citros (1)	Citros (1)
2. Berrhoea	Berrhoea (2)	
3. Drugubitia		
4. Servia	Servia (5)	
5. Kassandria	Cassandreia (11)	
6. Kampania or Kastrā	Campania (3)	
7. Petra	Petra (6)	
8. Herculi or Ardameris	Adrameria (9)	
9. Hierissa	Nerisia (10)	
10. Lita		Verissa (2)
11. Vardariota	Vardaria (4) Platamon (7) Langardia (8)	

TABLE 4. THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF PHILIPPI

<i>Greek List</i>	<i>Innocent III's letter,</i> May 22, 1212	<i>Provinciale</i> <i>Romanum</i>
1. Theorion		
2. Bilikia	Vilikios (4)	
3. Smolena	Morenos? (5)	
4. Caesaropolis	Casiropolis (2)	Chrisopolis? (3)
5. Alutoropolis	Eleutheropolis (1)	
6. Polystoli	Polistrios (3)	
7. Christopolis		Christopolis (1) Draginensis (2)

TABLE 5. THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CORINTH

<i>Greek List</i>	<i>Innocent III's letter,</i> May 22, 1212	<i>Provinciale</i> <i>Romanum</i>
1. Damala	Damelant (3)	
2. Argos	Argos (5)	Argos (1)
3. Monemvasia	Malavesia (4)	
4. Kephalenia	Cephalonia (1)	
5. Zakynthos	Jacint. (2)	
6. Zemaina	Gimena? (7)	
7. Marina	Gilas (6)	

^{100a} See addition, note 105 below.

A study of these tables shows that Innocent's lists of Latin bishoprics are far closer both in number and in identity to the Greek organization than is the *Provinciale*. Of ten Greek bishoprics subject to Athens, Innocent lists eight, the *Provinciale* four; of eleven subject to Thessalonica, Innocent lists nine, the *Provinciale* two; of seven subject to Philippi, Innocent lists five, the *Provinciale* probably one; of seven subject to Corinth, Innocent lists six, the *Provinciale* only one. This contrast is probably to be explained by the fact that Innocent's letters were intended to include all those bishoprics over which the archbishop theoretically had jurisdiction; here tradition and precedent were important; and the Greek lists were closely followed, so that the new Latin archiepiscopal incumbent might not seem to have less authority than his Greek predecessors. The *Provinciale*, on the other hand, was intended to include only those bishoprics from which papal revenue might be derived, i.e. those in which there were incumbent bishops. Of these there were many fewer. Innocent's lists give the hierarchy as it ought to have been, the *Provinciale* as it was. With respect to these four archbishoprics at least it may be concluded that the Latins did not in theory abandon the Greek hierarchical organization; but that in practice they altered it almost beyond recognition.

It remains to deal briefly with the problem of identification presented by some of the hitherto unidentified bishoprics founded by the Latins. Of these the greater number occur in groups, two under Parium, five under Cyzicus, and five under Crete. No papal letters survive to the incumbents of any of these bishoprics. Those on Crete fall outside the scope of this study. Those under Parium and Cyzicus, in Asia Minor, lay in territory held only briefly by the Latins. In the attempt to identify certain of these, which were on the shores of the Sea of Marmora, it is useful to call into service the Portolan charts of the next century, since their corruptions of Greek place-names are similar to those current among the Crusaders.¹⁰¹

The well-known see of Lampsacus, subject under the Greeks to Cyzicus, was placed by the Latins under Parium. Under Parium too the *Provinciale* lists the bishopric 'Lindinensis' and the bishopric 'Destillaria.' Tomaschek suggested a town called *Δίνος*, not mentioned elsewhere, as the location of Lindinensis, and adds 'auch στυλλαρία lag wohl an der Küste.'¹⁰² As an alternative hypothesis it might be well to consider the possibility that Lindinensis is the Latin form of the Greek *Λευτάνα*, a fortress town near Poimanenos, which several times figures in the wars between the Latins and the Greeks of Nicaea.¹⁰³ Destillaria might well be the equivalent, not of the Latin *De*, plus a hypothetical Greek *στυλλαρία*, but of the Greek Daskyllion, Diaskyllion, the modern Eskil Liman, on the shore of the Sea of Marmora. As for the mysterious bishoprics under Cyzicus, 'Lacorensis' may well be Larco, the modern Tschardak, opposite Gallipoli, while

¹⁰¹ E. Kretschmer, *Die Italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meereskunde des geographischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin; Berlin 1909) 650ff. for a list of places on the Asiatic coast of the Sea of Marmora.

¹⁰² W. Tomaschek, 'Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasiens im Mittelalter,' *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* 124 (1891) 15.

¹⁰³ See, for example, George Akropolita, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig 1903) I 12, 20–21, 36, 84.

'de Candimonia' suggests a corruption of the island of Calolimena, spelled in a large variety of ways on the later maps. 'De Palea,' 'De Epigonia,' and 'Libariensis' I cannot identify. Perhaps, to quote Rattinger, they belong to those towns, which 'sind verschollen, und Niemand kennt ihre Ruinen.'^{104, 105}

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¹⁰⁴ Rattinger, *loc. cit.* (note 81 *supra*) 44–45.

¹⁰⁵ Three new publications which appeared while this article was in the press warrant the following supplementary references:

(to n. 10 *supra*): See now J. Longnon, 'L'organisation de l'église d'Athènes par Innocent III,' *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Archives de l'orient chrétien I; Bucharest, Institut français d'études byzantines 1948) 336–346.

(to n. 18 *supra*): For Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri*, see now the new edition, which will be authoritative, by J. Longnon, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades* II (1948). The passages referred to in the course of this article are found on the following pages of the new edition: (n. 20) ed. de Wailly 368: ed. Longnon 79; (n. 26) de Wailly 264–366: Longnon 76–77; (n. 32) de Wailly 408: Longnon 111.

(to n. 23 *supra*): For Nazoreska, the Greek 'Εξερά, a village inhabited by Vlachs as early as the eleventh century, see M. Gyóni, 'Egy Vlách Falu Neve Anna Komnene Alexiasában,' *Egyptem Philologiae Közlöny (Archivum Philologicum)* 71 (1948) 22–30, in Magyar with French summary. The relevant passage is Anna Comnena, *Alexias* V, 5 (ed. Reifferscheid, Leipzig 1884, I, 169; ed. Leib, Paris 1943, II, 24) where the place appears as 'Εξερά.

(to Table 2, n. 100a): Longnon, *L'organisation* 339 remarks only that the list of Innocent III corresponds 'à peu de choses près aux listes grecques des siècles antérieurs.' He does not examine the Greek lists. P. Fabre, 'Un Védimus de Conrad archevêque d'Athènes,' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 15 (1895) 74 notes the addition of Salona and Aigina to Innocent's list by the *Provinciale*, and Longnon follows him (p. 344).

FOOTNOTE TO AN INCIDENT OF THE LATIN OCCUPATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE: THE CHURCH AND THE ICON OF THE HODEGETRIA

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MISCELLANY

FOOTNOTE TO AN INCIDENT OF THE LATIN OCCUPATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE: THE CHURCH AND THE ICON OF THE HODEGETRIA

I

The Latin Empire of Constantinople was established by an agreement drawn up in March 1204 between the Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders of the fourth Crusade, before they captured the city for the second and last time. According to the agreement, each side would appoint six electors; these would elect an Emperor; thereafter the party whose candidate for Emperor had been unsuccessful would choose Latin clergy to serve as a cathedral chapter for Santa Sophia, and would name the Latin Patriarch. The Venetians were chiefly interested in the commercial opportunities in Byzantine territory; and, especially since they had stipulated that the Doge would not be a vassal of the Latin Emperor, they were willing to see the imperial throne go to a non-Venetian, and to establish an economic monopoly, at the same time taking control of the most important church offices. They therefore secured the election of Count Baldwin of Flanders as the first Latin Emperor, and themselves chose a Venetian cleric, Thomas Morosini, as first Patriarch.¹ In April 1205 Baldwin was captured by the forces of Ioannitsa, King of the Vlachs and Bulgars. Sometime thereafter, Ioannitsa had Baldwin murdered in prison. This deed was in all probability committed in a fit of rage at the act of certain Latin forces who had burned down the quarter of the Bogomile supporters of Ioannitsa in Philippopolis, and who had persuaded the Greeks of the place, formerly allied with Ioannitsa, to desert him.²

At any rate, it was not until July 1206 that Baldwin's younger brother, Henry, who had been acting as *bail* of the Empire, received reliable information, while on campaign in Bulgaria, that his brother had been killed.³ Thereupon, a letter from Henry himself informs us, the 'princes and barons and all the French people of the Empire of Constantinople,' alarmed at the danger to the Empire presented by the marauding bands of Vlachs and Cumans,⁴ urgently demanded that a new Emperor be named; they and the papal legate, Benedict, Cardinal of Santa Susanna, went to Morosini and asked him to crown Henry, since there was no other legitimate claimant. The Patriarch and the Venetians at first opposed Henry's candidacy, but, Henry tells us, were finally persuaded by the Cardinal legate, and Morosini crowned Henry as second Latin Emperor on August 20, 1206.⁵ Before the coronation, however, Henry solemnly swore, at the high

¹ Text of the agreement of March 1204 in G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels-und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, zweite Abtheilung, Diplomataria et Acta 12–14) I, 444ff. nos. 119 and 120. (Hereafter T.-Th.) Election of Baldwin in Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris 1874) 152–154; ed. E. Faral (Paris 1938–39), II, 64–66; Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris 1924) 93; letter of Baldwin to Innocent III, PL 215, 45; Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1835) 789–790. Election of Morosini in PL 215, 512 (Book VII, no. 203); Potthast 2382; T.-Th. I, 524, no. 129. The choice of Morosini in this fashion was of course uncanonical; Innocent III had not been informed in advance and it is by no means certain that the Pope would have approved the election of a Latin Patriarch: he might have preferred to negotiate with the Greeks. As it was, he denounced the procedure but confirmed the election just the same (letter cited above).

² Baldwin's death in Nicetas 847–848; paraphrase of a letter from Ioannitsa himself to Innocent III, *Gesta Innocentii*, PL 214, cxlviii, no. 108; George Akropolita, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig 1903) I, 22. The motives only appear after a searching analysis of the account of these developments given by Villehardouin and Nicetas. This line of argument will be discussed elsewhere; so will the legendary accounts of Baldwin's fate which abound in other sources.

³ Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly 262; ed. Faral II, 252.

⁴ The Cumans, a Turkish tribe, were allied with the Vlachs and Bulgars beginning with the Vlach revolt in 1185. The best account of them is D. A. Rasovskii, 'Polovtsy,' *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 7 (1935) 245–262; 8 (1936) 161–182; 9 (1937) 71–85; 10 (1938) 155–178; 11 (1940) 86–128.

⁵ T.-Th. II, 37, no. 176.

altar of Santa Sophia, to observe and cause to be observed all the agreements which by now regulated the relations of the Venetians to the Latin Empire.⁶ It may be conjectured that this confirmation of the agreements was demanded by the Venetians and the Patriarch as a necessary pre-condition to the coronation.

It is against this political background that the affair of the icon of the Hodegetria must be considered. An ancient and heavily-jewelled picture of the Virgin, popularly supposed to have been painted by Saint Luke, it was not only one of the *palladia* of the Empire, as we shall soon see in some detail, but also enjoyed the special reverence of the Greek population of the capital, which was accustomed to adore it formally every Tuesday. After the capture of the city by the Latins the icon had been placed in the chapel of the Palace of Boukoleon,⁷ where it was at the disposition of the Emperor. At some time before his coronation, Henry seems to have agreed to give the icon to Morosini. Perhaps the Patriarch, whom we know to have been avaricious and grasping, exacted this gift also as a price for performing the coronation ceremony. At any rate, he had it brought to Santa Sophia as part of this ceremony on August 20, 1206. On the Tuesday after the coronation a large crowd of Greeks assembled outside Santa Sophia, desiring to have Mass celebrated before the icon, and bringing gifts for it, as was their custom. Morosini, however, refused to grant them permission to hold services unless they would include his name in their prayers. This would have been tantamount to recognizing a Latin Patriarch, and the Greeks refused. Thereupon Morosini proceeded to forbid Greek services anywhere in the city, and sent messengers to enforce his decision. When his men entered the church of St. Nicholas *ἐν Θαίμασι*, the Podestà of the Venetians, Marino Zeno, the elected governor of their colony, intervened. He persuaded Morosini to hold a debate with the Greeks on the theological questions dividing the churches. The debate took place on August 30, 1206 in the Patriarch's residence. As was to be expected, it was inconclusive.⁸

But the interest of the Podestà of the Venetians in the icon had been aroused; and sometime after the debate he went to Morosini, saying that the Emperor Henry had promised the icon to him. He demanded that the Patriarch surrender it. This Morosini angrily refused to do, adding ironically that, if the Podestà could find the icon, he might keep it. This doubtless seemed a safe offer, since the cathedral of Santa Sophia itself was locked at the time, and the icon was under triple lock in the sacristy. But the Podestà sent one of his men down a chimney to see if he could find the icon in the church. When he could not find it he broke the lock of one of the great portals from the inside. The Venetians gathered outside now burst violently into the church. There a 'nasty little Greek' (*Graeculus*) told them where the icon was. They proceeded to attack the sacristy doors. Morosini mounted to the roof of the cathedral, and hurled threats of interdict and excommunication. When they kept on with the evil work, the Patriarch proceeded to anathematize them with lighted candles (a 'long-lasting and blood-curdling anathema'); but they battered their way into the sacristy, seized the icon, and transferred it to the Venetian church of the Pantokrator.⁹ Morosini's men tried to prevent the

⁶ T.-Th. II, 34–35, no. 174.

⁷ For the Palace see A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 289ff. It was assigned to the future Latin Emperor, together with the Palace of the Blachernae, by the agreement of March, 1204, already cited.

⁸ The sources here are two, one Greek and one Latin: Nicholas Mesarites' account of the debate of August 30, 1206, published by A. Heisenberg, 'Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiseriums und der Kirchenunion,' *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (Munich 1923) II; and a letter of Innocent III, PL 215, 1077 (Book IX, no. 243); Potthast 2981; T.-Th II, 45, no. 178, January 13, 1207. Mesarites specifically names the icon as the Hodegetria and tells us all we know about the Greeks' role in the episode; it is only the quarrel between Morosini and the Venetians with which the Pope concerns himself. Of this he gives a fuller account, quoting Morosini's own complaint to him, than does Mesarites, for whom the strife among the Latins was less important than the debate between Latins and Greeks.

⁹ Innocent's letter as cited. The words in quotes are a translation of Mesarites' phrase (p. 15): *πολυημέρω καὶ φρικαλέω . . . ἀναθέματι*. The church of the Pantokrator, acquired by the Venetians after the capture of Constantinople, was built by Irene, wife of the Emperor John Comnenus (1118–1143), and survives as the mosque of Zeirek-Djami. A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London 1912) 219–242; J. P. Richter, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* (Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik, Vienna 1897—a continuation of an earlier volume by F. W. Unger in the same series; hereafter cited as Richter, *Quellen* II [Unger]) 240–242; A. Schneider, *Byzanz* (Istanbuler Forschungen

theft, beating their fellow Venetians, the Podestà's men, on the back with rods as they took the icon away. A large crowd of horrified Greeks saw the entire performance from the cathedral square.¹⁰ On January 13, 1207 Innocent III confirmed the anathema pronounced by Morosini; although reluctant, he wrote, to take any action which might seem to give papal sanction to the excessive and superstitious worship shown the Hodegetria by some of the Greeks, he none the less agreed that the sacrilege of the Venetians was such that it could not be overlooked.¹¹ There is no record that the Venetians ever returned the icon, however; indeed, as we shall see, it remained in their church of the Pantokrator throughout the period of Latin occupation, until 1261. We do not know when or how the sentence against them was lifted. It is this incident, picturesque enough in itself, which has led to the following investigation into the history of the icon, of the legends which surrounded it, and of the church in which it had originally been enshrined.

II

It has long been known that the Church of the Hodegetria was located virtually in the centre of the tip of what has in modern times been called Seraglio Point, the blunt apex of the roughly triangular area which is the city of Constantinople. The church stood in the 'first' of the 'regions' into which the city was traditionally divided, in the quarter of the Mangana (arsenal)—which gave its name to the great church of St. George of the Mangana—and very close to the shore of the Sea of Marmora. Until recently it was believed that all trace of the church of the Hodegetria had disappeared.¹² In 1921–23 troops of the French army of occupation in Turkey undertook excavations in this area, and, in 1923, uncovered what they took to be the walls of the church of the Hodegetria and the double curbing of the miracle-working well with which it had been associated from its earliest history.¹³ A hexagonal structure, whose surviving walls are in places more than two metres high, it originally had large apses on five sides, with an entrance and narthex on the sixth, the whole probably supporting a central dome. In the centre is a double well-curb, twenty metres in diameter, the lower curb of brick, octagonal, and of the same age as the walls of the building, the upper of marble, hexagonal, and of a later period. The location of these remains and the presence of the well (*hagiasma*) led to conjecture that this was what was left of the Church of the Hodegetria, which had probably been built on the site of an earlier public bath, perhaps that of Arcadius.¹⁴ The identification with the church of the Hodegetria has, however, been called into question: the true site of this church, it has been urged, is some two hundred metres farther south, beneath the present Turkish hospital of GÜlhane, where excavations are not possible, and what the French archeologists discovered, it is argued, is what remains of the Monastery of S. Lazarus.¹⁵ More recently the

herausgegeben von der Abteilung Istanbul des archäologischen Instituts des deutschen Reiches, Berlin 1936) 68–69; J. Ebersolt, *Les Églises de Constantinople* (Paris 1913) I, 185ff.

¹⁰ Mesarites, *loc. cit.* 16.

¹¹ Innocent's letter as cited in note 8 *supra*.

¹² Richter II (Unger) 160. J. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille 1891) locates the church on his map (plate 1) and comments (p. 51) that all traces of it have vanished. See also A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 257ff. and map facing p. 19. Van Millingen gives a series of references in the sources to the small gate of the Hodegetria in the city wall close-by.

¹³ R. Demangel and E. Mamoury, *Le Quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris 1939) 78ff. and plan, plate 1. See the careful review of this work by R. Janin in *Échos d'Orient* 39 (1940) 236ff. When Demangel and Mamoury's book is not available the best account is still C. Diehl, 'Rapport sur les fouilles du Corps d'occupation français en Constantinople,' *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes rendus des séances* (1923) 243ff. Diehl quotes M. Demangel's first announcement of the discovery.

¹⁴ Described by Diehl *loc. cit.*, and with further details and a photograph in 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'Orient hellénique,' by the Editors in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 47 (1923) 342–3. See also Martin Schede, 'Archäologische Funde—Türkei,' *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 44 (1929) 326 and R. Janin, 'La Topographie de Constantinople byzantine, Études et découvertes 1918–1938,' *Échos d'Orient* 38 (1939) 132.

¹⁵ Karl Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel* (Hannover 1925) 43–44 and 46–47. Wulzinger has prepared a map (p. 39) of the east portion of Seraglio Point, which brings Mordtmann up to date. It will be noticed that Mordtmann locates the Monastery of St. Lazarus south of the church of the Hodegetria, and that Wulzinger reverses this relationship. Alfons Schneider, *Byzanz* (note 9 *supra*) 90, also doubts the identification, and thinks the building was the site of private baths.

tentative French identification of the Hodegetria has once again been strongly put forward.¹⁶ Until further archeological research is possible, final decision of this question seems improbable.

A miracle-working spring or well is attested to as early as the eleventh century by the author of the so-called *Patria Constantinopolis*, a work long wrongly ascribed to Codinus, where it is recorded that the church was built by the Emperor Michael III the Drunkard (842–867), and that earlier the building on the site had served as a house of prayer (*εὐκρήπον*) for multitudes of blind folk who would bathe in the spring, and would then see once more. For this reason the church was called that of the ‘Οἴηγοι, the pointers of the way. Thus the term Hodegetria itself appears originally to derive from the presence of a well or spring which healed the blind. Many miracles were accomplished there, says the *Patria*, and—a fourteenth-century manuscript adds—are still being wrought by the Virgin.¹⁷ The spring is mentioned again by an anonymous Russian pilgrim of the fifteenth century.¹⁸

The tradition that the church was originally built by Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II (408–450) to house a miraculous portrait of the Virgin painted by St. Luke, and sent to Pulcheria at Constantinople from Jerusalem (or Antioch) by the Empress Eudocia, her sister-in-law and Theodosius' wife, appears in the surviving *Excerpta* from the history of Theodore Anagnostes (i.e. the Lector), an early sixth-century church historian.¹⁹ But, since the work of Theodore the Lector survives only in the form of these excerpts, ‘dictated,’ according to some manuscripts, by Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos, a fourteenth-century author of an unfinished church history, much doubt has been thrown on the authenticity of this passage in Theodore, especially because Nicephorus’ own history is the only source other than Theodore for the complete story.²⁰ If accepted as genuine, the passage in Theodore Lector would also be the earliest

¹⁶ Wulzinger’s map is called by Demangel and Mamboury (*op. cit.* p. i) ‘hautement fantaisiste’; their own plate differs from it widely; they argue (102–111) strongly for the identification, marshalling several new arguments against both Wulzinger and Schneider. Janin’s review, however (*loc. cit.* note 2) indicates that, in his view, the question is still open.—In the summer of 1948, after this article had been accepted for publication, I had a chance to visit Istanbul and searched for the ruins of the church of the Hodegetria. The shore of Seraglio Point is now a military zone; after being arrested twice in one afternoon by the Turkish military for unwittingly penetrating into the zone, I was assigned a soldier as escort, and together we looked for the ruins, without success. I had with me Demangel and Mamboury’s book and a very large-scale map (Misin [Nomides], *Topographische und archäologische Karte von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* [Galata: Druckerei Kephalides 1938]) which had not been available to me while writing the article. Later, Dr. Aziz Ogan, Director of the Archeological Museum (Ottoman Museum), told me that the ruins had been cleared away or the dig filled in (!).

¹⁷ Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως III, 27; ed. Theodor Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantiopolitanarum* (Leipzig 1907) II, 223; Codinus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1843) 80; Richter, *Quellen* II (Unger) 160. For ascription to Codinus see K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (Munich 1897) 423.

¹⁸ *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, tr. Mme. B. de Khitrowo (Geneva 1889) 229. Cf. Diehl, *loc. cit.* 247 n. 2.

¹⁹ PG 86, 165 and 168. For Theodore see Wilhelm von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, ed. Wilhelm Schmid and Otto Stählin (Munich 1924) II, ii, 1483, with a bibliography.

²⁰ Nicephorus in PG 146, 1061 (Book XIV, chapter 2); 147, 41–44 (XV, 14). See Krumbacher, *op. cit.* 291ff. for account of Nicephorus. The most complete discussion of the icon of the Hodegetria with the fullest references to the sources is still C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, Book IV, pp. 59ff., being the second part of his *Historia Byzantina duplice commentario illustrata, Byzantinae historiae scriptores graece et latine* (Venice 1729) 21. See also Iacobus Gretser S. J., *Syntagma de imaginibus manu non factis deque aliis a sancto Luca pictis* ch. 18, in *Opera omnia* (Ratisbon 1741) XV, 205ff.—The basic modern study is Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur ed. Harnack and Gebhardt, 3; Munich 1898–99) II, 267ff. J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1922) 69–70 is incomplete and incorrect. It is noteworthy that Demangel and Mamboury, *op. cit.* 104ff. and elsewhere, follow Ebersolt uncritically in accepting the Pulcheria tradition and (p. 105) also accept Richter’s faulty source materials (see below note 31) and the passage from Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos. The result is that these authors, expert archeologists and the most recent writers on the subject, present an altogether inadequate and inaccurate account. Dobschütz, who reprints many of the relevant passages from the sources, is followed by N. Kondakov, *Ikonografiya Bogomateri* (Petrograd 1915) II, 152ff. and by Dorothee Klein, *St. Lukas als Maler der Maria* (Berlin 1933) 7ff.—There is some disagreement whether the interpolation of the passage in Theodore Lector was done by Nicephorus himself or by some other author. Cf. Dobschütz, *op. cit.* II, 271 n. 1. For present purposes all that matters is that the tradition cannot be carried back to the sixth century.

reference to any portrait of the Virgin believed to have been painted by St. Luke, and has therefore attracted much attention. If, however, as seems probable, the passage is a fourteenth-century interpolation, and must therefore be rejected, the only source I know of, prior to Nicephorus, which names Pulcheria as the founder of the church is Mesarites' description of the church of the Holy Apostles (written 1199–1203); it also makes unmistakable reference to the icon.²¹

The earliest authentic source which makes reference to St. Luke as having painted any portrait of the Virgin is not found until the eighth century, when Andreas of Crete (c. 726), in a fragment in defense of image worship, refers to such a portrait by Saint Luke, which was sent from Jerusalem to Rome.²² The legend that St. Luke once painted the Virgin certainly flourished for the first time, and probably originated, during the period of the iconoclastic controversy, when such a holy portrait is repeatedly mentioned by defenders of images, together with the portrait of Christ sent to Abgar, King of Edessa. Like Andreas of Crete, however, the other authors of this period,²³ if they mention the location of the portrait at all, make reference only to Rome.

Two questions, then, arise to be answered: When is a highly venerated icon of the Virgin first reported by the sources as located in the church of the 'Οδηγοί? When is this icon first attributed by the sources to St. Luke?

The first mention of the Virgin of the 'Οδηγοί or Hodegetria which I have been able to locate with certainty in the sources appears in the tenth-century compilation made under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (920–959) and called *Theophanes continuatus*.²⁴ This is followed by the late eleventh-century chronicle of John Skylitzes, whose text has been edited only as copied by the slightly later George Kedrenos, and who, in this part of his work, is, as usual, closely followed by the mid-twelfth-century chronicler John Zonaras. All these authors tell the story that, in the year 866, immediately before setting out with the Emperor Michael III (842–867) on an expedition against the Saracens on Crete, the Caesar Bardas visited the monastery church of the Hodegoi, to say farewell to the Virgin. As he approached her shrine with lighted candles, his cloak slipped from his shoulders, for no apparent reason. This was regarded as a bad omen,²⁵ and indeed Bardas was shortly thereafter assassinated at the instigation of the future

²¹ The story of the Empress Eudocia's pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 438, of her brilliant reception at Antioch en route, of her great interest in relics, and of her sending to Rome some of the chains which had bound St. Peter—for which her daughter, the western Empress Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III, built the church of San Pietro in Vincoli—is told in the sources, with no mention of any portrait of the Virgin. Cf. J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London 1923) II, 227, who is following the *Vita Melaniae iunioris*, ed. Rampolla, 1905. F. Gregorovius, *Athenais* (Leipzig 1882) 171, remarks that portraits of the Virgin by St. Luke were a regular article of commerce in fifth-century Jerusalem, at the time of Eudocia's visit; but it seems highly probable that Gregorovius was pushing back into the fifth century a legend not developed until later; in any case it does not appear from the sources that Eudocia sent a portrait of any kind to Constantinople on this visit of 438. At the time of her retirement to Jerusalem in 443, relations between her and Pulcheria were so strained that it is altogether improbable that there should have been any correspondence between them. The sources do not record any.—Mesarites in A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche* (Leipzig 1908) II, 82–83: εἴδεξος αὐτῇ καὶ περιβόητος τῆς τῶν Οδηγῶν δομητρία μονῆς ὅρα γάρ, θπως καὶ ταῦν χεροῖν ἀνέχει παρθένος οὖσα τὸ τῆς πανάγου καὶ παρθένου δόμωμα. Eudocia is not mentioned.

²² PG 97, 1301–4.

²³ Patriarch Germanos, as reported in Georgios Monachos, ed. de Boor (Leipzig 1904) II, 785; the so-called Epistle to Theophilus, wrongly ascribed to John of Damascus, PG 95, 349, where the story is first told that the Virgin, when shown Luke's handiwork, had said 'My grace will go with it'; Theophanes, ed. de Boor (Leipzig 1883) II, 12; Life of Theodore of Studion, PG 99, 177.

²⁴ Specifically called the earliest by A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* (Brussels 1935) I, 259 n. 4.

²⁵ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838) 204; Skylitzes (in Cedrenus) ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1839) II, 179; Zonaras, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn 1897) III, 413. For the planned expedition to Crete in the spring of 866, which assembled in Asia Minor, see J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London 1912) 170ff. who follows the narrative historical sources in maintaining that the expedition never sailed. The surviving abridged *Vita* of Sergius Niketiates and a letter of Photius, however, indicate that it did sail, and landed briefly on Crete. Vasiliev, *op. cit.* 260 n. 3; H. Grégoire, 'Etudes sur le neuvième siècle,' *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 526ff.

Basil I. The same incident, among others regarded as bad portents for Bardas,²⁶ is related by the more nearly contemporary historian (mid-tenth century) Genesios; but Genesios does not specifically mention that the monastery of the 'Οδηγοί was a shrine of the Virgin.²⁷

The appearance of this story²⁸ makes it highly probable that, by the time of Michael III, the highly venerated icon of the Virgin was located in the church of the 'Οδηγοί, which, incidentally, was a monastery church, and that the icon was already visited by high Byzantine dignitaries before the undertaking of important enterprises. In this connection, it is well to recall that the early eleventh-century *Patria Constantinopolis* ascribes the actual building of the church of the 'Οδηγοί to Michael III.²⁹ Moreover, an inscription survives which makes it clear that Michael at least rebuilt the church.³⁰ It may be tentatively suggested that the reign of Michael III—when the icon of the Hodegetria makes its first appearance in the sources, and when the images were restored for the second time (843), marking the end of iconoclasm as an imperial policy—also saw the re-modelling of the church of the 'Οδηγοί, doubtless on an earlier foundation (of which Pulcheria may possibly have been the founder), and the installation there, on a site already hallowed by the miracle-working spring, of the holy portrait of the Virgin, the Hodegetria.

There appears to be only one other mention of the icon in the sources before the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 and the subsequent quarrel between Morosini and the Podestà.³¹ Nicetas Akominatos tells us that the Emperor Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195),

²⁶ The others, but not this one, are reported by Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire* 170 n. 1.

²⁷ Genesios, ed. K. Lachmann (Bonn 1834) 103.

²⁸ All these passages are apparently unknown to Dobschütz or to Richter, *Quellen* II (Unger) 158ff., neither of whom cites any text earlier than the thirteenth century.

²⁹ See above, note 17. Late texts attribute the salvation of Byzantium from the Arabs in 717 under Leo the Isaurian to the icon of the Hodegetria, but are of course not to be relied upon. Cf. Dobschütz, *op. cit.* II, 273 n. 1.

³⁰ Mordtmann, *op. cit.* 52–53. Although the inscription is partly defaced, it indicates that the wall of the church had been ruined before Bardas, Domestic of the Schools, rebuilt it at the command of Michael.

³¹ Richter's reference, *Quellen* II (Unger) 161, to a passage allegedly from Michael Attaliotes (ed. Bonn, 196) describing how Michael V Parapinakos (*sic!*) spent the night at Kosmidion, and in the morning had a sermon preached by George, Metropolitan of Cyzicus, who had the icon of the Hodegetria with him, is not to be found in Attaliotes, at the place referred to or elsewhere. Aside from Richter's carelessness in referring to Michael V Parapinakos (it should presumably be either to Michael V *Kalaphates* [1041–43] or to Michael VII *Dukas* Parapinakes [1071–78])—a carelessness demonstrated on the previous page, when he actually confuses Isaac I Comnenus [1057–1059] with Isaac II Angelus [1185–1195]), the whole alleged passage as he reports it from Attaliotes is precisely what happened to Michael VIII Palaeologus (1261–1282) upon the occasion of his entry into Constantinople in 1261. (See below, in text.) It is clear that Richter's reference is inaccurate: Michael Attaliotes does not seem to mention the Hodegetria; and no other source tells any such story about the Emperors Michael V or Michael VII.—Moreover, the unsupported statement of A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches* (note 9 *supra*) 303, that the icon of the Hodegetria 'led Zimisces on his victorious campaigns against the Russians' appears to be without foundation. The sources for this expedition (Leo Diaconus, Skylitzes, Yahya of Antioch, and the Russian Primary Chronicle) make no mention of the Emperor John Tsimisces (969–976) having taken the Hodegetria on his campaign against the Russian Prince Sviatoslav in Bulgaria in 972, or possibly (but probably not) in 971–974, as D. Anastasijević maintains. The chronology of these campaigns is debated between Anastasijević and F. Dölger. See Anastasijević's articles, 'Leon Diakonus über das Jahr der Befreiung Bulgariens von den Russen durch Tzimiskes,' *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 3 (1929) 1–4; 'Die Zahl der Araberzüge des Tzimiskes,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929–1930) 400–405; 'Les indications chronologiques de Yahya relatives à la guerre de Tzimisces contre les Russes,' *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930) I, 1–5; 'La chronologie de la guerre russe de Tzimisces,' *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 337–342; and 'Die chronologischen Angaben des Skylitzes über den Russenzug des Tzimiskes,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 31 (1931) 328–333, all upholding his theory that the expedition began in 971 and lasted until 974, and all disputed by F. Dölger, 'Die Chronologie des grossen Feldzuges des Kaisers Johannes Tzimiskes gegen die Russen,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 32 (1932) 275–292. Gustave Schlumberger, *L'épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris 1896) I, 87ff. describes the campaign at length, using all the sources. He does indeed report that John captured at Dorystolon (Siliстра) a miraculous icon of the Virgin, which Schlumberger (pp. 175–6) conjectures may have been one of those believed to have been made by no human hand (*άχειροποιητός*—see Dobschütz *passim*), and which John Tsimisces apparently venerated highly, since, despite the protests of his courtiers, he placed it with his

during the revolt of Alexius Vranas in April-May 1187, placed the icon of the Hodegetria on the walls of the city, where it served as a warning to the enemy, whose camp it faced, and as an encouragement to the people of the city.³²

The earliest attribution to St. Luke of the icon of the Hodegetria seems to be the brief passage in Anthony, Bishop of Novgorod, who visited the city in 1200, and who mentions having kissed the Hodegetria, 'painted by the Apostle Luke, which they carry across the city by the road of Peter Patricius to the Blachernae. The Holy Spirit descends in her.'³³ Innocent III's letter of January 13, 1207 to Thomas Morosini, already discussed, confirming the anathema which the Latin Patriarch had hurled against the Venetians for stealing the icon of the Hodegetria, also refers to the icon as having been painted by St. Luke.³⁴ Since a Russian and a Roman source both make this attribution, it seems certain that, by 1200, this tradition was well established among the Byzantines, although Nicholas Mesarites does not specifically attribute the portrait to St. Luke.

Curiously enough, the attribution does not appear in Greek sources until George Pachymeres and Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos, both writing in the early fourteenth century. Pachymeres tells how, after the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins in August 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus made his triumphal entry into the city, in a procession through the Golden Gate. The icon of the Hodegetria, brought by Michael's order from the Convent of the Pantocrator (where the Venetians, as told above, had placed it in 1206), was carried at the head of the procession. On this occasion, George, Metropolitan of Cyzicus, preached a sermon.³⁵ Pachymeres reports the entire tradition of Pulcheria and Eudocia, as well as the ascription to St. Luke. The same account of Michael's entrance into Constantinople is given by the late fourteenth-century historian, Nicephorus Gregoras,³⁶ who also reports no fewer than six other occasions, during the reigns of Andronicus II (1282–1328) and Andronicus III (1328–1341), when these Emperors swore solemn oaths before the Hodegetria, or used the monastery of the 'Οδηγού as an asylum in time of danger, as a shelter in time of sickness, and even, in the case of Andronicus III, as the place to die in the odor of sanctity.³⁷ This veneration was continued by John Cantacuzenos, Emperor (1341–1355) and historian, who recounts in his own history at least four instances when he or his predecessors sought the Hodegetria.³⁸ To the fourteenth century also³⁹ belongs the treatise long wrongly ascribed to Codinus, usually called the *De officiis*, which describes in great detail Byzantine court ceremonial practices on church holidays. This text recounts how the Hodegetria was taken, on the Thursday before Palm Sunday from

own hands in the chariot reserved for him at his triumphal re-entry to Constantinople, together with the imperial insignia of Bulgaria, also captured. Van Millingen may have been misled by some reference to this icon.—The use in the tenth century of an icon of the Virgin as a palladium, and her position as patroness of the Byzantine armies are, however, well attested. Thus Nicephorus Phocas, at the siege of Chandax (Candia) in Crete in 961, is said to have built a special shrine to the Virgin in which his soldiers worshipped, which survived at least a century later, and was remarkable for its beauty; and also spurred his troops to the final assault by an impassioned oration calling upon the Virgin immediately before his forces went into action. G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle, Nicéphore Phocas* (2nd ed. Paris 1923) 72 n. 1 and pp. 74–75. H. Grégoire, *loc. cit.* 528–530, however, maintains that the church on Crete was built not by Nicephorus Phocas but almost a century earlier by Sergius Niketiates, the Admiral of the fleet of Michael III, who, Grégoire urges, did in fact land on Crete in 866.

³² Nicetas, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1835) 497. This passage is wrongly dated 1057, and ascribed to the reign of Isaaco I Comnenus by Richter, *Quellen II* (Unger) 160. For the revolt and its date, see F. Cognasso, 'Un Imperatore Bizantino della Decadenza: Isacco II Angelo,' *Bessarione* 31 (1915) 34, 48, 52. It was in this revolt that Conrad of Montferrat, elder brother of Boniface, first Latin King of Thessalonica, saved Byzantium.

³³ Mme. B. de Khitrowo, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 99. Excerpt also printed in Count P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva 1878) II 224.

³⁴ See above, note 8.

³⁵ Pachymeres, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1835) I, 160. For Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos, see above, note 20. See also note 31 for the Metropolitan of Cyzicus.

³⁶ Nicephorus Gregoras, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn 1829) I, 86. It is also told by George Akropolita (ed. Heisenberg 187) who reports that the Emperor followed the icon on foot from the Golden Gate to the church of St. John of the Studion, but who does not attribute the icon to St. Luke.

³⁷ Nicephorus I, 298, 422, 543, 555, 559; II, 576. Cf. Dobschütz, *op. cit.* II, 272–273.

³⁸ Cantacuzenos, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn 1828) I, 305; II, 297, 607; III, 8.

³⁹ Krumbacher, *op. cit.* 424–425.

its usual place in the monastery of the 'Οδηγοι and placed in the Palace⁴⁰ beside another icon of the Virgin, the *Nikopoios*,⁴¹ where the Emperor did reverence to it. On the day after Easter, it was returned to its usual place in its own church.⁴²

Restored by Michael Palaeologus to its own church of the Hodegetria, the icon was revered there—except for its annual visit to the Palace—throughout the fourteenth century, and until the capture of the city by the Turks in 1453. During this period it was repeatedly seen and noted by Russian pilgrims to Constantinople,⁴³ and was also viewed by Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who describes it as painted on a square panel on feet, covered with silver, encrusted with precious stones, and so heavy that it took four men to carry it out of the church on Tuesdays, when it was shown before the church door to the throng, who prayed before it, groaning and shedding tears.⁴⁴ One of the Russian pilgrims, Alexander the Scribe, who visited the city in 1393, writes: 'There were once iconoclasts, and so the icon was walled up in the Monastery of the Pantokrator, and a lamp was lit before it which did not go out for sixty years.'⁴⁵ This is clearly a dim reminiscence of the interlude during which the Venetians had kept the icon, after stealing it from the Patriarch, in the monastery of the Pantokrator—a period of just about sixty years (1206–1261). The absence of the picture from its usual place and its sojourn in the Pantokrator were remembered—as was the presence of heterodoxy—and

⁴⁰ This ceremony is doubtless the one to which Anthony of Novgorod referred when he said that they carried the icon across the city.

⁴¹ The Nikopoios or Nikopoa (lit. 'Victory-maker') was also a highly venerated icon of the Virgin, which, however, appears never to have been attributed to St. Luke. This icon, held in as great esteem as the Hodegetria, was the special palladium of the Emperors, and had its own chapel in the great palace. It was regarded as the symbol of Byzantine victories over the barbarians, and its tradition goes back to the Emperor Maurice (582–602); but it probably dated from some time after the iconoclastic controversy. It is believed to be preserved in St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice, where, the local tradition is, Dandolo sent it after the Fourth Crusade. Frequently confused with the Hodegetria (Dobschütz, *op. cit.* II, 272 n. 2, notes this confusion), it was far smaller in size, and portrayed the Virgin in an altogether different attitude: the original, which is almost certainly lost, probably had a full-length figure—the Venice copy shows a half-length—holding the Infant as if in a medallion on her bosom. The Nikopoa is regarded by Kondakov as the original of a separate iconographical genre (*op. cit.* [note 20 *supra*] II, 124ff., 137ff. with plates; see also Stephanus Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland* [Freiburg im Breisgau 1909] 75ff.). Kondakov suggests in passing (p. 197) that the Nikopoa icon now in Venice may have been captured by the Latins from the Emperor Alexius V Murzouphlus. He is presumably referring here to what is, in all probability, still a third icon. This third icon of the Virgin, of a type not at present identifiable, was captured from Alexius V Murzouphlus by Henry, Baldwin's brother, later Latin Emperor, in February 1204, during the siege of Constantinople by the Crusaders. The incident is reported by Villehardouin, ed. de Wailly 132; ed. Faral II, 28; and in some detail by Robert of Clari, who describes the icon ('ansconne') as an Image of Our Lady, which the Greek Emperors carry with them when they go into battle, and as covered with gold and precious stones. He adds that it was sent to Cîteaux by the Latins (ed. Lauer 65ff.). Du Cange, in his edition of Villehardouin (Paris 1657) 312, notes that it never reached Cîteaux and suggests (following P. Ramusius, *De bello Constantinopolitano*, Venice 1634) that this is the icon still preserved in Venice; but he also says that it is neither the Nikopoa nor the Hodegetria. The capture of this third icon from Murzouphlus is also reported in the anonymous *Devastatio Constantinopolis* (ed. C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* [Berlin 1873] 91); by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (MGH SS 23, 883); and in the letter of the Emperor Baldwin (T.-Th. I, 504) to Innocent III. Count Riant long ago concluded that it was virtually impossible to identify this icon, 'Des dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au XIII^e siècle,' *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 4^e série 6 (1875) 36 n. 1. It certainly was not the Hodegetria; it may have been the Nikopoa, but this is doubtful.

⁴² Codinus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1839) 69–70. Iacobus Gretser's Commentary on Codinus (*ibid.* 315–316) contains references to many of the passages in the sources relative to the Hodegetria.

⁴³ Mme. B. de Khitrowo, *op. cit.* 137, 162, 201, 229. J. Ebersolt, *op. cit.* (note 20 *supra*) 69–70.

⁴⁴ *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–6*, tr. Clements R. Markham (London 1859) 44. Clavijo adds that the icon is taken back into its church by one man, whose miraculous strength is given to him for this task only, and is hereditary in his family. He calls the church the 'Dessetria,' an obvious corruption of the Greek Hodegetria.

⁴⁵ Khitrowo, *op. cit.* 162.

after a century and a half, these matters were being explained, perhaps by some local guide, altogether fabulously as part of a mythical, pious attempt to keep the portrait away from the iconoclasts.

In 1453, the historian Dukas records, the icon of the Hodegetria was destroyed by four Turks, who found it in the monastery of Chora, where it had been placed to watch over and protect the city during the siege, after it had been in the Palace during Easter week as usual. The Turks quarreled over which should have it, and tore it into four pieces.⁴⁶ This account of the icon's destruction seems conclusive; but various churches—Pera across the Golden Horn from Constantinople, St. Mark's in Venice, and numerous churches in southern Italy—claim that their own picture of the Virgin is the original Hodegetria.⁴⁷ Still more fabulous stories of its fate are told elsewhere. To mention only two: the Virgin in the Cathedral of Bari was long held—because of a forged document—to be the original Hodegetria, allegedly brought from Constantinople as far back as the year 733 by pious monks who were attempting to save it from the wrath of Leo the Isaurian, who had decreed that it should be burned.⁴⁸ For their part, the Poles long maintained that their famous Virgin of Czestochowa is the Hodegetria. This, they said, was found in Jerusalem by the Empress Helen, mother of Constantine, sent to Pulcheria by Eudocia, and given to Charlemagne on the occasion of his visit to Constantinople(!) by the Emperor Nicephorus I. From Charlemagne, the tradition goes on, it was obtained by Leo, Prince of Russia (a Ruthenian of Orthodox religion and Charlemagne's ally against the Saracens) who put the icon into a castle called Belz, from which all Latin rites were excluded for five hundred years; finally it was captured by Ladislas Opolenius in 1382 and brought to Czestochowa, where it later suffered indignities at the hands of Tartars and Hussites.⁴⁹ Moreover, there still exist numerous other paintings—sometimes said to number as many as 600—of which the one in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome is the most important, which are thought to be the original portrait of the Virgin by St. Luke, but for which no claim is made to be the Hodegetria itself.⁵⁰

Some authorities believe, from the evidence supplied by tenth-century copies, that the original Hodegetria was a half-length figure of the Virgin, holding the Christ child on her left arm. The child had a scroll in his left hand, and with his right was making the gesture of blessing.⁵¹ Others maintain that the original figure was full length. In any case, the name of the icon of the 'Οδηγοῦσα, the Hodegetria, has come to be used by art historians as the technical generic name for all paintings of the Virgin which conform to this general type. There are, however, numer-

⁴⁶ Dukas, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1834) 272 and 288. See A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches* 303.

⁴⁷ Dobschütz, *op. cit.* II, 273 n. 2. On the Pera, or Galata, icon see E. Dallegio D'Alessio, *Le couvent et l'église des saints Pierre et Paul à Galata* (Istanbul 1935) 19ff.; P. B. Palazzo and P. A. Rainieri, O.P., *La chiesa di S. Pietro in Galata* (Istanbul 1943) 38ff. Oddly enough, in the late seventeenth century the Venetian *baile* in Constantinople tried to seize this icon, just as his predecessor of 1206 had done with the true Hodegetria.

⁴⁸ J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire* (London 1889) II, 447–448, following F. Lenormant, *La Grande-Grecce* (Paris 1881) II, 388. See also *Storia della traslazione dell' Immagine Miraculosa di S. Maria di Constantinopoli nella città di Bari* (n.p. [Bari?] 1813); same (Naples 1824); and the record of the celebration of the eleven-hundredth anniversary of the alleged translation, *Eoniade della traslazione della . . . Immagine . . . celebrata in quella [Bari] Cattedrale* (Naples 1833)—all unknown to Lenormant and Bury, all in the Harvard Library, and all based on what purports to be an account written in the year 843 by a certain Gregory. This account was discovered to be a forgery, perpetrated by an eighteenth-century canon of Bari, anxious to provide his church with ammunition in a dispute in which it was engaged with the church of Canosa. See C. Cantù, 'Di alcune falsificazioni storiche,' *Archivio storico italiano*, Nuova Serie 12 (1860) 13ff. Reference also in *Codice diplomatico Barese* (Bari 1897) I, v note 1; cf. J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire Byzantin* (Paris 1904) 195. Lenormant, *op. cit.* takes his account from what he calls the synaxarion of the Greek church of Bari, edited under Byzantine occupation in the tenth or eleventh century by 'le papas Gligoris (sans doute une corruption de Grigorios).' I have found no other reference to this synaxarion, and the name Gregory suggests that it is a mere Greek translation of the Latin forgery, with which its account precisely tallies.

⁴⁹ Andreas Goldonowski, *Historia beatae Virginis Claromontanae* (n.p., n.d.) *passim*; Ambrosius Nieszporkowitz, *Analecta mensae reginalis, seu historia imaginis Odigitriæ etc.* (Cracow 1681); Anastasius Kiedrzynski, *Mensa Nazaraea* etc. (Czestochowa 1769).

⁵⁰ Beissel, *op. cit.* (note 41 *supra*) 74.

⁵¹ Kondakov *op. cit. passim*.

ous variants of the type, and it seems quite possible that the original Byzantine icon of the Hodegetria belonged to a type now recognized by modern experts in iconography as having developed later than some of the paintings to which they now give its name.⁵²

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NOTES ON AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY MISSAL, WALTERS MANUSCRIPT 11

I. Was Walters MS 11 Written for Sant'Ambrogio di Ranchio?

In his excellent description and analysis of Walters MS 11,¹ Dr. Leo F. Miller gives little or no attention to what is at times the most vexing problem a liturgical manuscript can present, viz., for what church was the codex written? He determines the predominantly Ravennate character of the 'martyrologium' prefixed to the sacramentary-missal which constitutes the body of the book, but in general hesitates to assign the manuscript to Ravenna itself, because 'it contains none of the liturgical uses proper to that city's ancient liturgy, to which the people clung so tenaciously until they were abolished by Archbishop Julius della Rovere,' and adds: 'would a Ravenna calendar lack such great names as Peter Chrysologus and Iohannes Angeloptes?'² It will not be amiss, therefore, to look about for other clues which may help us solve the problem. An initial clue may, indeed, be said to stand out in the calendar itself: March 21. *Natale S. Patris nostri Benedicti.* This formulation, which is found normally only in Benedictine calendars, taken together with the proper mass for the feast of the saint on fol. 37,³ leaves little room for doubt concerning the character of the church for which the book was intended, even as the blessing of the weekly reader, inserted after the Canon of the Mass (fol. 12r), clearly indicates that the book at one time served a monastic church.⁴ Our problem, therefore, is to identify the abbey or priory, if possible, and here again there exists an important clue. In the 'Missa pro Congregatione In honore (*sic*) sanctae Mariae,' St. Ambrose is mentioned in both collect and postcommunion, as he is also in the 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus' and in the embolism after the Pater noster.⁵ There can be no question that the saint mentioned in the two prayers—*Defende, quaesumus* and *Copiosa*—is normally the patron of the monastery, and that this particular mass-formulary has in this book been adapted for use in a church dedicated to the famous bishop of Milan.⁶ It would be interesting, therefore, to find in the province of Ravenna a monastery dedicated to St. Ambrose, so remote, too, perhaps from the metropolitan city as not to be obliged or inclined to keep all its local observances. Such a monastery did, indeed, exist—*Sancti Ambrosii de Rancla* (*Ranclu*; the modern Ranchio),⁷

⁵² 'Originally the Hodegetria icons represented the Virgin in full figure, standing and holding the Infant on her left arm. Later, probably after the eleventh century, icons appeared with the Virgin supporting the Infant in her right arm. As the result of a long process of development, the full-length composition was gradually superseded by the half-figure, until the Hodegetria type became firmly established as a half-length figure holding the Infant on either the left or the right arm. . . . One of the interesting variants is the seated Hodegetria, in which the Virgin is represented in full figure, enthroned, and supporting the infant on either the left or the right arm.' Victor Lasareff, 'Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin,' *The Art Bulletin* 20 (1938) 46. For the use of the term with no explanation of its origin, see Charles Diehl, *Manuel de l'art byzantin* (Paris 1925) I, 325 and *passim*.

¹ 'Missal W.11 of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore,' *Traditio* 2 (1944) 123–54.

² *Ibid.* 130. Additional comments on the 'martyrologium' will be found in footnote 21 below, but see especially Note III, pages 338–40.

³ Miller (*op. cit.* 138) is somewhat too cautious in seeing special significance in the tract only of this formulary. Even without a proper tract, the occurrence of the formulary itself would be a strong indication of monastic use.

⁴ A. Strittmatter, 'The Monastic Blessing of the Weekly Reader in Missal W.11 of the Walters Art Gallery,' *Traditio* 3 (1945) 392–4.

⁵ Miller, *op. cit.* 154, 134f. See Note II below.

⁶ See Appendix below.

⁷ It appears three times in Dom L. H. Cottineau's *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés* (Macon 1939): II 2584 (St. Ambrogio), 2402 (Ranchio), 2410 (de Rauchia). In the first and second entries reference is made to Lubin, *Abbatiarum Italiae Brevis Notitia* . . . (Romae 1693): in the first (St. Ambrogio), to page 12; in the second (Ranchio), to page 314, where Lubin refers also to the *Italia* of J. A. Magini (Bologna 1620), in which on map 36 (*Romagna olim Flaminia*) both the abbey and the village (castle ?), Rancio (*sic*), are shown.

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ROMANIA: THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

BY ROBERT LEE WOLFF

THE name *Romania* was regularly given to the Latin Empire of Constantinople by its contemporaries. To save the tedious multiplication of examples, it is probably sufficient to point out that the Latin Emperors frequently used it as part of their titles on their seals¹ and in their correspondence;² that first the Venetian Podestà in Constantinople and then the Doge did the same in official documents and letters;³ that, beginning with letters of Innocent III dated 20, June, 1203 and 29, January 1205,⁴ the Popes often used the term along with

¹ G. Schlumberger, 'Sceaux et Bulles des Empereurs Latins de Constantinople,' *Bulletin Monumental* lvi, Sixième Série, vi (1890), 5 ff., and 'Un nouveau sceau de l'Empereur Latin Henri Ier d'Angre de Constantinople,' *Revue Numismatique*, Quatrième Série, v (1901), 396–397. Typical titles are 'Balduinus Dei Gratia imperator Romanie, Flandriae et Hainoniae comes'; 'Henricus Dei Gratia Imperator Romanie,' 'Balduinus Dei Gratia Imperator Romanie semper Augustus.'

² P. Lauer, 'Une Lettre inédite d'Henri Ier d'Angre, Empereur de Constantinople, aux Prélats Latins,' *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, i (1924), 190 ff; and, for example, another letter of Henry to Innocent III, Migne, *PL*, ccxv, 1522, where the Emperor calls himself 'Dei Gratia fidelissimus in Christo imperator, a Deo coronatus, Romaniae moderator et semper augustus'; see also Henry's letters published in P. Riant, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1878), ii, 74 and 81.

³ G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, xii–xiv (Vienna, 1856), hereafter T.–Th., i, 566–567, no. 157, where the title so long borne by the Doges is accounted for historically: 'Et quarta pars et dimidia ejusdem Imperii Romanie venit in predicti domini Venecie Ducis in (?) portione'; *ibid.*, p. 570, no. 157: '... Marinus Geno Venetorum in Romania Potestas eiusdemque Imperii quarte partis et dimidiæ dominator ...'; *ibid.*, ii, 47, no. 179; and *passim*. The first instance of the title's use by the Doge is February 1207, T.–Th. ii, 4–11, no. 164, wrongly dated there February 1206. Cf. J. K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo* (Oxford, 1915), p. 55. The Doges used the title until 1346; and did not allow their theoretical claim to it to lapse until 1540. H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* (Gotha, 1905), i 489. See 'Gli Statuti Marittimi Veneziani fino al 1253,' ed. R. Predelli and A. Sacerdoti, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, Nuova Serie, iv (1902), 156, where Pietro Ziani in March 1227 uses the title. See also V. Lazzarini, 'I Titoli dei Dogi di Venezia,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, Nuova Serie, v (1903), 271–313, especially 293 ff., and M. Claar, *Die Entwicklung der Venezianischen Verfassung* (Munich, 1895), *Historische Abhandlungen*, ed. T. Heigel and H. Grauert, Heft ix, p. 109, notes 2 and 3, with references.

⁴ Potthast, *Regesta*, 1948; Migne, *PL*, ccxv, 106–107, Book vi, no. 101. Innocent to Boniface of Montferrat, Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois, and Hugh of St Paul, 20 June, 1203: 'Monemus . . .

'Imperium Constantinopolitanum'; and that it was the expression preferred by western authors, beginning with Villehardouin⁵ and continuing long after the loss of the Empire in 1261.⁶ Indeed, the treaty of partition, drawn up between the Venetians and the French and Monferrine crusaders six months after the capture of Constantinople in 1204, is called in the manuscripts the 'Partitio Romanie,' and the name reappears several times in the course of the document.⁷

It has long been recognized that *Romania* had had an extensive previous history, and — like such other geographical and political concepts as Burgundy, Italy, Calabria⁸ — had different meanings at different times. Gaston Paris explored this history in an article published in 1872; another French scholar later discovered and published some appearances of the word earlier than any known to Paris.⁹ These investigations indicate that *Romania* made its first appearances

quatenus . . . in Terrae Sanctae transeatis subsidium, et . . . accepturi de hostium spoliis quae vos si moram feceritis in partibus Romaniae, opporteret forsitan a fratribus extorquere.' The next use I have found is not until 20 January 1205: Migne, *PL*, ccxv, 519, Book vii, no. 206; Potthast, 2398; T.-Th. i, 531, no. 131: 'Verum etiam, sicut credimus, crucesignati adhuc peregrinationis propositum differre proponant, et ad solandum imperium remanere amplius in partibus Romaniae, circa statum tuum et necessitatem exercitus cogitabimus amplius, et statuemus, dante Domino, quod viderimus expedire.'

⁵ Villehardouin, chapter 500, *La Conquête de Constantinople* ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1938–39), ii, 314, ed. N. de Wailly, (Paris, 1874) p. 300: 'Halas! com dolorous damage ci ot a l'empereor Henri et a toz les Latins de la terre de Romanie'; and *passim*. Villehardouin also used the term to mean the Byzantine Empire before the Crusade, e.g. chapter 93, ed. Faral, i, 72; ed. de Wailly, p. 52: 'Tot premièrement, se Diex done que vos le (Alexius IV) remetez en son heritage, il metre tot l'empire de Romanie a la obéissance de Rome. . . .' See also, for example, the continuation of the Chronicle of Robert of Auxerre, MGH SS (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*) xxvi, 282 or the rhymed vernacular chronicle of Philip Mouskes, *ibid.*, p. 801.

⁶ For example by the compiler of the *Liber Consuetudinum Imperii Romanie*, the so-called Assizes of Romania, written down between 1303 and 1330. G. Recoura, *Les Assizes de Romanie* (Paris, 1930), pp. 44–45; see also Marino Sanudo Torsello, in his fourteenth-century *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, ed. C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 99 ff., and regularly in all versions — Greek, French, and Aragonese — of the Chronicle of the Morea. For Venetian usage, see 'Indice dei decreti del Senato "Misti" relativi alla Romania' and 'Regesti di deliberazioni del Senato 1300–1320,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, xviii (1879), 40, and xx (1880), 91; xxix (1885) 404, 406; and xxxi (1886), 180, 196. Philip of Anjou-Taranto, grandson of Charles of Anjou, husband of the daughter of the Despot of Epirus, after 1304 ruler of Corfu, Lepanto, and much of Albania, was known as the Despot of Romania even before he married Catherine of Courtenay in 1313 and became titular Emperor of Constantinople. W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (New York, 1908), pp. 182 ff.; G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1882), p. 388. It is doubtful, however, I think, whether it is correct to call his Albanian state the Despotate of Romania, as does J. Longnon, *Les Français d'Outre-Mer* (Paris, 1929), p. 279. See Longnon's map at the end of his book.

⁷ T.-Th., i, 464 and note 1, no. 121.

⁸ The best introduction to the changing meanings of the name Burgundy is still the famous appendix to Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*. For Italy see M. Schipa, 'Le "Italie" del Medio Evo,' *Archivio per le province Napoletane* xx (1895), 395–441; for Calabria the same author's article 'La migrazione del nome Calabria' in the same number of the same periodical, pp. 23–47.

⁹ Gaston Paris, 'Romani, Romania, Lingua Romana, Romancium,' *Romania*, i (1872), 1 ff. Paul Monceaux, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1920), pp. 152 ff., discovered some earlier appearances of the word. See also the summary article, which, however, adds nothing, by J. Zeiller, 'L'Apparition du mot *Romania* chez les Écrivains Latins,' *Revue des Études Latines* vii

in the so-called Chronicle *Consularis Constantinopolitana*, edited about the year 330, and in a series of other Greek and Latin texts of the fourth and fifth centuries: SS. Epiphanius, Athanasius, and Nilus, and the Latins Ammianus Marcellinus, Orosius, and Possidius, the biographer of Augustine. In this period the term was clearly used to denote the *orbis Romanus* or the *imperium Romanum*; it was essentially a popular rather than a literary expression, formed perhaps by analogy on the model of *Gallia*, *Graecia*, *Britannia*. It was used specifically in contrast with the barbarian world: thus Orosius reports the boast of the Gothic King Athaulf that he would turn all *Romania* into *Gothia*, and to Possidius the barbarians were 'eversores *Romaniae*'.¹⁰ Gaston Paris also succeeded in showing that the word enjoyed something of a revival in the west under the Carolingians, who used it to mean their own Empire, as in a capitulary of Louis the Pious; that, with the German Emperors of the tenth century, the meaning of *Romania* was first restricted to the Italian provinces of the Empire, and later on still further narrowed so as to include the region corresponding to the former Exarchate of Ravenna (still called the Romagna);¹¹ and that it was used by Breton authors to designate the remainder of France, Latin rather than Celtic.

(1929), 194 ff. A passage from Ammianus Marcellinus (16, 11, 7), which some editors have sought to amend, but which should apparently be allowed to stand, also used *Romania*=Roman Empire. E. Fehrle, 'Romania bei Ammianus Marcellinus,' *Philologische Wochenschrift* XLV (1925), col. 381–382.

¹⁰ In addition to these examples given by Gaston Paris, see Jordanes, *Getica*, MGH, *Auctores Antiquissimi*, v, 1, ed. Mommsen, chapter 25, p. 92: 'Vesegothae, . . . legatos in *Romania* direxerunt ad Valentem imperatorem. . . .' See also chapter 50, p. 127.

¹¹ Gaston Paris is uncertain whether this terminology derives from Pepin's donations of land to the Roman Church or is reminiscent of the fact that the Exarchate was the last territory in Italy lost to the Roman (Byzantine) Emperors. He gives a few examples of the word in this sense. There follow three others, all taken from MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1878), published after Gaston Paris wrote. These passages indicate that the use of *Romania* in its meaning of Romagna preceded the Ottonians by at least a century. From the *De Liutprando Rege* (p. 11): ' . . . perrexit cum populo suo usque ad Arelatem civitatem Provintiae, in auxilio domini Carolimagni regis Francorum, et Sarracenos de eadem civitate expulit. . . . Deinde Trasimundum ducem Spoletinum . . . perdomuit. . . . Deinde Beneventanam provintiam ad Langobardorum servitutem redegit. Posthaec Ravennam et universam *Romaniam* peragravit, et usque ad magnam *Romaniam* Langobardorum terminos posuit.' This passage would seem to indicate that the old Exarchate at this time was called *Romania*, while the papal territories were *magna Romania*. From the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum* of John the Deacon (p. 424): Pepin 'iussit . . . pacti ordinem . . . conscribi, ut tunc a deinceps nullo tempore finibus *Romaniae* lederent. . . .' Here the word means the papal territories. From the *Catalogus Regum Langobardorum et Ducum Beneventanorum* (p. 503): in the year 904, Ludovicus ' . . . iterum venit in Italiam et fuit in *Romania*' See also the *Annales Einsidlenses*, MGH SS, III, 143 and 144; the *Chronicon Sancti Benedicti*, *ibid.*, p. 207, *sub anno* 993; the *Chronicon Comitum Capuae*, *ibid.*, p. 209, *sub anno* 1015. In all these instances the word means the Romagna. Modern Rumanian historians, notably Professor Iorga in literally hundreds of articles and longer works, have used the word *Romania* to mean any island of Latin civilization or of Latin-speaking population in the Greek or barbarian world. Thus, Venice, Ragusa, the Istrian, Dalmatian, Balkan, and Danubian Vlachs, and, more especially, Dacia, are all *Romaniae*. This special concept in scholarship and propaganda may well have been suggested by the Italian Romagna; it deserves attention but not close examination here. See, however, notably, the first volume of Iorga's *Etudes Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1939), — including his three long essays, 'Notes d'un historien relatives aux événements des Balkans,' 'Formes Byzantines et réalités balcaniques,' 'Relations entre l'orient et l'occident.'

Gaston Paris deliberately limits himself to this contribution, however, saying, immediately after his presentation of the earliest examples of the word:

Plus tard, quand l'empire d'Occident fut détruit, le nom de *Pωμανία* désigna, dans les écrivains grecs, l'empire de Byzance, et reparut, sous la forme *Romania* (avec l'accent sur l'i), *Romanie*, dans les écrivains occidentaux avec ce sens spécial. C'est de là qu'il est arrivé à désigner les possessions des Grecs en Asie, puis les provinces qui forment aujourd'hui la Turquie d'Europe et la Grèce, et où il faut le reconnaître sous la forme Roumérie. Je n'ai pas à m'étendre ici sur cette histoire du mot grec *Pωμανία*; il suffit de montrer qu'il provient de latin et que son usage habituel en Orient au IV^e siècle prouve qu'il était populaire en Occident avant cette époque.¹²

Gaston Paris here deliberately — and with results which, as will be shown, were later to mislead him in his own researches on the French *chansons de geste* — turns away from those chapters in the history of the word *Romania* which are of the greatest interest to the student of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The vague ‘plus tard’ of his first sentence implies, mistakenly, as we shall see, that the use of the term by the Greeks in the meaning of ‘Eastern Empire’ and its reappearance in the west in this sense were contemporary developments. As authority for his conclusions in the paragraph just quoted Gaston Paris refers to Du Cange, adding that examples of the word in this sense are too numerous to need citation, and quoting in addition only an early twelfth or late eleventh-century Latin poem written in celebration of a Pisan victory over the Saracens in 1088, the *Carmen in Victoriam Pisanorum*.¹³ Du Cange's own pertinent references are to the so-called *Collectanea* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, papal librarian of the late ninth century, to William of Apulia's verse *De Gestis Normannorum*, a valuable history of Robert Guiscard, completed before 1111, to John Brompton, Abbot of Jourvaulx (fl. 1436), a late and unreliable compiler, and to Villehardouin, a contemporary of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and so not useful in an investigation of the meaning of *Romania* before 1204.¹⁴ Thus, for the whole period

¹² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 14, note 6.

'His cum suis Saracenis/devastabat Galliam
Captivabat omnes gentes/que tenent Ispaniam;
Et in tota ripa maris/turbabat Italiam,
Predabatur Romania/usque Alexandriam.'

The accent is clearly on the *i* in *Romania*. The poem, *Carmen in Victoriam Pisanorum Genuensium et aliorum Italorum de Fimino* (pirate prince of Mehdia) is to be found in print in three editions: *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, x (1843), 524 ff.; E. Duméril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1846), pp. 239 ff.; and L. T. Belgrano, *Rendiconto dei Lavori fatti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* (Genoa, 1867), pp. 148 ff. G. Paris prints the portion quoted as a four line stanza; Belgrano as an eight-line stanza. For an estimate of the value of this poem as an historical source, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, tr. Furcy Rainaud (Leipzig, 1885), i, 192.

¹⁴ Du Cange, Favre, Henschel, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinatatis* (Niort, 1886), vii, 209, s.v. *Romania*. See also Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* (Leyden, 1688), ii, 1312, s.v. ‘*Pωμανία*’, which is defined as ‘Imperium orientale interdum provinciae Asiaticae’, and where reference is made to the Latin *Glossarium*: and Johannes Casperus Suicerus, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus E Patribus Graecis* (2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1728), col. 912–913, s.v. ‘*Pωμανία*’, where there are fuller references to the early material than those provided by Du Cange. G. Paris relied almost altogether upon the examples furnished by Du Cange and Suicer.

in the west between the Ottomans and the Fourth Crusade, when the word, as Du Cange rightly says, meant ‘the eastern empire, sometimes the Asiatic provinces,’ we are reduced only to the examples provided by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, by William of Apulia, and by the *Carmen in Victoriam Pisanorum*. This evidence is too scanty to enable us to answer the questions: why did the Crusaders and Venetians, who captured Constantinople in 1204, call the Latin Empire *Romania*, and what were the earlier meanings of the word in the sources?

This study proposes to answer these questions at least tentatively. It would obviously have been impossible to examine all source materials, eastern and western, to arrive at the conclusions here presented. Since the Crusaders and Venetians were westerners, it is essentially western terminology into which we are inquiring. The eastern materials have been examined only sufficiently to establish the usage of the word in the east, and only insofar as they help to explain western usage. In addition, a selective method was perforce followed in the use of western sources. An isolated reference to *Romania* in a local English chronicle, for example, would throw little light on the general usage of the term. Only those groups of sources have consequently been examined whose authors record the activities of those westerners who were in closest contact with the eastern Empire. It is the terminology found in these sources which established the usage generally followed elsewhere in the west. Such groups of sources are those which deal with the Italian mercantile cities — Venice, Pisa, and Genoa — those which deal with southern Italy in the Lombard, Byzantine, and Norman periods, and those — both historical and literary — which deal with the first three Crusades. Additional evidence has been adduced from the correspondence of the Popes. For the purposes of this investigation it has not been possible to use, except incidentally, any source written after 1204. No matter how reliable, with respect to content, such a source might be for an earlier period, its vocabulary presumably reflects the usage of its own time, and does not furnish reliable evidence as to earlier usage. Such works as Andrea Dandolo’s Venetian Chronicle and Roncioni’s and Tronci’s Pisan annals, though derived from earlier histories now lost, and therefore of great value as historical source-material, were therefore useless here.

BYZANTINE USAGE AND VENETIAN, PISAN, AND GENOESE SOURCES

Very soon after the disappearance of the Roman Empire in the west, the term, ‘*Pωμαρία*’ appears in the Byzantine sources in the meaning of ‘territory of the Empire in the east.’¹⁵ While it is not to be found in Procopius, the contemporary chronographer John Malalas, who, it should be noted, wrote in the popular

¹⁵ Stamatios Pseltes, *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chronisten* (Göttingen, 1913), p. 262, supplies the references given below to Malalas, Theophanes, Theodosius of Melitene, and Cedrenus. For further details on the Byzantine usage see K. Amantos, ‘*Πωμαρία*,’ *Ελληνικά VI* (1933), 231–235. The word ‘*Πώμη*’ was, of course, regularly used to mean Constantinople. See, for example, the hymns to the Emperor John Comnenus sung to him by the factions of the hippodrome at Christmas 1127 and at the feast of Christ’s baptism in 1128. Spyridon Lambros, ‘Τυμοὶ τῶν Δήμων εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα ’Ιωάννην Κομνήνον,’ *Νέος Ελληνομήμαν*, II (1905), 385–395.

language, so employs it.¹⁶ It appears also in a striking late-sixth-century inscription found in the present Sremska Mitrovitsa (the old Sirmium), at one time in the museum at Zagreb, which implores the Lord Christ to smite the Avar and to protect 'Romania'.¹⁷ Thereafter the occurrences are frequent in Byzantine authors. Reference need perhaps be made only to Theophylact Simacattes,¹⁸ to the seventh-century text called the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*,¹⁹ to Theophanes,²⁰ to Constantine Porphyrogenitus,²¹ to the tenth-century chronicle ascribed to Theodosius of Melitene,²² to the lost portions of the Excerpta of Constantine Porphyrogenitus as quoted by Suidas,²³ to Skylitzes as preserved by Kedrenos,²⁴ to Psellus' letters,²⁵ to Anna Comnena,²⁶ to the *Strategicon* of

¹⁶ '... ἐγένετο μεγάλη καὶ φόβος ὅὐκ δύλιγος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τῆς "Ρωμανίας." Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), p. 408.

¹⁷ J. Brunšmid, 'Eine Griechische Ziegelinschrift aus Sirmium,' *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Vienna 1893), pp. 331–333: 'Χρ(ιστ)ε Κ(αὶ) β(ασι)ιτης Βοήτης (für βοήθει) τῆς πόλεως (sic!), κ' ἔρρυξον τὸν "Αβαρω —, κε πβλαξον (für φιλαξον) τὴν "Ρωμανίαν καὶ τὸν γράψαντα. Αμήν.' The reading κε πβλαξον for κ' ἔρρυξον is suggested by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* xii (1937), 688. G. I. Bratianu, *Priviléges et franchises municipales dans l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1936), pp. 63 ff. expresses the view that *Romania* alludes to the Latin character of the Balkan region for which protection is being sought. It is easy to understand why this interpretation would appeal to a Rumanian scholar, occupied, like so many of his countrymen, in hunting for traces of his ancestors; but there is really no reason to suppose that *Ρωμανία* means anything but 'the Empire.' Bratianu also refers to N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest, 1934), i, 256, who shares his view; to C. Jireček, 'Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters,' *Denkschrift der K. Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* XLVIII (1902), Abhandlung III, 36 and note, who, however, interprets *Romania* as denoting the Empire; and to a recent re-publication of the inscription by Šišić in *Povijest Hrvata ze Narodnik Vladare* (Zagreb, 1925), p. 221, fig. 122 and 223, note 48, not accessible to me.

¹⁸ *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887), p. 212. It should be noted that Theophylact here is quoting a letter of Chosroes, and that this instance of the use of *Romania* is, therefore, probably to be attributed in the first instance to the Persians.

¹⁹ 'Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati,' ed. N. Bonwetsch *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*. Neue Folge xii (1910), 60. See also pp. 62, 65, 70, 76, 'Ρωμανία is regularly called τὸ τέραπτον θηρίον. I owe this reference to Professor R. P. Blake.

²⁰ E.g. 'μεθ' ἦν αἱ Παλαιστινῶν καὶ Καισαρέων καὶ 'Ιεροσολύμων ἀλώσεις εἴτα ὁ Αἰγύπτιος δλεθρος, καὶ καθεξῆς ἡ τῶν μεσογείων καὶ νήσων καὶ πάσης "Ρωμανίας αἰχμαλωσία . . ." ' Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1883), i, p. 332. There are no fewer than forty-five other occurrences in Theophanes.

²¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1840), p. 270. There are several other occurrences of the word. Another example appears in the Περὶ Παραδρόμης Πολεμοῦ τοῦ κύρου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βασιλέως (Nicephorus Phocas), ed. Bonn, 1828, in the volume containing Leo Diaconus, p. 192.

²² E.g. 'Καὶ ἕκτοτε πλεῖστος θρασυνήτερος οἱ Ἀγαρηνοί, σφοδρότεροι δὲ ηγένοντο τὴν "Ρωμανίαν ἔχοντες εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ τὸν προσφύγονος Σκλάβους.' Theodosii Meliteni qui fertur *Chronographia*, ed. T. L. F. Tafel (Munich, 1859), pp. 112–113.

²³ *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler (Leipzig, 1935), iv, 60. For comment on the lost *Excerpts* see *ibid.*, i, xix.

²⁴ E.g. '... καὶ πολλὰ χωρὰ διαφθερας, εἰς "Ρωμανίαν αὖθις ὑπέστρεψε.' Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), i, 692.

²⁵ 'Ἐπιτολαῖ, ed. K. Sathas, *Μεσσανωκή Βιβλιοθήκη* (Venice and Paris, 1876), v, 225.

²⁶ E.g. '... ἐτομαζομένη δὲ ἥδη ἡ βασιλεία μον σὺν θεῷ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν τῆς "Ρωμανίας ἔξθλευσι . . .' Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. A. Reifferscheid (Leipzig, 1884), i, 109. See also ii, 142, 213, 239.

Kekaumenos, and to the so-called *Λόγος Νουθετητικός* or admonition, addressed to Alexius Comnenus by a certain Nikoulitzza.²⁷ Despite this steady appearance in the narrative historical sources, the word does not seem to have been used by the emperors themselves in their surviving official documents before the time of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118).²⁸ Thereafter however, its appearance in such documents is frequent.

Among the official documents in which the Emperors after 1081 repeatedly use the word '*Ρωμανία*' are those preserved in the archives of the Italian mercantile cities. The Venetian archives, for example, contain Latin and occasionally Greek texts of the Imperial donations issued in favor of Venice by Alexius Comnenus (1082) and his successors, in all of which the Emperors — Alexius, John, Manuel, and Andronicus Comnenus, and Isaac and Alexius Angelus — refer to their empire as *Romania*.²⁹ Thus the term, long current in the east, and in use from the

²⁷ E.g. 'οι γάρ Πατζιώναιοι ούτως εισήλθον εἰς 'Ρωμανίαν, καὶ οἶδα ὡς πάντες γυνώσκους πόδα ἐλεεινὰ καὶ θρήνων δέξια ἔξι αὐτῶν συνέβησαν.' *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris* (Nikoulitza) *De Officiis, Regiis Libellus*, ed. V. G. Vassilievsky and V. Jernstedt (St Petersburg, 1896). Zapiski istoriko—philologicheskago fakulteta imperatorskago universiteti, chast' 36, p. 17. There are four other appearances of the word in the *Strategicon*. The *Λόγος Νουθετητικός* is printed pp. 93–104 of the same volume, which is in the Princeton University Library. The following quotation appears p. 95: 'Τοὺς θύνικους . . . μὴ ἀναβίβασε εἰς μεγάλας ἀξίας μῆτε ἑρπίστενεν αὐτοῖς μεγάλας ἄρχας . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἀκοβσαντες εἰς τοιαῦτην τὸν ἀλθεῖν ἀξίαν καὶ ἄρχην, γελάσωσι πάντες καὶ εἰπωσιν' 'ημεῖς εἴχομεν ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἄντ' οὐδὲνός, καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς 'Ρωμανίαν ἐντυχε τοιαύτης ἀξίας. καὶ, ὡς ζούκει, εἰς 'Ρωμανίαν ἀνθρώπος οὐκ ξεῖ ικανὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦνθων δὲ ημετέρος . . . πολλὰ γάρ συμφέρει τῇ 'Ρωμανίᾳ, δέσποτα τὸ μὴ τιμᾶν θύνικονς ἀξίας μεγάλας . . .' Sections of this Greek text were first printed (with complete Russian translation) in V. G. Vassilievsky, 'Sovety i Raskazy Vizantiiskago Boyarina XI Veka,' *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya* ccxvi (1881), 316–357. A partial English translation in A. A. Vasiliev, 'The Anglo-Saxon Immigration to Byzantium,' *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum)* IX (1937), 65–66.

²⁸ The method used to obtain this conclusion was as follows: all imperial documents were examined of which an original or of which a Greek or translated text has been transmitted, as reported by F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Ost-Römischen Reiches*, Pt. 1 (565–1025) and Pt. 2 (1025–1204), Abtheilung 1, Reihe A of the *Corpus der Griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit* (Munich and Berlin, 1924 and 1925) — Dölger's symbols *Orig.*, *A*, and *B*. There are about one hundred and twenty such documents before 1082. The Emperors do not seem to refer to their territory as *Romania*. Thus, for example, Heraclius in 615 calls it 'ἡ 'Ρωμαικὴ πολιτεῖα' (Dölger, no. 166; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), p. 707); Constantine IV Pogonatus, writing in 681 to the delegates to the Church Council to be held at Rome, calls it 'τὸ φιλόχριστον ἥμας 'Ρωμαικὸν ἅπαν πολίτευμα,' (Dölger, no. 248; J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (Venice, 1770), xi, 721); Romanos Lecapenos, in his letters to Simeon, King of the Bulgars, written between 935 and 941, points out that there can be only one 'βασιλεὺς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων' (Dölger, nos. 606, 607, 608; I. Sakellion, 'Ρωμάνον Βασιλέως τοῦ Λακαπήνου' *Ἐπιστολαί*, Δέλτιον τῆς 'Ιοτορκῆς καὶ' Εθνολογικῆς 'Ἐταιρίας τῆς 'Ελλάδος I (1883), 657–666; II (1885), 38–48, and 385–409); Basil II, when reorganizing the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Bulgaria in 1020, says: 'τοῦτο ἔστι παρὰ πάντα ἔξαρτεον τὸ προσθήκην γενέσθαι τῇ 'Ρωμαίων ἄρχῃ καὶ τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων γενέσθαι ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἔνα.' (Dölger, no. 806; H. Gelzer, 'Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistumsverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II (1893), 42). Michael VII Dukas Parapinakes, trying in 1072 or 1073 to impress upon Robert Guiscard the advantages of an imperial marriage, says: 'Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς δὲ πάντως δποίειν ἔστιν ἡ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς 'Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺος ηγεμονία,' (Dölger, no. 989; ed. K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (Venice and Paris, 1876), v, 386 (Dölger's reference is incorrect). These are of course only a selected few of the more striking passages in the imperial documents.

²⁹ T.-Th., I, 50 ff., no. 23; 96 ff., no. 42; 109 ff., no. 50; 114 ff., no. 151; 179 ff. nos. 70, 71, 72;

late eleventh-century on in the imperial documents issued in the Venetians' favor, must have been known to the Venetians. Yet curiously enough — two exceptions are all I have been able to find — the term does not appear in the published Venetian documents themselves until after the Fourth Crusade, after the Empire — *Romania* — had been conquered by them, and their Doge had become lord of a 'quarter and half of a quarter' of it. Before 1204 the Venetian documents generally use such terms as 'Imperator Constantinopolitanus'³⁰ and 'terra Grecorum,'³¹ but not *Romania*. Nor do the earliest Venetian narrative sources use the word. The garbled and difficult *Chronicon Venetum* called 'Altinate,' in a portion ascribed to the mid-eleventh century, calls the Emperors 'Christianissimi imperatores de Constantinopoli' and the Empire 'Romanum Constantinopolitanum imperium.'³² The chronicle of John the Deacon, written in the early eleventh century, uses the terms 'Romanum Imperium' and 'Romanum regnum,' and calls the Greeks 'Romani,'³³ but does not use the term *Romania*.

It may perhaps be concluded that, in the period before the late eleventh century, for which the only surviving sources are inextricably embedded in later works, the use by Venetian authors of the terms 'Imperium Romanum,' 'sanctissimum imperium,' and the like reflects a disinclination to question the prerogatives of the Empire, with which Venice maintained such intimate relations, growing out of her early dependency on Byzantium,³⁴ and that the rare appearances of the word *Romania* can presumably be said to indicate only that the word had not yet come into vogue in Venice. In the late eleventh and twelfth

248 ff. no. 85. Alexius' chrysobull of 1082 is preserved only as quoted verbatim in that of Manuel: 'Constituit vero imperium meum, et sanctissimam ecclesiam sancti apostoli et evangeliste Marci qui est in Venetia, ab uno quoque in magna civitate et omni Romania tenentium ergasteria Amalphitanorum omnium . . . accipere per unum quemque annum numismata trio' (p. 52). ' . . . quum multam benivolentiam et rectum animum erga Romaniam et erga Imperium meum ostenderunt' (p. 53), etc.

³⁰ E.g., T.-Th., I, 172, no. 65, date 1175.

³¹ E.g., *Ibid.*, 20, no. 13, date 960.

³² MGH SS XIV, 43 and 45, where it appears twice, once as 'sanctum et benignissimum Romanum Constantinopolitanum gloriissimum imperium,' and on p. 49, where it is simply called 'Constantinopolitanum imperium.' See also E. Besta, 'Nuove Richerche sul Chronicon Altinate,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, Nuova Serie, xv (1908), 70, where he makes precisely this point, note 4: 'Nota incidentalmente che *Romania* non fu mai usata per indicare le terre dell'impero: . . . indica certo la Romagna.'

³³ G. Monticolo, *Cronache Veneziane Antichissime*, I (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia pubblicati dall'Istituto Storico Italiano*, IX, Rome, 1890), 60, 85, 87, 88; 76, 77, 83.

³⁴ For the early relationship between Byzantium and Venice, see E. Lentz, *Das Verhältnis Venedigs zu Byzanz nach dem Fall des Exarchats bis zum Ausgang des neunten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1891), and 'Der allmähliche Übergang Venedigs von faktischer zu nomineller Abhängigkeit von Byzanz,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* III (1894), 64–116. In the latter article Lentz dates the change from factual to nominal dependence in 879 (p. 101). See also the now somewhat outdated book of J. Armingaud, *Venise et le Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1868). See also N. Iorga, 'Les Commencements de Venise,' *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section Historique*, xviii (1931), 101–143. Iorga (p. 129) discerns a strong unity of traditions and 'necessité d'action solidaire' between Venice and Byzantium about the year 1000; but feels that during the eleventh century Venice became part of the 'unité morale italienne' (p. 143).

centuries, however, when Venice had become a rival rather than a client of Byzantium, it may tentatively be suggested that Venetian authors hesitated to use the term *Romania* because of the connotations of prestige which it carried, and in general fell back upon the relatively colorless ‘Constantinopolitanum imperium’ until after 1204, when the Empire itself was safely in Venetian hands. In this connection it is of interest that the *Historia Ducum Venetorum* and the *Annales Venetici Breves*, written down after 1204, both use *Romania* freely.³⁵ It may then be conjectured that the rare appearances of the word *Romania* in the Venetian sources, documentary and narrative both, for the period before the Fourth Crusade, is to be interpreted as reflecting a policy of deliberate avoidance of the term, which the Venetians certainly knew. Evidence from other Italian sources reveals that the historians of the other cities, who had a far less intimate relationship with Byzantium than did Venice, used the term freely long before the Venetians appear to do so, and thus tends to confirm this hypothesis; but the fragmentary nature of the Venetian sources themselves for this period would make any more positive statement risky.

The two exceptions are to be found in sources which deal with the relations of Venice with Pisa. The account of the *translatio* from the east of the body of St. Nicholas reports that in 1099 a Venetian fleet, having captured some Pisan prisoners after a sea-battle, released them on condition that they never again set foot in *Romania* for commercial purposes.³⁶ Later, the five-year truce of 1180 between Venice and Pisa, dated at both cities, uses the term *Romania* several times.³⁷

The Pisan archives still retain Greek and Latin texts of the privileges granted to the city by the Emperor Isaac Angelus (1185–1195) in February 1192, in which are quoted verbatim the texts of the previous privileges granted, beginning in 1111, by Alexius (1081–1118) and Manuel Comnenus (1143–1180), and of the oaths taken by the Pisans on the occasion of these grants.³⁸ Here both Greek

³⁵ MGH SS XIV, 73, *sub anno* 1122, the Venetians ‘qui defensores Romaniae semper extiterant,’ none the less attack Corfu; p. 75 three times *sub annis* 1147 and 1149, once in these same words; p. 76, *sub anno* 1156; p. 78 several times *sub annis* 1168 and 1171; pp. 78, 93. Also p. 72, *sub anno* 1171. The words of the *Historia Ducum Venetorum*, in referring to the events of the twelfth century, are precisely those of the Byzantine documents themselves, where the Emperors use them of the Venetians.

³⁶ ‘De Translatione Sanctorum Magni Nicolay . . .,’ ed. Flaminius Cornelius, *Ecclesiae Venetae* (Venice, 1779), ix, 9: ‘Nec a captis aliam obligationem receperunt . . . sed numquam scilicet deinceps Romaniam causa mercimonii intraturos.’

³⁷ *Documenti sulle Relazioni delle Città Toscane coll’Oriente Cristiano e coi Turci*, ed. G. Müller (Florence, 1879), p. 20, no. 18: ‘Et statutum etiam inter nos est, quod si cursarii in Romania fierent et nos galeas a curia domini Imperatoris querere voluerimus nullam nobis inde contrarietatem facere Pisani debeat . . .’; and p. 21: ‘Item in Romaniam de Venetia Pisani, donec guerra inter nos et imperatorem Constantinopolitanum fuerit, non ibunt, et de Romania in Venetiam non venient, nisi nostra voluntate.’

³⁸ *Ibid.*, both Greek and Latin texts, pp. 40 ff., no. 34, with Müller’s full note, pp. 414 ff. The Greek text alone is printed in F. Miklosich und J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi* (Venice, 1865), III, 3 ff.; and the Latin text alone in F. Dal Borgo, *Raccolta di Scelti Documenti Pisani* (Pisa, 1765), pp. 147 ff.

and Latin versions use *Romania* throughout, and it is put into the mouths of the Pisans as well as of the Byzantines. One passage from the oath taken by the Pisans to Alexius in 1111 throws additional light on the precise meaning of the word:

Nos omnes . . . promittimus tibi sanctissimo imperatori domino Alexio, et domino Iohanni, dilecto filio tuo et imperatori Porphyrogenito, quod nos totus Pisanus populus ab ista hora et antea non erimus in consilio aut facto per quod perdatis vos imperium vestrum vel Romaniam vel insulas maris vel terras quas modo tenetis sub vestra potestate et quas ab hac hora acquiretis a Chroatia, Dalmatia, et Durachio usque in Alexandriam et ipsam; neque . . . paciscemus cum aliqua persona vel populo inimicante imperio vestro ad auferendum a vobis vestrum imperium vel Romaniam vel aliquas imperii vestri terras vel insulas . . .³⁹

It is clear that in this passage *Romania* is not used as an equivalent for the whole empire (if it meant the whole empire, presumably the text would read ‘imperium sive Romania’ rather than ‘imperium vel Romania’), but means some specific portion of it, apparently not including the islands of the sea or the lands yet to be conquered on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, although the text is not detailed enough to warrant a guess as to the exact area intended.

A later letter of Isaac to the Pisans, complaining of their misconduct toward him, also uses the by now customary *Romania*,⁴⁰ as do the Pisans themselves in the instructions issued in September 1197 to the ambassadors they were sending to obtain from Alexius Angelus a renewal of the privileges granted by Isaac.⁴¹ *Romania* also appears in the early Pisan narrative sources, Bernardo Maragone’s Annals, which break off in 1192, using it in their account of the Norman raid on the coasts of Greece in 1157:

Guilelmus rex Cilie . . . misit cum suo amirato et cum multis de suis baronibus super imperatorem Constantinopolitanum; . . . stolus pervenit ad Nigropo (Euboea) . . . bellum incipit . . . totum stolum imperatoris Constantinopolitani retinuit, et civitatem Nigropo . . . cepit. . . . Mox etiam civitatem Almiro (Halmyros on the gulf of Volo) audacter aggressus est. . . . Postea magnam partem Romaniae devastavit et expoliavit.⁴²

³⁹ Müller, *Documenti*, p. 52. Greek text, p. 43. An abridgement gives the key words: ‘. . . ἡμεῖς πάντες οἱ ἔποικοι . . . Πίσσης ἀπικούμεθα σοι . . . ὡς . . . δὲ ἂπας πισσαῖκὸς λάος . . . οὐκ ἐσόμεθα ἐν βούλῃ ἢ πράξῃ δὲ’ ἡς ὑμεῖς ἀπολέσετε τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν ἢ τὴν ‘Ρωμανιάν ἢ τὰς νήσους τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ τὰς χώρας, ἃς νῦν κρατεῖτε . . . καὶ ἂς . . . ἐπιτκήσεσθαι μὲλλετε ἀπὸ τε Χορβατίας, Δαλματίας, καὶ τοῦ Δυναρραχίου καὶ ἄχρι τῆς ‘Αλεξανδρείας καὶ αὐτῆς . . .’

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 66 ff., no. 41; note, p. 428. Also Dal Borgo, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71 ff., no. 44; note p. 430. Also Dal Borgo, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff. ‘Petant missatici a domino imperatore . . . ut . . . nominatim naives Pisanorum que veniunt a Romania non dent, nisi sicut alii naives que a Pisis venerunt,’ (p. 71); ‘Si dominus Imperator . . . obicerit, quod consuli . . . olim iurassent . . . ut cursales (pirates) de Romania eicerent . . . excusat se . . .’ (p. 72).

⁴² Bernardi Maragonis, *Annales Pisani*, Muratori, *R.I.S.S.*, vi, part 2, second ed. (Bologna, 1930), p. 17. Also in *MGH SS*, xix, 243–244. Almost exactly the same words are used in describing the expedition of William by the fourteenth-century (1371) *Breviarium Pisanae Historiae*, Muratori, *R.I.S.S.* (Milan, 1725), vi, 172, the author of which was presumably copying Marago. The other narrative sources for the history of Pisa printed by Muratori in the same volume (*Gesta triumphata per Pisanos facta*, pp. 99 ff.; the *Chronicon Pisanium seu Fragmentum Auctoris incerti*, pp. 107 ff.; and the poem of Laurentius of Verona, *Rerum in Majorca Pisaniorum ac de eorum triumpho Libri VII*, col. 111 ff.) do not use the word *Romania*. For the raid of William, and the correct date, see F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907), II, 247 ff.

Here *Romania* seems to mean specifically Greece, rather than the whole Empire.

In the documentary and narrative sources for Genoa, whose relations with the Empire began still later, the usage is the same. The Genoese archives are perhaps fuller than the Pisan, and have been more thoroughly worked over than the Venetian; so that, even for the short period between 1155, when diplomatic relations were opened, and 1204, a large number of documents has been printed.⁴³ The word *Romania* does not appear in the initial agreement of 1155, drawn up at Genoa between the Genoese consuls and the emissaries of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, which was designed to give the Genoese the same privileges in the Empire as the Pisans already possessed. The undertakings of both parties to the agreement have been preserved; but the Genoese and Byzantines alike refer to the Emperor as 'Domino Emanueli Constantinopolitano Imperatori Porfirogenito Comnino' and as 'sanctissimus imperator.'⁴⁴ Similarly in the Genoese instructions of 1157 to their own ambassador to Byzantium, Amico de Murta, the terms used are 'tota terra imperii,' 'per singulas. . . imperii civitates,' 'per totum imperium et singulas imperii partes.'⁴⁵ The word 'imperium' is used in every instance where *Romania* might be expected. At this time, the term was clearly not yet current in Genoa.

By 1169, however, in his oath taken in Constantinople on behalf of the Genoese, in return for a grant from Manuel, Amico de Murta, again the Genoese envoy, refers to himself as 'paciscens in persona Genuensium cum excelsissimo imperatori Romanorum Porphyrogenetto Manuele Comneno,' and promises good faith toward 'omnes heredes et successors imperii ipsius regnaturos et Romanianam.' The Emperor, for his part, uses the word *Romania*, according to his custom, in both the official acts issued at this time, which grant privileges to the Genoese in exchange for promises of military assistance. In the Latin version of the pact, in the course of the official statement of the Genoese statement of their obligations, signed by Amico, Manuel several times appears as 'imperator romeon.'⁴⁶ This term, obviously transliterated from 'Πωμαῖων, as well as the accurate spelling of the Greek words Porphyrogenetos, Manuel, and Comnenus, and the fact that this was the first of the agreements to have been drawn up at Byzantium rather than at Genoa, suggests that the scribe of the original — whether a Latin or a Greek — was someone familiar with Byzantine chancery terminology and with Greek spelling; and that this familiarity may also account for the use of *Romania*, an established Byzantine expression; but this point should perhaps not be pressed. In any case, from 1169 on, the Genoese documents regularly use the term.⁴⁷

⁴³ Most satisfactorily, with Greek and Latin texts where both survive, in G. Bertolotto, 'Nuovo Serie di Documenti sulle Relazioni di Genova coll' Impero Bizantino,' *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, xxviii, fasc. II (1898), 343 ff. Several of the Greek texts are available — apparently printed with many errors — in Miklosich and Müller, *op. cit.*; two of the Latin texts are printed in *Liber Jurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, ed. E. Ricotti, I, *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, viii, Turin, 1854) 183 ff. and 252 ff.

⁴⁴ Bertolotto, *loc. cit.*, pp. 343–344.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 349, 351, 352 ff.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 367, 401; in the bulls of Isaac Angelus, pp. 406 ff., in Genoese instructions to their own

Turning to the Genoese narrative sources, one finds that Caffaro's *Liberatio Orientis*, written down in the mid-1150's (he died in 1166), and the *Regni Hierosolymitani Brevis Historia*, by an anonymous Genoese, who wrote sometime after 1188, both use the term. The former specifically locates the island of Ithaca in *Romania*.⁴⁸ Caffaro's successor, Ottobono, official scribe of the Commune, writing toward the end of the century, uses *Romania* in such a way as to make it clear that he intends it to mean Byzantine territory in Europe.⁴⁹ Ottobono's continuator, Ogerio Pane, who wrote after the fourth Crusade and the foundation of the Latin Empire, reports these developments, saying that the Crusaders and Venetians 'imperium Romanie in tres partes divisorunt, imperium dantes Comiti Flandrensi, regnum Saloniki marchioni Montisferrati, et insulas Romanie duci Venetae cum quadam parte terrarum Romanie'.⁵⁰ This is of course an accurate description of the actual arrangements made by the Crusaders, and the word *Romania* is used in each case to mean the whole territory of the Byzantine Empire. Twice after the capture of Constantinople, Ogerio Pane refers to this territory of the former Byzantine Empire, now displaced by the Latin Empire, as *Romania*, in each case when discussing a Genoese attack on Venetian shipping coming from Constantinople.⁵¹

Thus the Genoese continued after the Fourth Crusade to use the term *Romania* as a geographical expression, to mean the territories formerly Byzantine which now belonged to the Latin Empire. But with the Genoese the expression was geographical only. When speaking politically, Genoese authors, unlike any other western authors with whom I am familiar, continue to call the Greek heirs to Byzantium, the Lascaris Emperors, now in exile in Nicaea, emperors of

ambassadors, pp. 469, 473, etc. It is also to be found in the records of the late twelfth-century Genoese notaries, now in the course of publication: *Notai Liguri del Sec. XII*, I, *Oberto Scriba de Mercato* (1190), ed. M. Chiaudano and R. Morozzo della Rocca (Genoa, 1938), 74, no. 184; II, *Guglielmo Cassinese* (1190–1192), ed. M. W. Hall, H. C. Krueger, and R. L. Reynolds (Turin, 1938) I, 11, no. 19, 12, no. 21; III *Bonvillano* (1198), ed. J. E. Eierman, H. C. Krueger, and R. L. Reynolds (Genoa, 1939), 43, no. 92.

⁴⁸ *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de suoi Continuatori*, ed. L. Belgrano and C. I. de Sant' Angelo, five volumes (Genoa and Rome, 1890–1929), *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, xi–xiv bis, I, 117–118: 'Cum vero istis duabus civitatibus captis [Caesarea and Arsuf in the year 1101] Ianuenses revertendo ad Ianuam, et venissent in Romaniam, in val de Compar [Ithaca] obviauerunt navidio (*sic!*) Constantinopolitani Imperatoris . . .'; and p. 143 (*Brevis Historia*): 'Comes autem Tripoli . . . cum in civitatem applicisset (1187) . . . invenit ibidem maximam quantitatem Ianuensium qui ibidem accesserant de Romania et de partibus Sicilie.'

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 33: 'Fridericus Imperator . . . per mediam transiens Romaniam, brachium Sancti Georgii transfretavit et fines Turcorum intravit.' See also p. 54 (year 1195), where the Pisans 'multas . . . naves. . . mercatores, infinitam pecuniam per Siciliam per Romaniam et circumquaque ceperunt et abstulerunt.'

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93: 'In eodem anno (1204), cum multi Ianuenses . . . cum galeis vi Romaniam intrassent . . . invenerunt magnam quandam navem de Constantinopoli reducentem . . .'; and p. 98 (year 1205): arming a great ship, the *Leopard*, which had been captured by the Pisans, the Genoese commander of the fleet 'super inimicos nostros in Romaniam in cursu mandavit . . . navigante . . . cum galeis et in Romaniam intrante, obviauit navibus duabus magnis et ditissimis Venetarum. . . .' (There follows a sea-chase and combat, after the Venetians have been forced to scuttle one ship, and the Genoese overhaul the other.)

Romania.⁵² Thus the Genoese seem to have manifested a reluctance to recognize in any formal way the Latin conquest of Constantinople, which had been so signal a success for their rivals the Venetians and so heavy a blow to their own position in the east. The ‘imperator Romanie’ was still their ally the Greek Emperor, whom — in the person of Michael Palaeologus — they were later to aid in recapturing Constantinople from the Latins, and with whom they maintained relations throughout the period of the Latin Empire. As we have seen, Ogerio Pane recorded the fact that in 1204 the Crusaders had given the *imperium* to Baldwin of Flanders; but thereafter the Genoese sources do not again name a Latin Emperor until after the recapture of the city in 1261, and the restoration of Greek hegemony at Constantinople. Then, in 1263, ambassadors of Baldwin II — now titular Emperor only — to the Pope appear briefly in the Genoese Annals as men ‘*olim imperatoris Constantinopolis*.’⁵³ This difference in Genoa between the geographical and political uses of the term *Romania* appears to deserve emphasis: to the Genoese *Romania* meant, politically, only the Greek Empire, wherever its capital happened to be located for the moment; geographically, territories once Byzantine were still loosely called *Romania*, but apparently a deliberate effort was made to avoid terminology which would make it appear that the Genoese accepted the legitimacy of the Latin sovereignty over Constantinople, where Venetians exercised so preponderant an influence.⁵⁴

Thus, with certain minor and subtle variations in implication, which were apparently motivated by political considerations, although this cannot be demonstrated conclusively, the Pisans and Genoese may be said, during the twelfth century, to have used the word *Romania* to mean the Byzantine Empire in general; or, on occasions, more specifically the European portions of Byzantine territory. Their use of the term apparently was originally inspired by official Byzantine usage. The Venetians, however, whose relations with Byzantium were of longer standing and far more intimate, and who were increasingly rivals rather than clients of the Emperors, seem for the most part to have deliberately avoided the word until after the Fourth Crusade, when the Doges could arrogate to themselves the prestige inherent in its use.⁵⁵

⁵² Thus, *ibid.*, III, 57, in 1231 Genoese emissaries sailed ‘ad partes Romanie in una galea bene armata causa loquendi et firmandi pacem et conventionem cum Vatathio (Johns Dukas Vatatzes, 1222–1255) imperatore Romanie . . .’, and (p. 93) in 1239 messengers who had been sent ‘ad Vathacium Romanie,’ returned to Genoa.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 50.

⁵⁴ An Anconitan source written about 1200, should also be mentioned. J. Buoncompagno, *Liber de Obsidione Anconae*, Muratori, R.I.SS., VI (2d edition, Bologna, 1937), 17: ‘Porro multi Anchonitani aberant, qui causa negotiandi erant in Alexandria, in urbe Constantinopolitana et Romania.’

⁵⁵ Amalfi, first of the Italian cities to win commercial concessions from the Byzantine Emperors, was a client state of Byzantium until 1073, when it surrendered to the Normans. The sources for its history and their use of the word *Romania* will be considered below as part of the general discussion of the terminology used by the sources for southern Italy. The initial bibliography is most easily to be obtained from F. Capasso, *Le Fonti della Storia delle Province Napoletane dal 568 al 1500*, with notes by E. O. Mastrojanni (Naples, 1902), p. 9, note 1, p. 26, note 2, etc. The best secondary work is still M. Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell’ antica città e ducato di Amalfi*, 2 vols. (Salerno, 1876, 1881). See also A. Hofmeister, ‘Zur Geschichte Amalfis in der byzantinischen Zeit,’ *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* I (1920), 94–127.

OTHER WESTERN SOURCES BEFORE 1081

Thus it has been established that during the twelfth century, the Italian cities used the word *Romania*, apparently following the official Byzantine practice beginning with Alexius Comnenus. The question now arises as to other western practice during the period before Alexius. Relations between the Byzantine Empire and the west were after all more or less uninterrupted: Charlemagne negotiated with the eastern Emperors Irene, Nicephorus, and Michael I; Liudprand, tenth-century Bishop of Cremona, went on two missions to Byzantium for the western Emperors; many Anglo-Saxons, discontented with the Norman Conquest of Britain, fled to Byzantium; fairly regular official contact was maintained by the papacy; and, above all, southern Italy was until 1071 an outpost of the Byzantine Empire, to which the Emperors still laid claim even after the successful conquest by the Normans. If the term *Romania* in its meaning of 'Byzantine Empire' had been current in the west before the time of Alexius Comnenus, one would expect to find it in the sources for these relations between the west and Constantinople.

Yet an investigation of these sources leads to almost entirely negative results. The exchange of embassies and of diplomatic communications between Charlemagne and the Byzantine Empire is by no means fully documented; in those western letters and contemporary accounts which survive, however, I have not found the word *Romania*.⁵⁶ Nor does Liudprand use it in the next century.⁵⁷ Nor does Ordericus Vitalis, best source for the Anglo-Saxon emigration.⁵⁸ Nor does it seem to appear in the papal letters: Nicholas I (858–867) wrote to the Emperor Michael III as 'Graecorum inclytus imperator' or as 'dilecto filio Michaeli glorioso imperatori Graecorum,' on one occasion angrily suggesting — since Michael had called Latin a barbarous tongue — that he stop calling himself

⁵⁶ I have consulted the following: *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. P. Kurze (Hannover, 1895), *Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum*, containing the *Annales Laurissenses Maiores* and the *Annales Einhardi*; MGH *Epidolae*, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, I and II, containing the *Codex Carolinus* and the letters of Charlemagne to Nicephorus and Michael; MGH *Poetae Latini Aevi Karolini*, ed. Dümmler I; *Annales Sithienses*, MGH SS XIII; Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1911). Einhard, for example, calls the Byzantine Emperors 'Imperatores Constantinopolitani' or 'Graeci.' Good secondary accounts are still, for the Byzantine side, J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), pp. 317 ff., and, for the Frankish side, A. Kleincausz, *L'Empire Carolingien* (Paris, 1902), pp. 169 ff. L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921), pp. 223 ff. convincingly revises some of the ideas of Kleincausz, whom Bury, in general, follows. See also Kleincausz, *Charlemagne* (Paris, 1934), pp. 320 ff. Good earlier works are A. Gasquet, *L'Empire Byzantine et la Monarchie Franque* (Paris, 1888), and O. Harnack, *Die Beziehungen des fränkisch-italischen zum byzantinischen Reiches* (Göttingen, 1880). See also Gasquet's 'L'Empire d'Orient et l'Empire d'Occident; L'emploi du mot βασιλεύς dans les actes de la Chancellerie Byzantine,' *Revue Historique* xxvi (1884), 281–302, and 'Études Byzantines. Charlemagne et l'Impératrice Irène,' *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux, Nouvelle Série*, I (1884), 21–58. For the purely mythical accounts of a legendary visit by Charlemagne to Constantinople see below in text and note 145.

⁵⁷ *Liudprandi Opera*, ed. J. Becker, SRG (Hannover and Leipzig, 1915). See especially Liudprand's argument with Nicephorus Phocas, pp. 177 ff., where the opportunity for using *Romania* occurs repeatedly, but where the word does not appear.

⁵⁸ Migne, *PL*, clxxxviii.

Roman Emperor.⁵⁹ Adrian II (867–872) and John VIII (872–882) do not use the term in their voluminous correspondence with the Emperors on Bulgarian affairs and on the restoration of Photius.⁶⁰ In January 1054, just before the schism which Pope and Emperor were striving to prevent and which the Patriarch was determined to precipitate, Pope Leo IX wrote to Constantine IX Monomachus, ‘glorioso et religioso imperatori novae Romae’.⁶¹ After the schism Gregory VII wrote to Michael VII Ducas Parapinakes in 1073 as ‘Constantinopolitanus Imperator;’ in December 1074, when urging the west to mobilize against the Turks, he demanded help for those erring Christians who lived ‘ultra mare in Constantinopolitano imperio;’ in 1078 he excommunicated Nicephorus Botaniates, ‘Constantinopolitanus imperator;’ and in 1080 he instructed the Bishops of Apulia and Calabria to assist Robert Guiscard in his efforts to help the deposed Michael VII, ‘gloriosissimum imperatorem Constantinopolitanum,’ in reality an impostor, whom Guiscard was using for his own purposes.⁶² Thus, down to the time of Alexius Comnenus, I have not found *Romania* in the papal correspondence,⁶³ with one exception, which will be dealt with below.

Indeed it remained papal practice not to use the word even after it had come into vogue elsewhere in the west. Innocent II in 1138 instructed all Latins ‘qui sunt in exercitu regis Constantinopolitani vel in terra sua habitant’ to refrain from lending any assistance to the ‘rex Constantinopolitanus’ (John Comnenus 1118–1143) ‘qui . . . beato Petro, celorum clavigero . . . inobediens est,’ in any of his efforts to take Antioch or any other place now in the possession of faithful Christians.⁶⁴ Eugenius III, writing in 1149 to console the western Emperor Conrad for the calamities suffered in Byzantine territory during the second Crusade, does not use the term;⁶⁵ in 1157 Adrian IV granted the Patriarch of Grado permission to ordain and consecrate bishops ‘in Constantinopolitana urbe et in aliis civitibus in Constantinopolitano dumtaxat imperio, in quibus Veneti plures habent ecclesias.’⁶⁶ Alexander III in 1165 wrote to Manuel Comnenus as ‘carissimo in Christo filio nostro illustri Constantinopolitano Imperatori’;⁶⁷ while Clement III informed Isaac Angelus in 1188 that the rulers (princi-

⁵⁹ P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, (2d ed., Leipzig, 1885), I, numbers 2690, 2682, 2796; Mansi, *Conciliorum . . . Collectio*, xv, 168, 162, 191. Nicholas’ correspondence includes letters to the Caesar Bardas, Patriarchs Photius and Ignatius, the Empresses Theodora and Eudoxia, and the clergy and Senate of Constantinople. The word *Romania* is not used.

⁶⁰ Jaffé, 2908, 2909, 2913, 2914, 2925, 2962, 2996, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3360. ⁶¹ Jaffé, 4333; Mansi, xix, 667.

⁶² Jaffé, 4789, 4910; Mansi, xx, 74, 100, 507; Jaffé, 5178; Mansi, xx, 319. Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, i, 265.

⁶³ The documents relating to the schism of 1054, where one might expect to find the word, do not contain it. C. Will, *Acta et Scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant* (Leipzig and Marburg, 1861). Nor do the contemporary *Lives* of the Popes. See M. J. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum qui fuerunt inde ab exeunte saeculo IX usque ad finem saeculi XII Vitae ab Aequalibus Conscriptae* 2 vols (Leipzig, 1862). For earlier lives of the Popes, see the discussion of Anastasius Bibliothecarius which follows.

⁶⁴ Jaffé, 7883; E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l’Église du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1849), pp. 86–87.

⁶⁵ Jaffé, 9344; Mansi, xxi, 629. Migne, *PL* CLXXX, 1394.

⁶⁶ Jaffé, 10296; Mansi, xxi, 824–825; Migne, *PL* CLXXXVIII, 1519.

⁶⁷ Jaffé, 11150; Mansi, xxi, 1022; Migne, *PL* cc, 339.

pes) of the west, including ‘alter imperator,’ Frederick Barbarossa, were up in arms against Saladin, and urged him to assist, ‘ne Saraceni regnum etiam tuum clade aliqua afficiant.’⁶⁸ In an exchange of letters between Alexius III Angelus and Pope Innocent III in 1199, the Emperor reminded the Pope of the depredations caused by Frederick Barbarossa on Byzantine territory, asking rhetorically: ‘Quomodo igitur imperium meum sic non bene circa Romaniam sentientibus adjuvare debebat . . . ?’⁶⁹ but the Pope did not use *Romania* in his reply,⁷⁰ and in a later letter Innocent refused to place Cyprus under Alexius’ jurisdiction, on the ground that it had originally been seized by Richard Lionheart from a ruler (Isaac Comnenus, a distant relative of the ruling family of Byzantium) ‘qui de ipsa Constantinopolitano imperio nullatenus respondebat’.⁷¹ Innocent continued to use the terms ‘Constantinopolitanum imperium’ and ‘Constantinopolitanus imperator’ up to and even after the foundation of the Latin Empire. But, beginning in 1203, he used *Romania* as well.⁷²

The word is also not to be found in the documentary sources for south Italian history before the outbreak of the conflict between Robert Guiscard and Alexius Comnenus in 1080.⁷³ Indeed, the only occurrence in these materials before the

⁶⁸ Jaffé, 16373; N. Reusner, *Epistolarum Turcicarum . . . Libri IV* (Frankfort, 1598), pp. 16–17.

⁶⁹ Migne, *PL*, ccxiv, 767. ⁷⁰ Potthast, 863; Migne, *PL*, ccxiv, 769, Book II, no. 211.

⁷¹ Potthast, 1332; Migne, *PL*, ccxiv, p. cccxiii, in the *Gesta Innocentii*.

⁷² Potthast, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125; 2121, 2324, 2339, 2382; etc. See above, note 4.

⁷³ I have consulted the following: F. Trinchera, *Syllabus Membranarum Graecarum* (Naples, 1865), containing 266 documents before 1204; G. Beltrani, *Documenti Longobardi e Greci* (Rome, 1877), containing 33 documents before 1139; *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, ed. M. Morcaldi, M. Schiani, and S. de Stefano (Naples, Milan, Pisa, 1873–1893), 8 vols, containing 1,388 documents before 1065; D. Morea, *Il Chartularium del Monastero di S. Benedetto di Conversano* (*Chartularium Cupersanense*) (Montecassino, 1892), containing 99 documents between 815 and 1072 and 148 additional documents before 1204; *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, the following volumes: i, *Le Pergamene del Duomo di Bari*, 952–1264, ed. G. B. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1897), containing 72 documents before 1204, iii *Le Pergamene della Cattedrale di Terlizzi 971–1300*, ed. F. Carabellese (Bari, 1899), containing 189 documents before 1204, iv, v and vi, *Le Pergamene di San Nicola di Bari*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900, 1902, 1907), iv containing 46 documents and eight fragments dating before 1071, v containing 164 documents and 24 fragments between 1075 and 1194, vi containing fifteen documents from before 1204, vii *Le Carte di Molfetta*, ed. F. Carabellese (Bari, 1912), containing 78 documents before 1204, viii *Le Pergamene di Barletta Archivio Capitolare 897–1285*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1914), containing 189 documents before 1204. ix, *I Documenti Storici di Corato*, ed. G. Beltrani (Bari, 1929), containing 78 documents before 1204, x, *Pergamene di Barletta*, ed. R. Filangieri de Candida, (Bari, 1927), containing 45 documents before 1204; A. di G. Prologo, *Le Carte che si conservano nello Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano della Città di Trani dal IX secolo fino all'anno 1266* (Barletta, 1877), containing 94 documents before 1204; *Tabularium Casinense*, *Codex Diplomaticus Cajetanus* (Gaeta) (Montecassino, 1187–1891), 2 vols, containing 370 documents before 1204; K. A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der Normannisch-Sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902), containing 51 documents before 1204; C. A. Garufi, *I Documenti Inediti dell'Epoca Normanna in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1899) containing 111 documents before 1194; B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus Historiam Pertinentia* (Naples, 1881–1892), 2 vols, i containing the Chronicles of the Dukes and of the Bishops of Naples with an appendix of other documents, ii part 1 containing *Regesta Napoletana 912–1139* (690 documents), and part 2 the *Diplomata et Chartae Ducum Neapolis 917–1130* (27 documents), *Capitularia et Pacta* (5 documents before 1128), and a section on inscriptions, seals, and coins.

year 1204 appears to be the will made in 1200 by Oto Nauclerius of Bari, just before leaving on a trip 'in partibus Romaniae'.⁷⁴ The hagiographical and narrative sources for the period before 1080, such as the life of St Nilus,⁷⁵ the various Lombard histories,⁷⁶ and Raoul Glaber⁷⁷ also do not use the term. In fact, the only appearances I have been able to find in the west before the mid-eleventh century are those which appear in the Latin translation of Theophanes made in the ninth century by Anastasius the librarian and ambassador of Popes Nicholas I and Adrian II, and the single appearance in Anastasius' *Collectanea*, cited by Du Cange.⁷⁸ In his translation, Anastasius regularly renders Theophanes' frequently-used '*Pωμαρία* by *Romania*'.⁷⁹ The occurrence in the *Collectanea* is in a letter of Pope Martin I, written from his exile in Cherson (in the Crimea) in the year of his death, 655. Martin had been kidnapped from Rome by Byzantine emissaries, taken to Constantinople, and imprisoned and tortured in an effort to force him to adopt Monotheletism. He was finally sent, virtually to starve, to Cherson, where 'bread,' he says, 'is only mentioned and scarcely ever seen.' In this remote spot the only source of food was

ex Naviculis quae veniunt ex partibus Romaniae, ut hi qui hic sunt nuncupant, partes videlicet Graecorum Ponticas partes vocantes. Nam nec semel de regione ista nisi ad unum

⁷⁴ *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 20, no. 10. See also vii, no. 96, the will of a certain Kuriilio, made 'volens proficisci ad partes Romanie' but in the year 1248. Contrast the cartulary of Conversano, *op. cit.* i, p. 6, where, in the year 915, John, Abbot of Montecassino, is found writing of himself as en route to Byzantium 'pergendum deo iubante in partibus Constantopolim' (sic!). Although at least before 1071 documents are regularly dated in the year of the Byzantine Emperor, the normal terminology used is like the following example from Capasso, *op. cit.*, ii, 264: 'Imperante domino nostro piissimo perpetuo Augusto Michaelio porfirogenito nec non et Barda felicissimo cesar.'

⁷⁵ S. Nilus died 1005, Abbot of Grotta Ferrata. *Vita* in *Acta Sanctorum Septembbris*, viii, 282–342; Migne, PG, cxx, 15–165. Here Constantinople is once referred to simply as τὰ ἑῷα μέρη (col. 124). For the value of St Nilus as a historical source, see J. Gay, *L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantine* (Paris 1904), *passim*, and G. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine à la fin du Xe Siècle*, ii (Paris, 1900), *passim*. O. Gaietano, *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum* (Palermo, 1657) contains many saints' lives, notably that of Faustinus, pp. 152 ff., which are of value as historical sources. They do not use the word *Romania*.

⁷⁶ MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saeculorum VI–IX*, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1878), including Erchempert, Paul the Deacon, etc. See above, note 11.

⁷⁷ Raoul Glaber, *Les Cinq Livres de Ses Histoires*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1886). Glaber, a Norman monk, finished his history between 1046 and 1049. The following passage (p. 52) may serve as an example of his vocabulary when he is dealing with Byzantine affairs: 'Tunc etiam imperator Basilius (Basil ii, 976–1025) sancti imperii Constantinopolitani precepit cuidam satrapi illo, illi qui cognominatur Cataponti (presumably the Catapan of Italy, Bojoannes) eo scilicet quod juxta mari inhabitat (a fantastic false etymology) ut a transmarinis civitatibus, quae Romano debentur imperio, veniens tributa exigere; qui libenter annuens misit Graecorum classem ad res Italicas sublaturas. Hos vero pertemptatum est per duorum annorum spatium, non parva enim pars subjugata est a Graecis Beneventane provincie.'

⁷⁸ For Anastasius see E. Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I und Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 185 ff. The very rare book of A. Lapôtre, *De Anastasio Bibliothecario Sedis Apostolicae* (Paris, 1885) has not been accessible to me. For the reference to Du Cange see above note 14.

⁷⁹ Theophanes, ed. De Boor, ii, 188, 208, 217, 219, 230, 231, 233, 235, 236, 245, 246, 250, 252, 261, 294, etc. See also De Boor's account of Anastasius' work, pp. 400 ff.

trimisimum frumentum potui comparare: sed nec alterius cuiuscumque speciem, nisi ut praedictum est, ex naviculis quae hoc raro veniunt ut sale onustae recedant.⁸⁰

It is quite clear from this passage that Pope Martin recognized the necessity of explaining to his correspondents in the west the meaning of the word *Romania* as used in the mid-seventh century by the wild (barbaros) and godless (gentiles) inhabitants of Cherson. Since the words are those of Martin himself and not those of his editor, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, it is only coincidence that *Romania* is found in Anastasius' *Collectanea*. Apparently Anastasius himself did not choose to employ in his own Latin works the Latin form of the Greek word he had learned and used in translating Theophanes. An examination of his other Latin compositions, including his *Lives* of the Popes, has not revealed any other appearances of the term. In fact, even in recounting the life of Martin I himself, whose letters — among them the one in which *Romania* appears — he had included in his *Collectanea*, Anastasius avoids the word, saying only that the Byzantine kidnappers 'tollentes sanctissimum Martinum papam . . . perduxerunt Constantinopolim . . . Deinde directus est . . . in exilium in locum qui dicitur Cerson.'⁸¹ Further along in his *Lives* of the Popes Anastasius refers to the eastern Emperor Michael III as 'filius Theophili imperatoris Constantinopolitanae urbis imperator,' and, at another point, simply as 'imperator Grecorum.'⁸²

Thus the two occurrences of *Romania* I have been able to find in the western sources before 1082, like those in the archives and histories of the Italian mercantile cities after 1082, can be traced directly to Byzantine sources: to the text of Theophanes, and to the local terminology in use among the inhabitants of the remote settlement of Cherson.

THE SOUTH ITALIAN SOURCES 1081–1204

Under the year 1066, Luperus Protospatharius, the Apulian chronicler, whose *Annales* cover the years 805–1102, records that 'Lofredus comes, filius Petronii, voluit ire in Romaniam cum multa gente, sed obstitit illi quidam ductore Graecorum nomine Mambrita.'⁸³ 'Lofredus' is Geoffrey, Norman Count of Taranto, who had been planning an attack on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and 'Mambrita' the Byzantine Admiral Mabrikas, who prevented the Norman fleet from

⁸⁰ *Anastassi Bibliothecarii Sedis Apostolicae Collectanea*, ed. J. Sirmondus (Paris, 1620), p. 108. Martin's letter is registered in Jaffé, no. 2081, and is printed in Mansi x, 862, and in Migne, *PL*, cxxix, 601. A Greek life of Martin, probably written between 730 and 740, discovered by Prof. R. P. Blake in a Patmos ms. and published by Père P. Peeters, 'Une Vie Grecque de Pape S. Martin I,' *Anelecta Bollandiana* li (1933), 225–262, imitates this passage from the letters, without, however, using the word *Romania* (p. 261): ' . . . οθεν μεθ' ὅρκων ἔγραψεν ὅτι πλοιαρίου ἐκεῖστος ἀπελθόντος καὶ ἔχοντος δλήγον σῖτον εἰς τὸ ἀντιπραγματέσσαθας ἄλας, μόλις ἡδυνάθη ἀγοράσαι ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόδιον ἔνα σῖτον κατὰ τεσσάρων μοδίων τοῦ νομίσματος, μετὰ πολλῆς παρακλήσεως καὶ δέησεως. For Martin's sad fate see J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1889), II, 296. See also L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1886), I, 339–340, and *L'Église au VI^e siècle* (Paris, 1925), pp. 443–453; anonymous, 'Una Vittima del despotismo bizantino, Papa Martino 649–654,' *La Civiltà Cattolica* Anno 58 (1907), III, 272–285 and 656–666; and W. Peitz, 'Martin I und Maximus Confessor,' *Historisches Jahrbuch* xxxviii (1917), 214–236 and 429–458.

⁸¹ Migne, *PL*, cxxviii, 738.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1354 and 1366.

⁸³ MGH SS v, 59.

crossing the strait of Otranto.⁸⁴ This passage records an early and abortive Norman attack against Byzantine territory; it is not until some fifteen years later, when, under Robert Guiscard, this Norman threat developed into a regular and serious offensive against the Empire, that the word *Romania* comes into more frequent use. The year 1082 saw the issuance of Alexius Comnenus' chrysobull for Venice, granted as a reward for the assistance rendered by the Venetians to the Byzantines in fighting off Robert Guiscard's attack on the Albanian coast of the previous year. It is from this chrysobull and its successors that we have tentatively dated the use of the word *Romania* by the Italian cities; it is in their account of Robert Guiscard's attack that the south Italian sources begin to use the word more often.

So the *Annales Beneventani*, under the year 1081, report that 'Viscardus multa loca cepit in Romania sed postea repulsus est';⁸⁵ all three recensions of the *Annales Casinenses* say 'Robbertus dux (transito mari) Romaniam debellaturus ingreditur';⁸⁶ and this phrase was taken over by Peter the Deacon in his continuation of the *Annales*.⁸⁷ Geoffrey Malaterra, speaking of these events, locates them 'apud Romaniam'.⁸⁸ Seventeen years later, in 1096, when Guiscard's son Bohemond decided to go on the first Crusade, Malaterra explains his decision as follows:

Boamundus . . . qui iam dudum cum Guiscardo patre Romaniam pervaserat et semper eam subjugare cupiens erat, videns plurimam multitudinem per Apuliam (sed sine principe) illorum accelerare, princeps exercitus . . . fieri volens . . . crucem vestibus suis apponit.⁸⁹

Other contemporary accounts of the Byzantine-Norman conflict, which continued throughout the twelfth century, use the word *Romania* when referring to the Empire. Thus in 1143 Manuel Comnenus and King Roger of Sicily came to blows; according to Romuald of Salerno:

Emanuel . . . autem ad regem Rogerum legatos de parentela inter eos componenda mandavit. Rex autem pro hac causa perficiendo honorabiles legatos ad imperatorem misit, qui eos verbis suis more solito diutius detinuit, et post modum in carcerem retrudi fecit. Unde rex indignatus apud Hydruntium (Otranto) galeas et naves plurimas preparare fecit et eas cum comitibus et multa militia in Romaniam misit. Qui venientes Corpho (Corfu) et multas alias insulas depopulati sunt. Corinthum vero et Stipham (Thebes) ceperunt in ore gladii . . . Alio quoque tempore . . . Rogerus misit Salernum Amiratum suum cum stolio suo in Romaniam qui invenit maximum stolium imperatoris apud capum Maleae

⁸⁴ Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, I, 183. ⁸⁵ MGH SS III, 181.

⁸⁶ MGH SS XXX, part 2 (1934), 1420–1421. Recension C does not have the words 'transito mari'; A and C date the attack correctly in 1081, B wrongly in 1080.

⁸⁷ MGH SS VII, 738. Under 1085 (p. 743) Peter reports that Robert gave a donation to Montecassino: 'a Romania misit hic mille michalatos.' For the term Michalatus — meaning a coin struck by Michael VII Ducas Parapinakes (1071–1079), see R. P. Blake, 'Some Byzantine Accounting Practices illustrated from Georgian Sources,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, v (1940), 22, note 3, and pp. 26–27.

⁸⁸ G. Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Comitis*, ed. Muratori, R.I.S.S., v (Milan, 1724), 537 ff.; (2d ed. Bologna, 1928), 75.

⁸⁹ 2d. ed. p. 102. R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924), makes less of this passage than might have been expected.

et ibi viriliter pugnavit, Graecos devicit, et Angelum Despoti Magistrum stolii et consanguineum imperatoris cum multis aliis captivos in Siciliam duxit.⁹⁰

In 1158 William I ‘Magnum stolium preparavit et . . . in Romanianam misit. Qui ad Egripum (Nigropont, Euboea) veniens . . . expoliavit.’⁹¹ In 1185 the *Annales Ceccanenses* report the serious attack by William II, which captured Thessalonica and nearly overthrew the Byzantine Empire itself:

Hoc anno Gulielmus rex Sicilie fecit stolium maximum . . . et mandavit eos in Romanianam ad inquirendum imperium Constantinopolitanum . . . ceperunt Durazzi . . . adepti sunt Saloniciam cum multis civitatibus et castellis et roccis de Romania, iurantes fidelitatem regi Siciliae. . . .⁹²

Corfu, Corinth, Thebes, Cape Malea, Euboea, Durrazzo, and Thessalonica are all in *Romania*: the meaning of the word in these passages is clear; it is ‘territory of the Byzantine Empire.’

Perhaps more striking than the occasional appearances of the word in these narrative sources is its absence from so many others which record some or all of these events. Thus I have not found *Romania* in the *Annales Barenses*, the *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, the *Chronicon breve Normannicum*, the *Annales Cavenses*, the *Ystoire di li Normant* of Aimé (or Amatus) of Monte Cassino, Leo of Ostia’s continuation of the *Annales Cassinenses*, the so-called *Anonymi Vaticani Historia Sicula*, the *Chronicon Casauriense*, the *Chronicon Sancti Bartholomei di Carpineto*, the *Chronicon Amalfitanum*, Falco of Benevento’s *Chronicon de rebus aetate sua gestis*, Alexander of Telese’s *De rebus gestis Rogerii Siciliae regis*, Hugh Falcand’s *Liber de regno Siciliae*, and *Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium*, or Peter of Eboli’s verse *Carmen de rebus Siculis*.⁹³ The *Anonymus Vaticanus*, a late author, for example, although he gives full treatment to the Norman wars against Byzantium, in this connection regularly uses the words ‘terra Grecorum’ to mean the territory of the Empire. It is not until he comes to describe the activities of Charles of Anjou, in the years after 1268, when the Latin Empire of Constantinople had fallen, that he ways ‘paravit armatam contra Romaniam’.⁹⁴ This evidence would seem to indicate that, al-

⁹⁰ *Cronica*, ed. G. del Re, *Cronisti e Scrittori Sincroni Napoletani* (Naples, 1845) I, 14; also MGH SS XIX, 424. Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, II, 129 and 135 ff.

⁹¹ MGH SS XIX, 429. Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, II, 247.

⁹² MGH SS XIX, 287. The Greeks, so the *Annales* charges, broke the pact, and the Normans were then ‘callide dueti’ to take Constantinople; but Isaac Angelus managed to talk himself out of the danger he was in. Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, II, 403 ff.

⁹³ *Annales Barenses*, MGH SS V, 51 ff.; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, ed. Muratori, R.I.SS (Milan, 1724), V, 147 ff.; *Chronicon Breve Normannicum*, *Ibid.*, pp. 278 ff.; *Annales Cavenses*, MGH SS III, 185 ff.; Aimé, *Ystoire de li Normant*, ed. O. Delarc (Rouen, 1892), and new edition by V. de Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1935), *Fonti per la Storia d’Italia*, LXXVI; Leo of Ostia, *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, MGH SS VII, 574 ff.; *Anonymi Vaticani Historia Sicula*, ed. Muratori, R.I.SS, VIII (Milan, 1726), 745 ff.; *Chronicon Casauriense*, *Ibid.*, II (Milan, 1726), 775; *Chronicon Sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto*, ed. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, X (Venice, 1722), 349 ff.; *Chronici Amalfitani Fragmenta*, ed. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae Medii Aevi* (Milan, 1738) I, 207 ff.; *Alexandri Telesini Coenobii Abbatis De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Siciliae Regis Libri IV*, ed. Muratori R.I.SS, V (Milan, 1724), 607 ff.; Hugh Falcand, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Siciliae e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurarium*, ed. G. B. Siragusa (Rome, 1897), *Fonti per la Stori d’Italia*, XXII; Peter of Eboli, Muratori R.I.SS, XXXI (2nd ed. Città di Castello, 1904–1910).

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, col. 771 ff. and col. 780.

though the word *Romania* was known to the chroniclers and historians of South Italy, it was by no means standard usage until after the Fourth Crusade, when the Latin conquest and the foundation of the Latin Empire — *Romania* par excellence — gave the term so great a vogue.

One of the chief sources for the history of the Normans of South Italy, William of Apulia, whose work was written at the behest of Pope Urban II, and is thought from internal evidence to have been completed about 1111,⁹⁵ uses *Romania* in a sense quite different from that intended by any of the sources so far considered. In his account of Robert Guiscard's operations against Alexius Comnenus on the coast of Albania, around Durrazzo, he never uses the term *Romania*.⁹⁶ But in a passage describing the conquest of Byzantine territory by the Seljuk Turks, he says:

Interea Michael [Michael VI Stratioticus 1067] Romani jura regebat
 Imperii cum fratre suo, qui nomine dictus
 Constantinus [Constantine X Ducas] erat, quorum dominatio Graecis
 Pernitiosa fuit. . . .
 Horum temporibus Turcos orientis ad oris
 Ingressos fugit gens territa christicolarum,
 Qui Romaniae loca delitiosa colebant
 Maxima pars horum ruit interfecta nefandis
 Turcorum cladiis, et captis urbibus, omnis
 Subditus his populus dans vectigalia servit.

Shortly afterward, taking a look ahead of the period he is dealing with, and making clear reference to the first Crusade and the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, William says:

Tempore Persarum gens [Turks] perfida coepit ab illo
 In Romaniam consurgere caede rapinis,
 Imperii nec adhuc redigi sub jura valeret,
 Gens nisi Gallorum, quae gente potentior omni
 Viribus armorum nutu stimulata superno
 Hanc libertati superato redderet hoste,
 Quae spirante Deo Sanctas aperire Sepulcri
 Est animata vias longo tam tempore clausas.⁹⁷

Now, although both were part of the territory of the Byzantine Empire, the *Romania* which was the scene of the eleventh-century Turkish conquest and of the French Crusaders' re-conquest was of course quite a different *Romania* from the *Romania* which was the scene of the warfare between the Byzantines and the Norman rulers of southern Italy and Sicily. In his avoidance of the term when he is discussing events which took place along the eastern shores of the Adriatic, in Greece, and among the islands, and in his use of the term when he is discussing events which took place in Asia Minor and in Syria, William of Apulia departs

⁹⁵ Chalandon, *op. cit.*, I, xxxviii ff. See also R. Wilmans, 'Über die Quellen der *Gesta Roberti Wiscardii* des Guillermus Apuliensis,' *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, x (1851), 87 ff.

⁹⁶ Muratori, *R.I.S.S.*, v (Milan, 1724), book IV, 272 ff.; MGH SS ix, 282 ff.

⁹⁷ Muratori, *op. cit.*, p. 264; MGH, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–266 and 267. Book III, 11. 1–4 and 7–12; 98–105.

from the usage of *Romania* so far observed. In the instances so far cited from the sources for the history of the Italian cities and of southern Italy *Romania* means in general the territory of the Byzantine Empire; and, in every case where it can be shown to have a more specific meaning, it means the western portions of the Empire. William of Apulia's usage is different. He uses the word as do the historians of the Crusades. For him, as for them, it means Asia Minor.

THE SOURCES FOR THE FIRST THREE CRUSADES

The western sources for the first three Crusades naturally make frequent reference to the Eastern Empire, through whose territory so many of the armies passed, and with whose emperors the leaders had such intimate relations. An examination of these sources indicates that the Crusaders almost always used the term *Romania* to mean Asia Minor, sometimes including part of Syria: those territories which had formerly been Byzantine, but which, by 1096, when the Crusaders first arrived in Byzantium, had been taken by the Turks, and so many of which the Crusaders were to reconquer. In all the sources for the first Crusade, for example, I find only one reference to *Romania* when it means the Empire in general, and this occurs in the account of a speech which is attributed to a Byzantine official.

In the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, the Crusaders cross the straits 'et intraverunt in Romaniam, et per quatuor dies ierant ultra Nicenam urbem.' Nicaea itself is referred to as the 'caput totius Romaniae'; when put to flight by the Crusaders, the Turks flee 'per universam Romaniam.' In two speeches attributed to Saracen commanders, the speaker refers to 'Romania sive Syria.' It is only the Byzantine Tatikios (Tetigos) who speaks of *Romania* as his fatherland (*patria*), apparently in the sense of the whole Empire,⁹⁸ and even his exact meaning cannot be understood with complete certainty, since Tatikios was half-Saracen.⁹⁹ The reference to Nicaea as 'caput totius Romaniae,' frequently repeated or imitated by later sources, appears to show conclusively that the European portions of the Empire were specifically excluded from the term *Romania*. Nobody could possibly have thought of Nicaea as the 'caput' of any area which also included Constantinople.

Tudebod of Civray, who follows the *Gesta* closely, repeats all these passages almost verbatim, adding two further mentions of *Romania* not in the *Gesta*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, ed. B. A. Lees (Oxford, 1924), pp. 3, 13, 21, 33; 47, 50; p. 32. P. 101, note 26. See also the edition by L. Bréhier (Paris, 1924), p. 9, note 2.

⁹⁹ Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid (Leipzig, 1884), i, p. 138: ' . . . δ δέ γε Τατίκιος καὶ μέγας τῷ τότε πριμάκηριος τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀχριδῶν ὄβουλητων Τούρκων ἡγεμόνευε γενναιότατος ὁν ἀκατάπληκτος ἐν μάχαις, οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρας μὲν ὅν τύχης ἐκ προγνώνων. Καὶ γὰρ δ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Σαρακηνὸς ὁν ἐκ προνομῆς περιῆλθε τῷ πρὸς πατρὸς ἐμῷ πάππῳ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Κομῆνῳ.'

¹⁰⁰ Petri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Sivracensis *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, iii (Paris, 1866), 11, 22, 29, 42, 60, 63; 41. Additional mentions p. 18, where Alexius is said to have granted Bohemond 'XV dietas terrae in longitudine Romanie et octo in latitudine.' This is the expansion by Tudebod of the passage in the *Gesta* commented upon at length by A. C. Krey, 'A neglected passage in the *Gesta*', *The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro* (New York, 1928), pp. 57 ff. The *Gesta* passage does not include the word *Romania*. Other mention, p. 87, where Bohemond is reported to have been ill 'in Romaniae partibus.'

So does the text published by the editors of the *Recueil* as ‘Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus, which also adds a few new mentions of the word,¹⁰¹ and so does Robert the monk of Reims.¹⁰² In Raymond of Agiles, the meaning is the same: ‘Profecti igitur a Nicaea civitate in Romaniam’ (i.e. further into Asia Minor); ‘Itaque devictis et profligatis Turcis, pacifice per Romaniam ad Antiochiam venimus.’¹⁰³ So too in Fulcher of Chartres, whose editor, Hagenmeyer, defines *Romania* as ‘the territory from the Euphrates west to Nicomedia, except for the areas along the coast which still belonged to the Greeks.’¹⁰⁴ Thus, for example, Pope Urban II called the Council of Clermont ‘audiens etiam interiores Romaniae partes a Turcis super Christianas occupatas’; the Turks ‘invaserunt . . . usque mare Mediterraneum ad illud qui scilicet quod dicunt Brachium Sancti Georgii (the straits) . . . apud Romaniae fines terras Christianas magis magisque occupando’; again, the Turks ‘Euphrate fluvio transito, terram Romaniae totam usque Nicomediam urbem sibi subiugarant’; ‘a Nicaea discessimus interiores Romaniae partes adituri’; ‘Soliman, qui Nicaeam urbem et Romania in potestate sua tenebat.’¹⁰⁵

William of Malmesbury, who in general follows Fulcher closely in his account of the first Crusade, is even more specific in defining the term for his readers: *Ita Turchi, qui jam a quinquaginta annis Bithiniam, quae est pars Minoris Asiae, quam Romaniam dicunt, Euphrate transito possederant, in superiores fuga terras concessere; verumtamen ausi sunt, obsidione soluta, exercitum ultra progredientem incessere, auctore quodam Solimanno cui dominium totius Romaniae obtigerat.*¹⁰⁶

William knew that Bithynia was part of Asia Minor, and that Nicaea, about the capture of which he was writing, was in Bithynia. He also knew that the Turks called Bithynia *Romania*; but, in implying that the Turks had conquered Bithynia as soon as they crossed the Euphrates, and in equating Bithynia with *Romania* he mistook the part for the whole. The Turks, of course, called all Asia Minor, including Bithynia, *Rum*, or *Romania*; and, as we shall see, it was their usage, rather than that of the Byzantines, which the Crusaders and their historians seem to have adopted. The chief importance of this passage is that William of Malmesbury correctly attributes the use of the term *Romania*, in its meaning of Asia Minor, to the Turks.¹⁰⁷

The same meaning is found in the letters of the Crusaders: ‘in Romania, frater dilectissime, sumus nos Christiani; Nicaeam . . . devicimus’; ‘innotescat igitur

¹⁰¹ *RHC*, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 180, 183, 190; 198, 199, 89; 207. Additional mentions p. 192, ‘Solimanus perdidérat Nicaeam et universam Romaniam,’ and p. 227, ‘Qui deinde in Romaniam ad Anismam (Kemeshtekin ibn Danishmend) regem vinculis mancipandus perducitur.’

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 733, 758, 764, 782 (*Tatikios*); 798, 809, 811, 813.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 241; see also p. 262.

¹⁰⁴ *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 121 and note 12.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 133–134, 180, 190, 192–193. Other references, pp. 199, 201, 261, 428, 430–431.

¹⁰⁶ *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1889), II, 414.

¹⁰⁷ The possibility that ‘dicunt’ in the above passage is an impersonal verb, and that ‘Turchi’ is therefore not the subject of it, seems rather small, but should at least be pointed out.

... Deum . . . triumphasse tam in Romania quam in Syria';¹⁰⁸ and in the best of the twelfth-century authorities, Ralph of Caen and Ekkehard of Aura.¹⁰⁹ In Albert of Aix, *Romania* sometimes means northern Syria as well as Asia Minor proper: 'ab Antiochia, Tharsis [Tarsus], Halapia [Aleppo] et ceteris civitatibus Romaniae'; but sometimes means Asia Minor alone 'in partibus Graeciae, Romaniae, et Syriae'; 'de Nicaea urbe expulsus et Romaniae finibus.' In one striking passage Albert makes it clear that for him *Romania* does not begin until the Straits have been crossed:

Imperator [Alexius Comnenus] . . . timens, ne . . . civitatem Constantinopolim debellarent, ammonuit eos ne ultra in locis his aut litore remanerent, sed quantocius abhinc migrantes in terminis Cappadociae et Romaniae apud portum Civitot¹¹⁰ et Rufinel¹¹¹ hospitati, moram facerent donec affuturae legiones et copiae cum eis simul in unum confluenter.

¹⁰⁸ *Epistulae et Chartae ad Historiam Primi Belli Sacri Spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 142 and 147 in letters of Simon, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy. See also pp. 150 (letter of Stephen, Count of Chartres), 157 (letter of Anselm de Ribodimonte), 162 (letter of Bohemond), and Hagenmeyer's note, p. 244, n. 12.

¹⁰⁹ Ralph of Caen in *RHC*, *op. cit.*, pp. 612 (promise of Alexius to Bohemond); 691, 'Frusta Romaniae bella, frusta Antiochiae famem, frusta reliquos labores superatos esse quandoquidem . . . pelagus naufragos fecerit'; p. 705, repeats the passage of Tudebodus continuatus on Kemeshtekin (see above, note 101); p. 709 mentions an expedition against him in *Romania*. *Ekkehardi Uraugensis Abbatis Hierosolymita*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), pp. 63, 229, 235, 238, 242; see Hagenmeyer's note 35, p. 64.

¹¹⁰ Civetot or Chevetot (*κιβωτός* in Greek) was a fortress-town, begun in 1085 by Alexius Comnenus on the Asiatic side of the Straits, not far from Nicomedia, as a residence for the English who were then flocking to Byzantium as refugees from the Norman conquest. Work was abandoned because of a sudden attack by the Turks, and the English were transferred to Constantinople to begin their duties as guards; but a good deal of progress must have been made on the construction, because the site remained a landmark for centuries, and is spoken of repeatedly by Villehardouin. A.A. Vasiliev, 'The opening stages of the Anglo-Saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the Eleventh Century,' *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakorianum)* IX (1937), 52, note 62, and p. 58. Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Migne, *PL*, clxxxviii, 309 and 660. Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. A. Reifferscheid (Leipzig, 1884), II, 101, 128, 244, 265; Villehardouin, chapters 460, 463; 465, 467, 468, 471, ed. Faral II, 274 ff.; ed. de Wailly, pp. 275 ff. See Faral's note 3, p. 275. For mention of Chevetot by the *Chanson d'Antioche*, see below in text and note 137. See also V. G. Vassilievsky, *Trudy* (St. Petersburg, 1908) I, p. 364. Moreover, Cluny had a Latin monastery at *Kibotos*, founded by Alexius, before 1100, which Peter the Venerable later sought to get back from John Comnenus. See J. Gay, 'L'abbaye de Cluny et Byzance au début du XII^e siècle,' *Échos d'Orient*, xxx (1931), 84–90. See also the recent but incomplete study by E. Faral, 'Kibotos-Civetot,' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, *Comptes Rendus des Séances* (Paris, 1940), pp. 112–130.

¹¹¹ Rufinel is apparently the Latin version of the Greek name *ai* 'Πονφινιαναί', given by the Byzantines to a place whose real name was *Δρύς* (the Oak) on the Asiatic shore of the sea of Marmora not far from Chalcedon, where Rufinus, Praetorian Prefect of the East under Arcadius (395–408), had founded a monastery containing relics of Saints Peter and Paul. W. Tomaschek, 'Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasiens im Mittelalter,' *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse*, cxxiv (1891), 4; J. Pargoire, 'Rufiniennes', *BZ*, VIII (1899), 429–477; See also O. Seeck, 'Rufinus,' (23), Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Zweite Reihe, I (1914), 1189, with full references; H. Levy, *The Invective in Rufinum of Claudius Claudianus* (Geneva [New York], 1935), pp. 15–16, especially p. 16, note 85; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), I, 87.

In another, purporting to reproduce a letter of Soliman, it is stated that *Romania* — Asia Minor — is only part of the Greek Empire: ‘terram quam dicunt Romaniam, de regno Graecorum.’¹¹² The pilgrim Saewulf, who made his trip in 1102,¹¹³ and the later minor writers on the first Crusade appear to use the word in the same sense; thus the Anonymus Rhenanus says ‘Sic usque Nicomediam venerunt, terram Romaniam intraverunt . . . ,’ and ‘Est . . . Nicaea metropolis Romaniae . . . nulla civitatum illi compar in tota Romania,’¹¹⁴ while Baldwin III makes it clear that from Europe one crosses ‘Brachium Sancti Georgii occupando fines Romaniae.’¹¹⁵ The *Gesta* of Robert Duke of Normandy, Ekkehard of Aura’s *Chronicon Universale*, and the chronicle of Sigebert all use the term in the same sense.¹¹⁶

In William of Tyre, the meaning is the same: the massacre of the Danes under King Sweyn, which took place in Asia Minor is located in the ‘land of Romania,’ which Sweyn had entered only after leaving Nicaea;¹¹⁷ so too the word is twice used in the *Eracles*.¹¹⁸ Odo of Deuil, chronicling the second Crusade of 1147, on which he accompanied King Louis VII of France, leaves no doubt as to what he means by *Romania*:

Constantinopolis superba divitiis, moribus subdola, fide corrupta, sicut propter suas divitias omnes timet, sic est dolis et infidelitate omnibus metuenda. Si autem careret his vitiis, aere temporato et salubri fertilitati soli et transitu facilis ad fidem propagandam posset locis omnibus anteferri. Habet enim brachium Sancti Georgii quod fecunditate piscium mare est et salsedine, fluvius quantitate, qui possit in die septies vel octies ultra citroque sine periculo navigari. Ultra Romania est, terra latissima, montibusque saxosis asperrima, meridiana sui parte pertinens usque Antiochiam, et in orientali habens Turciam.¹¹⁹

¹¹² Albert of Aix in *RHC, Occ.*, iv, pp. 329, 357, 389, 561, 390–391; see also pp. 361–362, 376, 393, 396, 398, 434, 563, 696, 698, 700.

¹¹³ ‘. . . et venimus ad insulam Metelinam (Mytilene, Lesbos), deinde Tenit (Tenos) ibique in partibus Romaniae fuit antiquissima et famosissima civitas Troja. . . . Inde vero iter movendo, venimus ad mare strictum quod Brachium Sancti-Georgii vocatur, quod discernit duas terras, Romania scilicet et Macedoniam. . . .’ *Relatio de Peregrinatione Saewulfi*, ed. A. d’Avezac, Extrait du Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires de la Société de Géographie de Paris (Paris, 1859), p. 41.

¹¹⁴ *RHC, Occ.*, vi, 443 and 474; see also pp. 440, 451, 453, 466, 480.

¹¹⁵ *RHC, Occ.*, v, 2, p. 141. See also pp. 146, 162, 189. Other references, where the word means Asia Minor, sometimes including northern Syria: *Narratio quomodo reliquiae martyris Georgii ad nos Aquicenenses pervenerunt*, v, 1, p. 248; *Qualiter Tabula Sancti Basillii . . . Chromacium dilata fuerit*, *ibid.*, p. 295; *Gesta Adhemari Episcopi Podiensis Hierosolymitana*, v, 2, p. 354; *Anonymi ut videtur Hugonis de Lerchenfeld Ratisponensis Canonici Breviarium Passagii in Terram Sanctam*, *ibid.*, p. 384; *Josephi Historiographi Tractatus de Exordio Sacrae Domus Hospitalis Jerusalemitani*, *ibid.*, pp. 409–419–420; *Li Estoire de Jerusalem et d’Antioche*, *ibid.*, p. 641; *Historia Gilonis Cardinalis de Via Hierosolymitana*, *ibid.*, p. 736, verse 354.

¹¹⁶ ‘Boamundus autem, licet haberet magnam terram in Apulia, tandem cum ceteris Normannis et Francis his perrexit dimicare adversus Saracenos, qui tunc tempore omnes fere civitates Romaniae tenebant.’ MGH SS xxvi, p. 8; ‘Gotefridus . . . Romanianum attigit,’ MGH SS vi, p. 208; see pp. 212, 220, 221. For Sigebert, *ibid.*, p. 367.

¹¹⁷ Migne, *PL*, cci, 321, 466, 472; translation by E. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1943), i, 217, 218, 433, 442.

¹¹⁸ *RHC, Occ.*, ii, 101 and 116.

¹¹⁹ Migne, *PL*, clxxxv, 1205.

This striking passage unmistakably locates *Romania*: it is that great expanse of rocky and mountainous country which begins across the Straits from Europe. So Richard of Poitou, writing under the year 1147 of the same expedition, makes it clear that *Romania* does not begin until Constantinople has been left behind across the Straits: Louis VII

congregata manu Francorum, Aquitanarum et Burgundionum, necnon et Theutonicorum cum imperatore suo Friderico [should be Conrad] alii per Alimanniam et Pannoniam, alii per Provinciam cum comiti Sancti Egidii et Engolismensi et per Italiam Constantinopolim devenerunt. Deinde Romaniam ingressi, aliter evenit quam speraverunt . . . imperator Theutonicorum, cui male in Romania contigerat . . . regredatus est.¹²⁰

The sources for Frederick Barbarossa's Crusade (1189–1190) with whose complicated and disputed relationship to each other we shall not deal¹²¹ for the most part follow the same practice, but seem to narrow the scope of the term somewhat so that it sometimes means western Asia Minor only. These sources also occasionally use the word in its other sense of Byzantine Empire. Magnus of Reichersberg and some of the other sources do not seem to use the word except in passages borrowed from other authors. 'Ansbert,' however, uses *Romania* to mean Asia Minor, specifically contrasting it with Greece:

Alterum quoque considerare licet quod mora illa exercitus Christi per hyemale tempus in Graecia, quae omnibus nostris taedio et oneri fuit, divinae ordinationis clementiae dispensata fuit, ne in deserta Romaniae asperitate hyemis incidentes intemperie aeris tum penuria victualium homines et jumenta defecissent.¹²²

In March 1190, the Crusaders crossed the Straits:

... iamque de occidente in orientem fuimus transpositi, et sicut dictum est, de Europa in Asiam, moxque Romanie partes terere coepimus. Ipsa quoque, que nunc Romania dicitur pars videlicet Asie Minoris, quondam duabus distincta est provinciis, Frigia et Bithinia. Tribus atque diebus per montuosas et asperas vias progredientes . . . ad civitatem Spigast (Pegae) a Latinis inhabitatam¹²³ iuxta fluvium Diga castra metati sumus.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ MGH SS xxvi, 82–83.

¹²¹ The most important are the Chronicle of Magnus, the priest of Reichersberg, MGH SS xvii, 476 ff.; the *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Secundi*, ascribed in the ms. by a note in a later hand to a certain Ansbert, ed. H. Tauschinski and M. Pangerl in *Fuentes Rerum Austriacarum*, erste Abtheilung, *Scriptores* v (Vienna, 1863), 1 ff., and more recently by A. Chroust, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, Nova Series (Berlin, 1928), v, 1 ff.; *Friderici Primi Imperatoris Cognominati Barbarossae Expeditio Asiatica (Historia Peregrinorum)*, ed. J. Basnage in *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum sive Henrici Canisii Lectiones Antiquae* (Antwerp, 1725), iii, 449 ff., and in Chroust, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.; the dubious 'Tagebuch' of Tageno dean of Passau, *Tagenonis Decani Pataviensis Descriptio Expeditionis Asiaticae contra Turcos Friderici Imperatoris*, ed. M. Freher, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores* (Frankfort, 1724), i, Appendix, which is thought to be a sixteenth-century adaptation of earlier materials; the *Epistola de morte Friderici Imperatoris*, ed. Chroust, *op. cit.*, 173 ff.; the *Narratio Itineris Navalium ad Terram Sanctam*, *ibid.*, 179 ff.; the *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris in expeditione sacra*; and Jacobus of Acqui, *Cronici Ymaginis Mundi*, both edited by O. Holder-Egger, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum* (Hannover, 1892), pp. 79 ff.; and the *De Transfretatione Friderici Imperatoris* of Johannes of Piscina, MGH SS xxii, 339.

¹²² Ansbert, *FRA*, *op. cit.*, p. 53; ed. Chroust, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹²³ For the Latin settlement at Pegae see Heyd, *Commerce*, i, 243.

¹²⁴ *FRA*, p. 56; Chroust, p. 72. See also *FRA*, p. 58; Chroust, p. 74.

But ‘Ansbert’ also quotes a letter written somewhat earlier in the Crusade by Frederick Barbarossa to his son, soon to become the Emperor Henry VI. Here Frederick uses *Romania* to mean the Byzantine Empire, whose overthrow he was contemplating, in revenge for what he regarded as the treacherous behavior of the Emperor Isaac Angelus:

Quoniam igitur impossibilis est transitus noster per brachium sancti Georgii nisi ab imperatore Constantinopolitano electissimos atque omni exceptione majores obtineamus ob-sides et totam Romaniam nostro subjiciamus imperio, . . . rogamus . . . quatenus . . . legatos Januam, Venetiam, Anchonam, atque Pisam et ad alia loca pro gallearum atque vasallorum transmittas praesidio, ut Constantinopolim circa Martium nobis occurrentes ipsi per mare nos vero per terram civitatem oppognemus.¹²⁵

Eracles provides the only other instance I have found in which the same prose text uses the word *Romania* in both of its meanings.¹²⁶

In two passages, very close in phraseology to those of ‘Ansbert,’ the *Expeditio Asiatica* or *Historia Peregrinorum* twice uses the term in its meaning of Asia Minor:

Praeterea de machinationibus fraudium, quomodo in transitu maris, quod dicitur brachium Sancti Georgii, Graeci terrestri et navali prelio peregrinorum exercitum delere intendebant; qui etiam idcirco in Graecia moram nostrorum in hyemis asperitatem protraxerant, quando illos transituros sperabant, ut vel sic qui per eos bello domari non potuerant, in Romania, utpote terra frigida at sterili, tabescantes fame et frigore deperirent.¹²⁷

Sic omnibus per Hellespontiacum mare transvectis de Europa in Asiam mox in Romaniae partibus constituti, ingressi sunt minorem Asiam, olim distinctam duabus provinciis, Phrigia scilicet et Pamphilia.¹²⁸

In the same way the word is used by the *Tagebuch* of Tageno¹²⁹ and by a number of the important local German Annalists, including those of Ratisbon (Regensburg)¹³⁰ and Cologne.¹³¹ The so-called *Continuatio Cremifanensis*, however, under the year 1190, juxtaposes Isaac Angelus and Frederick Barbarossa in an extraordinary fashion, and uses *Romania* in its other meaning of Byzantine Empire: ‘summa et firmissima amicitia inter Imperatorem Romaniae Ysaac nomine et ipsum imperatorem Romanum Fridericum sapienter composita.’¹³² Thus the

¹²⁵ *FRA*, p. 30; Chroust, p. 42.

¹²⁶ Frederick ‘passa par Hongrie en Romanie,’ where the sense requires that ‘Romanie’ mean ‘Byzantine territory, in this case Bulgaria. So too the *Annales Ceccanenses*, MGH SS xix, 288: ‘Imperator Fridericus . . . perrexit per Hungariam et Romaniam, ubi multa mala operatur est.’

¹²⁷ Basnage, *op. cit.*, pp. 511–512; Chroust, p. 143.

¹²⁸ Basnage, p. 516, Chroust, pp. 152–153.

¹²⁹ Tageno’s *Tagebuch*, ed. Freher, *op. cit.* i, Appendix, p. 6, uses *Romania* the same way: ‘Transfretavit sinum dux Sueviae primus cum suo agmine . . . et primus partes Romaniae intraverunt . . . Tunc transituri per quaedam deserta Romanie. . . .’

¹³⁰ ‘Fridericus Imperator . . . per Austriam et Ungariam et Greciam ivit et ibi braccium Sancti Georgii transfretavit. Post hec transivit Romaniam, deinde Turgiam, deinde intravit Armeniam.’ MGH SS xvii, 590.

¹³¹ ‘Transito namque mari statim in montane venerunt atque in magna victus penuria Romaniam transierunt.’ MGH SS xvii, 799.

¹³² MGH SS ix, 547.

'Imperator Romaniae,' and the 'Imperator Romanus' are put into the same clause, with the chronicler apparently feeling no sense of incongruity.

The Chronicle of 'Benedict of Peterborough' contains a long passage on the itinerary of Philip Augustus on his way home from the Crusade in 1191, with much geographical side-comment. Here 'Romania' is again used to mean the whole Empire; but in equating all the Empire with 'Graecia' the chronicler may have been expanding his source. At any rate he first remarks that at the boundary of Cilician Armenia the land of the Emperor of Constantinople begins: '... et dicitur Rumania; idem est quod Graecia.' Later, he says of Turkey: 'Estque divisa inter terram imperatoris Constantinopolis et terram Soldani de Yconio: et exinde incipit Rumania quae dicitur Graecia. Tota Romania terra firma est ... et multae insulae sunt in mari Graeco, quae dicuntur insulae Rumaniae. Caput Rumaniae, est civitas Constantinopolis; et Rumania jungitur Sclavoniae et Hungariae et Istriæ. . . .' There follows an account of the islands, especially of Corfu.¹³³

THE CHANSONS DE GESTE

Having established the usage in the prose narrative sources for the Crusades, we may now examine some examples of the often fanciful geographical terminology to be found in the *Chansons de Geste*, in an attempt to determine what those poems whose surviving versions are believed to have been written down before the year 1200 seem to mean by *Romanie*, *Romenie*, *Romaigne*, *Romagne*, and the other poetic equivalents of *Romania*.¹³⁴

The so-called *Chanson d'Antioche* has never been printed in full, and the partial edition by Paulin Paris is regarded by scholars as seriously inadequate. In its present form a compilation made by Graindor de Douai, the poem includes what a recent authority believes to be the testimony of an independent eyewitness of the First Crusade, Richard le Pèlerin, whose account supplements that of the first-hand prose sources.¹³⁵ Its usage of *Romania* is thus just as valuable evidence as that supplied by the prose accounts. Of Peter the Hermit's route to the east, the *Chanson* says:

Or s'aroute dans Pieres il et sa compaignie;
Il a moult grant fiance et fils Sainte Marie.
Passent Puille, Calabre, terre de Romenie,
Tresqu'en Costantinoble n'i ot regne guencie;
Passent le bras Saint Jorge à petite navie,
Le pui de Civetot qui vers le ciel ombrie,
Qui defors Nique siet plus de lieue et demie.¹³⁶

¹³³ *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I. A.D. 1159–1192; Known Commonly under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1867), II, 194, 197 ff.

¹³⁴ This portion of the investigation would have been far more difficult without E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les Chansons de Geste imprimés* (Paris, 1904). References to *Romania* are listed, p. 571.

¹³⁵ A. Hatem, *Les Poèmes Épiques de la Croisade* (Paris, 1932), pp. 117–235.

¹³⁶ *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. P. Paris (Paris, 1848) I, 22.

In this passage ‘terre de Romenie’ is clearly the Byzantine Empire in Europe; the Crusaders cross it after leaving Calabria — here used in its old sense, which makes it virtually synonymous with the Apulia mentioned before —¹³⁷ and before reaching Constantinople. The passage of the Straits, the sight of the ‘peak of Civetot,’¹³⁸ and the mention of Nicomedia are all set forth in the order to be expected of one who knew the ground at first hand. In this passage *Romenie* is not used for these regions of Asia Minor, as the prose authors so frequently use it. In all other passages of the *Chanson* in which the word appears, however, the author uses it to mean Asia Minor. Like *Eracles* and ‘Ansbert,’ Richard le Pèlerin used *Romania* in both its meanings in the course of the same narrative.

“Sire” dist Solimans, “ne vous mentirai mie
Crestien ont m’onor et ma terre saisie,
Passe sont en Romagne sans nef et sans galee
Ainc ne fu si grant os véue ne oïe;
Qui oeist devant Nique ma fort cité garnie.”¹³⁹

Kerbogha, another Moslem chieftain, tells the Sultan of the Christian depredations:

“Sire, c’est des conrois aus orguillos chartis
Qui pris ont Romenie et les chastiaus conquis.
D’Antioche ont les murs et le palais saisis.”¹⁴⁰

The appearances of the word in the other Chansons de Geste of the Crusade cycle, the *Chétifs* and the *Conquête de Jérusalem*, are uncertain in meaning, but appear to refer to the Byzantine Empire.¹⁴¹ The geography of the Chanson of Elie de Saint Gilles is truly fantastic:

Il se poignent en mer, si se boutent de rive
Et trespassent Baudas et le terre d’Ongrie
A senestre laissièrent Romagne et Fémenie
Et a destre laissièrent la chité de Rousie
Et virent les palais et les herbergeries,
Les tois vielles et droites qui vers le ciel baulient.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ See article by M. Schipa cited in note 8 above, and J. Gay, *L’Italie Méridionale et l’Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1904), p. 25.

¹³⁸ For Civetot see note 110 above.

¹³⁹ *La Chanson d’Antioche*, II, 52.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 144. See also I, 186, 192, 214, 217; II, 70, 159.

¹⁴¹ *La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon*, ed. C. Hippéau (Paris, 1877), Appendix: *Episode des Chétifs*, p. 268:

“Seignor dist Corbarans, ne l’aviai ne vos die
Par Tervagant, mon Dieu, qui tot a en baillie,
Por l’or ne por l’argent qui est (en?) Romania.”

La Conquête de Jérusalem faisant suite à la Chanson d’Antioche, ed. C. Hippéau (Paris, 1868), p. 117, line 2847:

“N’ot tex III cevaliers de si qu’en Romania.”

For these poems and their place in the Crusade cycle see Hatem, *op. cit.*, pp. 237–279. For an article on ‘Tervagant,’ the hitherto mysterious god ascribed to the ‘Pagan’ Moslems by the Christian poets from the *Chanson de Roland* on, see H. Grégoire, ‘Des Dieux Cahu, Baraton, Tervagant,’ *Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, VII (1939–1944), 451 ff.

¹⁴² *Elie de St. Gilles*, ed. G. Raynaud (Paris, 1879), p. 30, ll. 887 ff.

Here the knight, moving westward from the orient, passes Bagdad and Hungary, leaves on his left *Romania* and (presumably) Philomelium — a town in Asia Minor (usually turned by the western sources into some such word as ‘Fémenie,’ and associated in the romances with the Amazons);¹⁴³ he leaves on his right ‘Rousie,’ which the editor regards as ‘Russie considérée comme une ville’; this seems improbable but no more satisfactory explanation at once suggests itself. The completely fanciful mingling of geographical terms in these lines suggests both that the author was conveniently unfamiliar with eastern geography, and that he simply wanted useful rhyme-words. At any rate no precise definition of the meaning intended for the term *Romagne* seems possible.¹⁴⁴

In the *Pèlerinage* of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople,¹⁴⁵ however, occurs an itinerary as clear as that of Peter the Hermit in the *Chanson d'Antioche* already quoted:

Or vait li emperere od ses granz compaignies.
Devant el premier chef furent oitante milie.
Il eissirent de France et Bourgoigne guerpirent,
Lohereigne traversent, Bavière et Honguerie.

¹⁴³ See P. Riant, *Les Expéditions des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1865) p. 147, note 4. W. Tomaschek, *loc. cit.*, p. 86, with references to Anna Comnena, Albert of Aix, and Tudebodus.

¹⁴⁴ For other uses of the word, see *Galiens li Restorés, Schlussteil der Cheltenhamer Guerin de Monglane*, ed. E. Stengel, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie, LXXXIV (Marburg, 1890), I. 285:

‘Mais ie crois voirement qu'en tote Romenie
n'a homme qui vers moi ces choses contrarie;

and *Die Enfances Vivien*, ed. H. Zorn (Bonn-Leipzig, 1908), p. 57, l. 849 (published after Langlois’ *Table des Noms*):

‘Mes par l'apostre qu'en quiert en Romania
Je n'ai avoir, ne soit en vo baillie.’

¹⁴⁵ The *Pèlerinage* is the most famous version of a widespread mediaeval legend that Charlemagne visited Jerusalem and Constantinople. This is found first in the account by Benedict of the monastery of St Andrew, MGH SS III, 692 ff.; and then in the Norse Karlamagnus-Saga; the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Carolus Calyx hec ad Sanctum Dionysium retulerit* (usually known as the *Descriptio* of St Denis), written at the end of the eleventh century to authenticate the relics already in the monastery there, and to serve as a piece of propaganda-literature for the Crusade; and other texts, such as the late twelfth-century *Vita Karoli* written down after Charlemagne’s canonization in 1165. Editions of the latter two in G. Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls der Grossen im 11 und 12 Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1890). I do not find the word *Romania* in any of these. See also H. Morf, ‘Étude sur la date, le caractère, et l’origine de la chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,’ *Romania* XIII (1884), 185 ff., and J. Coulet, *Études sur l’ancien Poème Français du Voyage de Charlemagne en Orient* (Montpellier, 1907), pp. 72–293. These scholars report some mentions of Charlemagne’s supposed journey by the prose historians (no appearance of the word *Romania*) but do not refer to the following passage in which the word is used, from the mid-eleventh-century *Chronicon Novaciense*: ‘Post denique invasionem Italiae a Karolo facta per gente eo in Romaniae tellus, ubi et imperium et patriciati honorem promeruit, revertenti eo . . . etc.’ MGH SS VII, 102. It seems altogether probable that *Romania* here means the papal states, but it is barely possible that the author was using it in the sense of Byzantine empire. More recent scholarship sees in the *Pèlerinage* a satire on the second Crusade. T. Heinermann, ‘Zeit und Sinn der Karlsreise,’ *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* LVI (1936), 497–562; R. C. Bates, ‘Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne: A Baroque Epic,’ *Yale Romanic Studies*, XVIII (1941), 1–47; A. Adler, ‘The Pèlerinage de Charlemagne in New Light on Saint-Denis,’ *Speculum*, XXII (1947), 550–561.

Chevalchet l'emperere tres par mi Croatie,^{145a}
 Les bois et les forez, et sont entret en Grice;
 Les puis et les montagnes virent en Romanie,
 Les Turs et les Persanz et cele gent haie.
 Le grant eve del flum passèrent a Lalice
 Et brochent a la terre ou Deus regut martirie.
 Veint Jerusalem, une cite antive.¹⁴⁶

From our previous examination of the passages in the prose sources for the Crusades we are in a position to say unhesitatingly that *Romanie* here means Asia Minor: from France, Burgundy, Lorraine, Bavaria, Hungary, Croatia, and Greece, the author makes Charlemagne pass into the mountainous country of *Romania*, where he saw the hated Turks and Persians, and whence he proceeded to Laodicea; here he crossed the Meander, and shortly afterwards was in Palestine. Indeed this interpretation of the lines was suggested by the German scholar Wendelin Foerster in his edition of the poem.¹⁴⁷ This interpretation, however, was strongly combatted by no less an expert on *Romania* than Gaston Paris himself, who wrote:

M. Foerster veut que *Romanie* désigne l'Asie-Mineure, et *Grice* l'empire byzantine d'Europe: mais dans tous les textes que je connais *Romanie* désigne ou la Turquie d'Europe actuelle ou l'empire grec en général.¹⁴⁸

A more recent student of the poem, Jules Coulet, repeats Gaston Paris' error, saying:

Ils arrivent en Grèce, puis en 'Romanie,' c'est à dire dans la Turquie d'Europe. On les voit ensuite au milieu des Turcs et des Persans . . . Un des lacunes de cette itinéraire est de ne pas marquer comment de 'Romanie' les Français passent en Asie Mineure . . . Mais pourquoi n'admettrait-on pas que la lacune est imputable au copiste . . . Pourquoi ne pas supposer que un ou deux vers sont perdus, ou se trouvait mentionné par mer le passage des Français de 'Romanie' en Asie Mineure?¹⁴⁹

Coulet's questions have already been answered. *Romanie* with its peaks and mountains, its Turks and Persians, was Asia Minor, not Turkey in Europe. There are no omitted lines; there is no lacuna in the itinerary. This has been recognized but not demonstrated by more recent scholars,^{149a} because Gaston Paris turned too early away from his study of the word *Romania*. Not only does *Romanie* mean Asia Minor in this passage of the *Pèlerinage*, but the *Pèlerinage* is only one

^{145a} The original manuscript of the poem, now lost, had the word 'Croizpartie' in line 104. This has proved inexplicable unless amended as 'Croatie.' The objections raised to this emendation by Bates, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30 and 31, are not valid: Louis VII passed through Belgrade on his way to Constantinople; and this would be sufficient to account for 'Croatie.' In any case, even if we agree that the *Pèlerinage* satirizes the second Crusade, we can hardly demand of it complete historical accuracy in making Charlemagne follow the precise route of Louis VII. The route given by the poem is much like that of Louis, and in any case is a perfectly reasonable Crusader itinerary.

¹⁴⁶ *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Konstantinopel*, ed. E. Koschwitz, 5th edition (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 7-9, ll. 100-108.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57, note on these lines.

¹⁴⁸ G. Paris, 'La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,' *Romania*, ix (1880), 27.

¹⁴⁹ Coulet, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-282.

^{149a} Heinermann, *loc. cit.*, p. 555: ' . . . die asiatische Teile von Ostrom.' Bates, *loc. cit.*, p. 32: ' . . . Romania (i.e. ancient Phrygia and Pamphylia, The Thracian Theme . . .).'

in a long series of texts, in prose and verse, which used the word *Romania* to designate not the whole Byzantine Empire, and not the European portions of the Empire, but specifically Asia Minor.

CONCLUSIONS

This investigation has now reached the point where it is safe to conclude that by the year 1204 the word *Romania* had acquired in the west two distinct meanings and two distinct traditions. With the end of the Roman Empire in the west it had lost its meaning of *Orbis Romanus* and in most cases had come to mean simply the Romagna. In its first new meaning of Byzantine Empire it did not come into general vogue in western Europe before the year 1080 — although there are isolated instances of its appearance sooner — indeed as early as the year 655 in the letter of Pope Martin I. After 1080 it was used by the Pisans, Genoese, and South Italians — Normans and others — in accordance with the Byzantine tradition from which they learned it, to mean the territory of the Byzantine Empire. Probably in large measure because these Italians knew best the western portions of the Empire¹⁵⁰ — Illyria, Greece, the islands, and Byzantium itself — they frequently spoke of places located in this western portion of the Empire as lying in *Romania*. I know of no instance, however, in which this usage is intended to exclude the eastern portions of the Empire. To the Crusaders, on the other hand (and to William of Apulia) the word meant specifically Asia Minor — sometimes including northern Syria — but usually excluding altogether Greece, Byzantium itself, and, indeed, all possessions of the empire in Europe. These two meanings were current in the west simultaneously at any time after about the year 1100, when the first accounts of the First Crusade began to be written down. There are a few texts which use the word in both meanings.

It remains briefly to indicate the probable origin of the second tradition. The passage quoted from William of Malmesbury has already supplied the key. He attributes the term *Romania* to the Turks. The words *Rum*, *Rumiya*, were widely and loosely used in the Moslem world, with a variety of meanings: in Central Asia they were early applied to the Macedonian Empire (*Ishkandar-i-Rumi* for Alexander) and to the Romans (*Rum*, so in the Koran itself, xxx, 1) and to Rome (*Bilad er-Rum*, country of the Romans). The Arabic geographers from the tenth century on use the term both for Italy and for the Empire in the east. The Persians and Turks used it for the land of the *P̄w̄μaīt̄*, the Rhomaean or Byzantine Greeks. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the term was narrowed to mean those regions of eastern Anatolia across the Taurus-Euphrates frontier in Byzantine territory, which the Turks regularly raided. By the late eleventh century, when the people of western Europe were re-learning the word, its meaning for the Turks had become fixed: Rum was that portion of the Byzantine Empire which they had recently invaded — Asia Minor.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ See K. Dieterich, 'Römer, Rhomäer, Romanen,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, viii (1929), 482–499; see also M. I. Wolff, 'Rom und die Romania,' *Medium Aerum*, vii (1938), 1–14.

¹⁵¹ See P. Wittek, 'Le Sultan de Rum,' *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, vi (1938), 361–390, especially pp. 362, ff. Wittek says of F. Babinger, Article 'Rum,' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii (London and Leyden, 1936), 1174–1175, 'On est étonné de la pauvreté de l' ar-

Byzantine-Seljuk negotiations seem to have been undertaken in 1049–1050, but not to have given rise to a treaty, while Byzantine territory remained intact until the battle of Manzikert in 1071. Thereafter, the Byzantines could not defend Anatolia successfully against the raids of the Turks, who gave the name Rum to their earliest attempt at political organization — the Danishmendid Emirate at Siwas (*Σεβαστεία*), whose rulers later actually used the Greek term ‘Ρωμανία on their coinage. By 1078 the Seljuks had captured Nicaea, and made it the residence of their leader, Soliman, son of Kutalmish. From 1078 until its recapture by the Crusaders in 1097 Nicaea was literally the ‘Caput totius Romaniae,’ as the Crusaders themselves called it, with *Romania* meaning *Rum*. After the loss of the city, the Seljuks shifted the headquarters of their chief to Iconium, and by degrees established a state — also called Rum — of which this town became the capital. In the decades between 1078 and 1097, however, though firmly established on the eastern shores of the Propontis, the Seljuks had by no means consolidated their conquests in their rear. They are to be considered as bands of raiders without centralized political or even military organization, with the exception of the Danishmendid Emirate. To the territory of Asia Minor which they ravaged they gave the specific name of *Rum*; it is reasonable to suppose that the Crusaders, who found them there, and drove them forever from their advanced positions in the western portion of Asia Minor, adopted their terminology. Certainly, *Romania*, as it appears in the sources for the Crusades, is most often used exactly as the Seljuk Turks then used it, and as no other people did.¹⁵²

The leaders of the Fourth Crusade of 1204 followed the first of the two new traditions. In giving to the newly-founded Latin Empire the name *Romania*, they were adopting a practice long current in Italy, and sanctified by the usage of the Byzantine Emperors themselves. Count Baldwin of Flanders, chosen Emperor in 1204, and thus successor to Constantine, Justinian, and the Comnenoi, did all he could to make his usurpation seem legitimate: at his coronation he wore the sacred purple boots and jeweled eagles on his mantle;¹⁵³ he used the sacred red

ticle.’ M. Schipa, ‘Le “Italie” del Medio Evo,’ *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane* xx (1895), 420, note 2, p. 421 notes 1, 2, 3, gives a series of references to Arab geographers’ use of *Rum* or *Rumiya* to denote Italy; pp. 438, note 1 and 439, note 1 refer to the same usage in Edrisi, the Arab-Sicilian geographer.

¹⁵² The analysis in this paragraph is taken chiefly from the works of Wittek, *loc. cit.*, and of J. Laurent, ‘Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides en Asie Mineure,’ *Buçavrlı II* (1911–1912), 101–126, see p. 123 note 3; ‘Byzance et les origines du sultanat de Roum,’ *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, I (Paris, 1930), 177–182; and *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides dans l’Asie Occidentale jusqu’en 1081* (Nancy, 1913). The most recent book on the subject, V. Gordlevsky, *Gosudarstvo Seldzhukidov Maloi Azii* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941) which does little but summarize for the earlier period, still (p. 23, note 5) follows Laurent, who uses all the available sources.

¹⁵³ Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), pp. 93 ff.; tr. E. H. McNeal (New York, 1936), pp. 115 ff.; F. E. Brightman, ‘Byzantine Imperial Coronations,’ *Journal of Theological Studies* II (1901), pp. 359–392 (Baldwin’s coronation, pp. 385–387); for a general study of earlier coronations see W. Sickel, ‘Das byzantinische Krönungsrecht bis zum 10 Jahrhundert,’ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii (1898), 511–557. For excellent recent detailed studies of the eagle as an imperial emblem see A. V. Solovjev, ‘Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et des Slaves,’ *Annales de l’institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakorianum)* VII (1935), pp. 119–164; G. Gerola, ‘L’Aquila

letters for his signature;¹⁵⁴ his successors were to be solemnly crowned by a Latin Patriarch; he called himself *Porphyrogennetos, semper Augustus*, Emperor of the Romans. In addition he was 'Imperator Romanie,'¹⁵⁵ a title for which there is no exact parallel in any held by the Byzantine Emperors themselves, but which accurately reflects the western concept of the position of an eastern Emperor. In October 1204, those familiar with Byzantine nomenclature drew up the treaty which divided the Byzantine territories among the conquerors. This was the *Partitio regni Romanie*.¹⁵⁶ Thereafter, the Latin Empire was *Romania*.

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Bizantina e l'aquila imperiale a due teste,' *Felix Ravenna*, Nuova Serie, Anno IV. Fasc. 1 (XLIII) (1934), 7-36. Gerola points out (pp. 23 ff.) that the first western appearance of the double-headed eagle was on a coin struck by Margaret Countess of Flanders (1244-1280), Baldwin's younger daughter, called Margaret of Constantinople. The probability that this was due to direct Byzantine influence is very high. From Flanders the double-headed eagle was adopted by other nobles in the low countries and by the western empire. When Boniface of Montferrat captured Alexius III in November 1204, he sent Baldwin the Emperor's purple boots and vestments, which pleased Baldwin greatly. Villehardouin, chapter 309 (ed. Faral II, 118; ed. de Wailly, p. 182): 'et envoia les hueses vermeilles et les dras impérials l'empereor Baudouin son seignor en Costantinoble, qui mult bon gré l'en soit.' When the Greeks re-captured Constantinople in 1261, they found that Baldwin II had left behind, in his hasty flight, the purple imperial hood (*καλπιτρα*), of Latin design, but surmounted by a ruby and embroidered with pearls, and the purple boots, as well as swords wrapped in purple silk. G. Akropolita, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, (Leipzig, 1908), I, 185. For comment on the desire of the Latin emperors to be regarded as the legitimate heirs of Byzantium see J. Longnon, *Les Français d'Outremer* (Paris, 1929), p. 204. See also N. Iorga, 'France de Constantinople et de Morée,' *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, XII (1935), 185-186. Elsewhere ('Deux Conférences sur la Vie Byzantine données en Hollande,' *RHSEE*, XIII (1936), 316-317), Iorga remarks: 'L'Empire Latin de Constantinople . . . n'a été guère Latin qu'au point de vue de la religion. Baudouin de Flandres, qui a été sacré à la façon des héritiers de Justinien et qui a signé comme la série des Empereurs ses prédecesseurs des diplômes qui ont du être rendus en grande partie en grec, ne désirait rien de plus que d'être compris dans cette succession ininterrompue de maîtres du monde.' For the origins of much of the Byzantine ceremonial practice, see the two excellent articles of A. Alföldi. 'Die Ausgestaltung des Monarchischen Zeremoniells am Römischen Kaiserhöfe,' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XLIX (1934), pp. 3-118; and 'Insignien und Tracht der Römischen Kaiser,' *Ibid.*, L (1935), pp. 3-171. For a recent study with full bibliography on the early ceremony of kissing the purple robe worn by the Roman Emperors, see W. T. Avery, 'The *Adoratio Purpurae* and the Importance of the Imperial Purple in the Fourth Century of the Christian Era,' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XVII (1940), pp. 66-80. (I owe this reference to Professor Mason Hammond.)

¹⁵⁴ See Nicetas Choniates, ed. Bonn. p. 793, who reports Baldwin I's γράμμα ἐρυθρογράφον granting the Thessalonians their traditional privileges. See also T.-Th. I, 574, where all the witnesses to a document signed by the second Latin Emperor Henry (1206-1216), refer to it as 'litteris rubeis grecis subscripto.' Longnon, *op. cit.*, p. 212, citing Archives Nationales J 509. See illustration in J. A. Buchon, *Recherches et Matériaux pour servir à une histoire de la Domination Française* (Paris, 1840) II, plate II bis at end of volume.

¹⁵⁵ See Schlumberger, 'Sceaux et Bulles,' cited note 1, above, pp. 15, 16, 17. Seals of Baldwin II with Greek inscription:

ΒΑΛΔΥΙΝΟC ΔΕСПОТΗС ΤΤΟΡΦΙΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟC Ο ΦΛΑΝΔΡΑC.

The Latin on the reverse is 'Balduinus Dei Gratia Imperator Romanie Semper Augustus.' See also M. Prinet, 'Les Armoires des Empereurs Latins de Constantinople,' *Revue Numismatique*, Quatrième série, xv (1911), 250-256.

¹⁵⁶ See footnote 7, above.

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THE 'SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE.' ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY TO 1204.¹

By ROBERT LEE WOLFF

'I serve barbarian slaves (the Bulgars), impure and reeking of stinking goatskins, poorer in their way of life than they are rich in evil disposition. Release me from the dreadful servitude. For what inhabitant of Achrida is not a headless neck, understanding how to honor neither God nor man? Among such wild beasts as these have I been condemned to live, and the worst of it all is that there is no hope that these necks will ever be given heads with stronger powers.' (Letters of Theophylact, Archbishop of Achrida, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxxvi, 508.)

'Since the race of Vlachs is altogether faithless and perverse, and does not keep faith with God or with the Emperor or with its own kindred or with a friend, but works to undo them all, and lies a great deal, and steals all over the shop, and swears the most solemn oaths to its friends and lightly disregards them, never put faith in a one of them. I advise you not to trust them at all.' (*Cecumeni Strategicon* [ed. V. Vassilievsky and V. Jernstedt, St Petersburg, 1896], *Zapiski Istoriko-filologicheskago Fakulteta Imperator-skago S-Peterburgskago Universiteta*, Chast' xxxviii, p. 74).

'This (the Scyths or Cumans) is a people which is not stationary, and does not stay in one place, or know how to settle down, and therefore it has no institutions. It moves all over the earth and rests nowhere, and is constantly wandering. These are flying men, and hard to catch therefore, and have no cities, and know no villages, but bestiality follows in their path. Not even the vultures, that carrion-eating and loathed tribe, can be compared to these people. Rather are they to be likened to the griffins, whom kindly nature has placed in uninhabited places, as she has done too with the Scyths. Only habits like those of wolves could have produced such men: bold and greedy, the wolf knows well how to flee whenever something terrifying appears. So too it is with the Scyths: if they meet with brave resistance they wheel about and take to their heels. A Scyth is near, and at the same time out of reach. He plunders, but before he has filled his hands he grasps his bridle, and strikes his horse with his heel and with his whip, and gives himself to the winds in flight, and he boasts that he flies more quickly than the hawk. He barely comes into view before he disappears again. This is the sort of people that the wandering nomads, the Scyths, are, with no houses: wild beasts among mankind, or, though it would be a bold man who would venture to call them so, men among the wild beasts.' (Eustathius,

¹ This study was prepared in the course of the author's work on the Latin Empire of Constantinople. It is designed to serve as an introduction to the full account of the relations between the Latins and the Vlacho-Bulgarian state after 1204 which will form part of a forthcoming book on the Latin Empire. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to the Byzantine historians are to the Bonn edition of the Corpus. For a grant in aid of publication the author is indebted to the University of Wisconsin.

Bishop of Thessalonica, Address to Isaac Angelus, *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula* [ed. T. L. F. Tafel, Frankfort, 1832], p. 44. Translations mine.)

I

AFTER its arrival on the Balkan peninsula in the late seventh century, the Hunnic tribe of the Bulgars was gradually assimilated by the Slavic population which had preceded it by more than a century, and which it had conquered.² The ancient Bulgar language apparently fell out of use except for the formal dating of inscriptions, where its appearance, transcribed in Greek letters, has given rise to several scholarly efforts at interpretation, the more recent of which are now accepted.³ In 813 (says Theophanes) Khan Krum drank with the *Slav* boyars from

² For the early history of the Bulgarians the best general work is V. Zlatarski, *Istoriya na Būlgarskata Dūrzhava*, I, *Pūrvo Būlgarsko Tsarstvo*, chapt 1, ‘Epocha na Chunno-Būlgarskoto nadmozhie,’ (Sofia, 1918); chapt 2, ‘Ot Slavčinizatsiyata na dūrzhavata do padaneto na pūrvoto tsarstvo’ (Sofia, 1927); II, *Būlgariya pod Vizantiisko vladichestvo* (1018–1187), (Sofia, 1934). Zlatarski died in 1935, and his third volume, *Vtoro Būlgarsko Tsarstvo, Būlgariya pri Asēnevtsi* (Sofia, 1940), appeared five years later, edited by Professor P. Nikov. This volume deals with the period 1187–1280. It was not available to me during the preparation of this article, but I have since obtained the loan of a copy through the kindness of Professor C. E. Black of Princeton, and have been able to make full use of it. No basic revision of the account here presented appears to be required in the light of Zlatarski’s third volume. Also by him is a brief sketch in German: W. N. Slatarski, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, I. Teil, *Von der Gründung des Bulgarischen Reiches bis zur Türkenezeit* (679–1396) (*Bulgarische Bibliothek*, ed. G. Weigand, 5, Leipzig, 1918). S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London, 1930), while based on Zlatarski, goes back to the sources. It stops in 1018. For the early period Zlatarski and Runciman supersede the standard but now somewhat outdated work of K. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague, 1876). See also N. S. Derzhavin, *Istoriya Bolgarii*, 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1945), a large portion of which is devoted to pre-history, and which follows and much abridges Zlatarski for the later period, with no references to primary sources, and many to the works of Marx and Engels. J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), which stops in 867, is still excellent. For a valuable bibliography of recent Bulgarian works in the field, see I. Duičev, ‘Die bulgarische Geschichtsforschung während des letzten Vierteljahrhunderts, 1918–1942,’ off-print from *Südost-Forschungen, im Auftrag des deutschen Auslandswissenschaftlichen Instituts*, etc., ed. F. Valjavec, no volume number or year, but presumably 1943. For the use of this article I am greatly indebted to Professor C. E. Black of Princeton who loaned me his copy. Duičev confines himself of course almost exclusively to the works of other Bulgarians, and makes no attempts to deal with the Rumanian contributions. Still very useful, though needing to be supplemented by recent contributions, is the series of articles by F. Rački, ‘Borba Južnih Slovena na državnu neodvistnost u XI vjeku,’ *Rad Jugoslovenski Akademija* xxiv (1873), 80–149; xxv (1873), 180–244; xxvii (1874), 77–131; xxviii (1874), 147–182; xxx (1875), 75–138; xxxi (1875), 196–239 (Croatian). This was reprinted in book form, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Posebna Izdanya, lxxxvii, (Belgrade, 1931), 1–333. For the economic side, see I. Sakazov, *Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Grundriss der slavischen Philologie* (ed. R. Trautmann and M. Vasmer, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), pp. 1–171. For a good, if selective, bibliography, see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. I, *Die Byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker* (Budapest, 1942), pp. 50–58.

³ See Runciman, *op. cit.*, Appendix II, pp. 272 ff., where the arguments of Bury, Marquart, Mikkola, and Zlatarski are summarized, and those of Fehér are adverted to. V. Beshevliev has recently edited all the surviving inscriptions: see ‘Pūrvobulgarski nadpisi,’ *Godishnik na Sofiskiya Universitet, Istoriko-filologicheski fakultet*, xxx (1934), 162 ff.; and ‘Zu der Inschrift des Reiterreliefs von Madara,’ *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* IX (1932), 1–35. See the article of H. Grégoire, ‘Les sources épigraphiques de l’histoire Bulgare,’ *Byzantion*, IX (1934), 745–786. See now also I. Venedikov, ‘Novootkritiyat v Preslav pūrvobulgarski nadpis,’ *Izvestiya na Būlgarskiya Archeologicheski Institut*,

the skull of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I;⁴ and Krum’s ambassador, Dargomer, who appears in the sources in the year 812, has a name that is clearly Slavic.⁵ Soon afterward, Slavic names were given in the family of the Khans itself.⁶ The aristocracy seems, however, to have remained Bulgar beyond this date; and, as a counterweight to it, the Khans apparently created a Slavic nobility, and favored the Slavic peasantry. When the great Khan Boris abdicated in 889, and went into a monastery, his son and successor Vladimir fell under the influence of the Bulgar nobles. They seem to have attempted to restore paganism, which Boris had finally abandoned, accepting Christianity under the aegis of Byzantium after experience had convinced him that he could not hope to control and administer the church himself if he received the new religion under the auspices of Rome. When Vladimir and the Bulgar nobles appeared determined to turn back the clock, Boris emerged from the monastery, deposed and blinded Vladimir, put down the Bulgar nobles, installed his second son Symeon on the throne, and enforced the final adoption of Christianity, this time with Slavic as its official language.⁷

Under Symeon began the long and bitter struggle with Byzantium, during which the Bulgar Tsars, now Khans no longer, strove to make themselves βασιλεῖς — Emperors not only over the Bulgars but over the Romans (Rhomaeans, citizens of the Byzantine Empire) as well. There was no inherent reason why Symeon, like many other non-Greeks before him — none of whom, however, it is true, had already been rulers of a foreign state — should not have succeeded to the Byzantine throne by means of a dynastic marriage. He hoped to carry through this plan by marrying one of his daughters to the young Constantine Porphyrogennetos, whom he then expected to join as co-emperor — or perhaps to supplant. But his arrangements miscarried, and Romanos Lekapenos, the

xv (1946), 146–160. For an article assessing the role and influence of the ‘Protobulgars,’ see I. Duičev, ‘Protobulgares et Slaves,’ *Annales de l’Institut Kondakov, Seminarium Kondakovianum*, x (1938), 145–154.

⁴ Theophanes, *Chronographia* (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883), i, 491: ‘τὴν δὲ Νικηφόρου κεφαλὴν ἐκκόψα ὁ Κροῦμμος . . . γυμνώσας τὸ δστοῦν ἄργυρόν τε ἐνδόσας ξέωθεν πίνειν εἰς αὐτὴν τοὺς τῶν Σκλαβινῶν ἀρχοντας ἐποίησεν ἐνκαυχώμενος.’ In discussing this passage, Zlatarski, *op. cit.*, i, 1, p. 260, note 1, expresses the view that Theophanes had no intention of distinguishing between Slavs and Bulgars; and quotes several other Greek authors and the old Slavonic translation of Simeon the Logothete, all of which refer to ‘Bulgarian’ nobles. I cannot feel that this is convincing: even if the boyars were Bulgars, Theophanes’ use of the term Slav would show some confusion in his mind about the difference between the two peoples; and this in turn would argue that the process of assimilation was under way. Apparently Runciman thinks so; for (p. 57), he even embroiders on the source, saying that the Khan gave the Slavic toast of ‘Zdravitsa.’ I have not found this picturesque detail in the sources or in Zlatarski.

⁵ Theophanes, ed. De Boor, i, 497.

⁶ E.g., Malamir and Vladimir. See Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 93, note 3.

⁷ For this celebrated series of episodes, see Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–134; see Zlatarski, i, 2, pp. 254 ff. for the arguments in favor of dating the adoption of Slavonic as the liturgical language in 893. See also F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1926), pp. 283 ff. A. A. Vasiliev, ‘The “Life” of St. Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance,’ *Traditio*, v (1947), 163–191, discusses (pp. 177 ff.) the process of Slavonization, and brings together from little known and seldom cited sources considerable evidence bearing on the early Bulgarian campaigns in Greece.

Byzantine Admiral, succeeded where Symeon had failed, and became Constantine's father-in-law and Emperor.⁸

In 925, balked of his ambition and growing old, Symeon proclaimed himself βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ of the Bulgarians *and the Romans*; and in this way indirectly declared his intention of achieving mastery of the Empire. He also elevated the Bulgarian church to the rank of a patriarchate, thus doubly challenging Byzantium. Despite protests from Romanos Lekapenos, Symeon clung to his title, which may have been confirmed by a papal legate,⁹ and endeavored to make it a reality.¹⁰ After his death, when the Bulgarian military threat had much

⁸ Symeon was called by Liudprand 'emiargon,' a term which Liudprand himself interprets as meaning 'half-Greek,' because of his education at Constantinople: 'Hunc etenim Simeonem emiargon, id est semigrecum, esse aiebant, eo quod a puericia Bizantii Demostenis rhetoricae Aristotelisque sillogismos didicerit.' (*Antapodosis*, chapter 28; *Liudprandi Opera in Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* [ed. J. Becker, Hanover and Leipzig, 1915], p. 87). Professor R. P. Blake suggests the possibility that 'argon' may be the same word as 'arkaiū,' the later Mongol term for Christians, itself a loan-word in Mongol from Turkish. See N. Marr, 'Arkaun, Mongolskoe Nazvanye Christian, v svyazi s voprosom ob Armyanach-Chalkedonitach,' *Vizantiiski Vremennik*, xii (1906), 1-69. In 913, during the minority of Constantine Porphyrogennetos and the regency headed by the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus, Symeon may have secured the promise that the young Constantine should marry one of his daughters. The 'two vague references' in the sources to this possibility are discussed by Runciman, Appendix x, pp. 299-301. His arguments are fairly convincing. The documents are a letter of Nicholas Mysticus, Migne, PG, cxi, col. 112; Eutychius of Alexandria, Migne, PG, cxi, p. 1151. Eutychius knew that a projected Bulgarian-Byzantine marriage had fallen through, and that war resulted. Nicholas in 920-921 offered Symeon an alliance, but by this time it was too late for the only marriage he wanted: one that would make him father-in-law of Constantine. This post — and that of co-Emperor with it — had been acquired by Romanos Lekapenos, whose daughter had been married to Constantine; and Symeon's repeated efforts to secure the deposition of Romanos failed.

⁹ D. Farlati, *Ilyrium Sacrum* III (Venice, 1765), pp. 102-103, tells of the mission of Madalbertus, the papal legate, to Symeon in 926, and of Madalbertus' synod at Split on the return journey, and of his efforts to make peace between Symeon and the Croats; but says nothing of his having confirmed Symeon's title. This is deduced by Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-176, chiefly from a letter of Innocent III to Ioannitsa (cited below, note 66), of the year 1202. All that Innocent really says in this letter is that he has checked over the papal registers, and has discovered that there had been many kings crowned in Bulgaria; that at the time of Pope Nicholas (858-867) the Bulgarian king was baptized in the Roman Church; and that in the pontificate of Hadrianus (Adrian II, 867-872) the Bulgarians had gone over to the Greeks and expelled the Roman clergy. He never says that the Roman Church had given crowns to the early Bulgarian kings, whom he never calls emperors. So there is no proof that the Popes ever crowned or confirmed the title of the kings of Bulgaria, or that Madalbertus in particular was authorized to do so. Innocent's sending of a crown to Ioannitsa, however (see below), creates, I think, a reasonably strong possibility that there was some precedent for this.

¹⁰ I. Sakellion, "Ρωμάνου βασιλέως τῷ Δακαπήρῳ ἐπιστολά," Δελτίον τῆς Ἰστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Εταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, I (1883), 658 ff. This is a long rhetorical letter, the burden of which is contained in the one query (p. 659): 'τι γάρ, εἰπέ μοι, καὶ περισσότερον ἔξεγένετό σοι ἐκ τοῦ σεαυτὸν γράφειν βασιλέα Βουλγάρων καὶ Ρωμαίων, τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ συνενδοκούντος, μὴ συνεργούντος τῷ πράγματι;' and the remark a little later, 'Εἰ δὲ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τινὰ βασιλέα Ρωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἔδει, ἡμεῖς ξένι μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι. . . .' In a later letter (*ibid.*, II (1885) 40 ff.) Romanos makes his specific objection only to the use of the term τῶν Ρωμαίων saying that Symeon could, if he wished, call himself Βασιλεὺς in his own country, although it would not be a correct term even there. For a Bulgarian translation of the correspondence, and a discussion of its implications, see V. Zlatarski, 'Pismata na Vizantiiskago Imperator Romana Lekapena do Búlgarskiya Tsar Simeona,' *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knizhnina*, xiii (1896), 282-322. For the patriarchate, see Runciman, *op. cit.*, especially p. 174, note 3. A passage in

diminished, his son and successor, Peter, was in 927 actually granted the title of *βασιλεύς* — not, however, it is to be noted, of the Romans — ; and the Bulgarian patriarchate was given limited recognition.¹¹ Although in theory there could be only one *βασιλεύς*, in practice the title seems to have been granted, when it became expedient, to Charlemagne in 812.¹² But on the rare occasions when a foreigner was called *βασιλεύς*, the Byzantine Emperor invariably called himself *βασιλεύς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ*; and the full title, *βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν Ρωμαίων*, was never bestowed on a foreigner. Thus Basil I protested in 876 to Louis the Pious

all the chroniclers (Theophanes Continuatus, p. 385; Georgius Monachos Continuatus [Symeon the Logothete], p. 878; Theodosius Melitenus, ed. Tafel, p. 205; Leo Grammaticus, p. 292; Slavic translation of the Logothete, ed. Sreznevski, p. 126) describes Symeon's reception by the patriarch, Nicholas Mysticus, in 913, when he came to parley at Byzantium. It says that 'instead of a stemma,' Nicholas placed 'his own epirriptarion' on the head of Symeon. For some time ignored, this passage was interpreted by Zlatarski, 1, 2, pp. 364–374 to mean that Symeon had been crowned Caesar (not *βασιλεὺς*) by the patriarch. Runciman does not mention the passage. G. Ostrogorsky, 'Die Kronung Symeons von Bulgarien durch den Patriarchen Nikolaus Mystikos,' *Actes du IV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Izvestiya na Bûlgarskiya archeologicheski institut, ix (1935) 275–286, arguing that Symeon would never have been satisfied with the lesser title of Caesar, interprets the passage to mean that Symeon was actually crowned *βασιλεὺς*, though not with the Roman imperial diadem, the *στέμμα*, and though it was understood that he was *βασιλεὺς* only of the Bulgars. I cannot accept this, but admit that Nicholas' act is mysterious in view of Romanos' later statement (cited n. 10 *supra*) that Symeon could call himself *βασιλεὺς* in his own country, but that even there it would not be true. This passage Ostrogorsky ignores. See also Ostrogorsky, 'Avtokrator i Samodrzhatz,' *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* CLXIV, Drugi Razred 84 (Belgrade, 1935), 95–187 (Serbian).

¹¹ At the peace treaty which accompanied the marriage of Symeon's son and successor Peter to Maria Lekapena, granddaughter of Romanos, and daughter of his son, the co-emperor Christopher, (Theophanes Continuatus, pp. 412–415; George Monachos [ed. de Boor, Leipzig, 1904], pp. 904–906). The chroniclers agree that Maria was pleased to be marrying an emperor (*βασιλεύς*). Romanos had previously elevated three of his sons to the rank of emperor, and his son-in-law, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, had, of course, been emperor all along. There was nothing incongruous about the elevation of a grandson-in-law, especially as Romanos seems to have felt able to take the title away again at will. See Runciman, *op. cit.*, Appendix xi, pp. 301–303. The evidence for this is found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis*, pp. 681, 682, and 690. See also J. B. Bury, 'The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,' *English Historical Review*, xxii (1907), 423 ff.; A. Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec au Xe Siècle* (Paris, 1870), pp. 340 ff.; S. Runciman, *Romanos Lekapenos* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 97 ff. Constantine Porphyrogennetos himself (*De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 87–88), looked with disfavor upon the marriage to a foreigner.

¹² *Annales quod dicitur Einhardi, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 1, 199: 'Graeca lingua . . . imperatorem eum et basileum appellantes.' The term 'Imperator' E. Stein believes to be the equivalent of *αὐτοκράτωρ*, the *αὐτοκρατωρία* then just coming into vogue as the successor of *ὑπατεία*, — the post-consulate; but this has been disputed by F. Dölger; see note 14 below. It was Nicephorus I, Stein believes, who made the distinction between *βασιλεύς* and *βασιλεὺς αὐτοκράτωρ*. See 'Post-consulat et *Αὐτοκρατωρία*,' *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales* II (1934), *Mélanges Bidez*, II, 898 ff. Stein also believes (p. 907, note 4) that the additional words *τῶν Ρωμαίων*, hitherto used only sporadically, became a final part of the Byzantine title only after Peter had been recognized as *βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ*. See also E. Stein, 'Zum mittelalterlicher Titel . . . Kaiser der Römer,' *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, vi (1930), 182–183. See also, on Charlemagne's title, P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom, und Renovatio (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1929), 1, 31 f., 83 f.; G. Ostrogorsky, 'Das Mitkaisertum im mittelalterlichen Byzanz,' in E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930), p. 172, note 1.

when the latter took the title 'Imperator Romanorum'.¹³ It may be safely concluded that the Byzantine grant of the title to Peter was rather a testimony to his harmlessness than an admission of his equality. The relation of Byzantine Emperor to Bulgarian Tsar appears to have been a sort of spiritual paternity.¹⁴

This interpretation is challenged, though not explicitly, by Arnold Toynbee, one of the keenest students of Greek history throughout its course. Of the period after 927 he writes:

It was now demonstrated that in Orthodox Christendom, the jurisdiction of the East Roman Emperor and the Oecumenical Patriarch must be geographically coextensive; and, since Symeon had failed to bring about this necessary and inevitable state of affairs by his expedient of annexing the Empire politically to . . . Bulgaria, it followed that sooner or later the indispensable political unification would have to be brought about by the inverse process of annexing Bulgaria to the Empire.¹⁵

Whether or not Toynbee's interpretation is to be accepted, it is certain that Byzantine-Bulgarian rivalry deepened and sharpened during the tenth and early eleventh centuries. With the details of the struggle — the campaigns of John Tsimisces, the rise of the new western Bulgarian dynasty of Samuel the 'Comitopoulos,' and the bitter warfare under Basil II, the Bulgar-slayer, which lasted from 977 to 1019 — we need not deal here.¹⁶ Toynbee believes the immense

¹³ Stein, *Mélanges Bidez II*, 902–903, points out that Louis was βασιλεύς, but that by this time βασιλεύς alone was to the Byzantines the mere equivalent of Πάτη; Michael III alone was βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ.

¹⁴ For discussions see S. Bobčev, 'Bulgaria under Tsar Simeon,' *The Slavonic (and East European) Review*, VIII (1929), 99–119 (especially 100–102). More important is F. Dölger, 'Bulgarisches Cartum und byzantinisches Kaisertum,' *Actes du IVe Congrès Internationale des études Byzantines*, *Izvestiya na Búlgarskiya Archeologicheski Institut*, IX (1935), 57–68. A brief summary of this article in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XI (1935), 19–20. Dölger is convinced that Symeon's assumption of the title clearly demonstrates that he hoped and intended to succeed to the Byzantine throne and to theoretical mastery of the world. Like Runciman and Zlatarski, Dölger relies on Romanos' letters already cited, and on the correspondence of Nicholas Mystikos, Migne, PG, cxl. His views and those of Ostrogorsky (article cited above, note 10) have been challenged by N. Iorga, *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, XIII (1936), 96–97, who takes the extreme position of not believing even in Symeon's wish to arrange a dynastic marriage, or in the cession of an imperial title of any sort to Charlemagne. (How he explains away the passage of the Annals of Einhard is not clear.) Later Dölger wrote Iorga that he considered the title granted to Charlemagne as empty ('einen leeren Titel'), and again made the distinction between βασιλεύς and βασιλεὺς τῶν Ρωμάων. He also indicated that he was convinced that Stein was mistaken in his view that Charlemagne was called αὐτοκράτωρ as well as βασιλεύς. Iorga again reiterated that, in his view, there could be only one βασιλεύς; and that Charlemagne, to the Byzantines, was only a rex. (*Ibid.*, pp. 226–227.) Dölger's ideas were further developed in 'Der Bulgarenherrscher als geistlicher Sohn des byzantinischen Kaisers,' *Sbornik v pamet na Profesor P. Nikov*, *Izvestiya na búlgarsko istorichesko druzhestvo* XVI–XVIII (Sofia, 1940), pp. 219–232.

¹⁵ A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London, 1940), iv, 388.

¹⁶ Still the best single work on this is G. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine*, II (Paris, 1900). For an important recent article on the origin of Samuel's Bulgarian Empire, see D. Anastasijević, 'L'Hypothèse de la Bulgarie occidentale,' *L'Art Byzantin chez les Slaves, les Balkans, Premier Recueil dédié à la mémoire de Théodore Uspenskii* (Paris, 1930), I, 20–40. Samuel's Armenian origin was first recognized by I. Ivanov, 'Proizchod na Tsar Samuiloviya rod,' *Sbornik v chest na Vasil N. Zlatarski*, (Sofia, 1925), 55–63. Zlatarski himself ignored this, but it was brilliantly demonstrated by N. Adontz, 'Samuel l'Arménien, Roi des Bulgares,' *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Mémoires*, XXXIX (1938), 3–63.

Byzantine expenditures in manpower during this war proved the determining factor in weakening the Empire for the military catastrophes which were to follow later in the same century at Bari and Manzikert.¹⁷ These disasters in turn led to the accession of the Comnenoi, and to the triumph of Byzantine feudalism, which left the Empire a prey to the Latins.¹⁸ Whether the Bulgarian wars of Basil II are to be given so central a position in all Byzantine history is doubtless a matter for debate; but it seems clear that, with the exception of those with the Latin west, no foreign relations of the Empire — with Germans, Persians, Avars, Arabs, Russians, Magyars, and Pechenegs — had ever been of more crucial importance than those with the so-called first Bulgarian Empire.

II

With the defeat of the Bulgarians and the annihilation of their state there begins in 1018 a period of one hundred and sixty seven years which is badly documented. The Byzantine historians deal very little with Bulgaria, now a portion of the Empire, and such information as they give is often contained in sub-clauses and phrases of sentences and paragraphs dealing primarily with other matters. The details of Basil II's own administrative reform of the Bulgarian Church (1020), including the list of bishoprics, is preserved in a later chrysobull of Michael Palaeologus, from which we know in general that the jurisdiction of the new archbishopric of Achrida was left as great in extent as that claimed by the former Bulgarian patriarchate, now abolished.¹⁹ Seals of local Byzantine officials also provide valuable information as to the nature of local Byzantine administration in Bulgaria.²⁰

¹⁷ A. J. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, III, 26–27: ‘The breakdown of the Orthodox Christian civilization may be dated by its most prominent symptom: the Great Bulgaro-Roman War of A.D. 977–1019. The landmarks in the subsequent disintegration of Orthodox Christendom were the military débâcle of the East Roman Power at Manzikert in A.D. 1071, which left the interior of Anatolia at the mercy of the Seljuqs; the successful insurrection of the Bulgars against the East Roman domination in A.D. 1186; and — crowning catastrophe — the capture and sack of the East Roman capital, Constantinople, itself in A.D. 1204 by the Western military and commercial adventurers who were seeking their fortunes on the so-called Fourth Crusade.’

¹⁸ These points will be treated in detail elsewhere.

¹⁹ F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, Abtheilung I, Reihe A. *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (Munich and Berlin, 1932), pp. 103 f., no. 806. See also L. de Thalloczy, C. Jireček, and E. de Sufflay, *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniæ mediae etatris illustrantia* (Vienna, 1918), I, 15–16, numbers 58 and 59. The basic discussion is H. Gelzer, ‘Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche,’ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II (1893), 41 ff.

²⁰ Seals recently discovered at Siliстria (Dristra) were first published by their discoverer, P. Papahagi, ‘Sceaux de plomb byzantins inédits trouvés à Siliстria,’ *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, VIII (1931), 299–311, with rough sketches, and, as it turns out, many misreadings. They were republished with photographs and discussed by N. Bănescu, ‘Les sceaux byzantins trouvés à Siliстria,’ *Byzantion*, VII (1931), 321–331. See also Bănescu’s even more recent and conclusive discoveries, ‘Sceau inédit de Katakalon, Katepano de Paradounavon,’ *Échos d’Orient*, XXXV (1936), 405–408; and ‘Sceau de Demetrios Katakalon, Katepano de Paradounavon,’ *Ibid.*, XXXIX (1940), 157–160. See also the splendid historical article of M. Lascaris, ‘Sceau de Radomir Aaron,’ *Byzantinoslavica* III (1931), 404–413, who gathers all the available evidence about one of the last of Samuel’s descendants to rule in Bulgaria, who entered the Byzantine service. For others see G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l’Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1884), pp. 316–317; M. Lascaris, in a review of K. M.

One of the developments which may certainly be ascribed to this dark period is the growth in importance of the Vlach population. Essentially a pastoral and usually a nomad people, the Vlachs of the Balkans have throughout their history regularly been at least nominally subject to some other national group. Speaking a Latin dialect closely allied to modern Rumanian (the language of the Vlachs north of the Danube), the Vlachs disappear from our sources during the Middle Ages for as much as several hundred years at a time; but the probability is high that they were always resident in the Balkans, watching their flocks, and practising transhumance and brigandage. Just before the outbreak of Basil's wars with the Bulgarians the Vlachs reappear — after over four hundred years — in the Byzantine sources. From then on, throughout the eleventh century, references to them multiply, and their traces become more frequent, until, by the third quarter of the eleventh century, we find them in large numbers wintering on the eastern slopes of the Pindus mountains and in the Thessalian plain, and summering in the high mountains to the north, living in close communion with the Bulgarians, and revolting against the high taxes imposed upon their herds by Constantine X Dukas (1059–1067).²¹

Because the sources are on the whole so scanty, and because they sometimes lend themselves to conflicting interpretation, this period (1018–1185) and the one which follows (1185–1204), with which we are most concerned, have become the subject of much controversy between chauvinist Bulgarian and Rumanian scholars. In general, it is the Bulgarians' purpose to proclaim, so far as they can make the testimony of the sources conform to their preconceptions, that Bulgaria remained a single administrative unit until late in the period; that the Bulgarians were always restive under and rebellious against Byzantine rule; and, above all, that the Vlachs played no part in the developments at the end of the period of Byzantine occupation which led to the formation of the second 'Bulgarian' Empire. Of this school the most famous representative is Vasil Zlatarski, although Peter Mutafčiev, Peter Nikov, and Ivan Duičev have not been far behind. The Rumanians, for their part, are eager to show that the Byzantine government divided Bulgaria into at least two military 'Duchies'; that the Bulgarians of this period were a primitive people with no culture of their own, willing to submit to Byzantium; and, above all, that it was the Vlach portion of the population who led the revolt of 1186 and brought new glory and independence under a Vlach dynasty to the submerged and apathetic Bulgarians. Of this school the most famous representative is, of course, the incredibly prolific Nicolae Iorga; but the most effective scholarly research has been performed and the most notable contributions to

Κωνσταντινόπολης, Βυζαντινικά Μολυβδοβούλλα (Alousian) *Byzantinoslavica*, II (1930), 424; V. Zlatarski 'Molivdovul na Samuela Alusiyana,' *Izvestiya na Bălgarskiya Archeologicheski Institut*, I (1921) 86–101; 'Molivdovul na Alusiyana,' *Izvestiya na Istoricheskoto Druzhestvo v Sofya*, x (1930), 49–63. B. A. Panchenko, 'Katalog Molivdovulov kollektsov russkago archeologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole,' *Izvestiya russkago archeologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, VIII (1903), 225, no. 66, is a seal of a 'strategos of Distrā.' This was republished, *Ibid.* x (1905), 296. Bănescu does not refer to its first appearance.

²¹ See below, Appendix A.

knowledge made by Nicolae Bănescu. Iorga and Bănescu have sometimes been challenged by Constantin Giurescu.

I feel no sympathy for either party to the polemic, behind which, during the nineteen-twenties and thirties, there lay ill-concealed the wish to impugn or to justify, as the case might be, Rumanian possession of the southern Dobrudja. This is a matter which western scholars would not ordinarily study with reference to mediaeval conditions. But in the Balkans mediaeval data accumulated by scholars are often regarded as providing strong arguments for the settlement of present-day controversies. For this reason the contributions of the Bulgarian and Rumanian historians must be used with great care, and the sources themselves examined afresh.

It should be said at once that such a new study of the sources produces convincing evidence that in this controversy the Rumanians on the whole have much the best of it. Between 1018 and 1185 the administration of Bulgaria, contrary to the views of the modern Bulgarian scholars, was almost surely divided by the Byzantines into two ‘duchies.’ One of these, Paristrion, sometimes called Paradounavis, included, as its name indicates, that part of Bulgaria between the Danube and the Balkan mountains, and its *στρατηγός*, δούξ, ἄρχων, or κατεπάνω had his seat at Dristra (Silistria) on the river. The other ‘duchy’ was called Bulgaria; its commander had his seat at Skoplye in Macedonia. With regard to the Bulgarian attitude toward Byzantine domination, which became increasingly oppressive after Basil II, it may fairly be said that, despite several revolts in the eleventh century, there were no uprisings under the Comnenoi; the revolt of 1186 was the first for more than a century. Moreover, the testimony of the sources is overwhelming that the brothers Peter (Kalopeter) and Asen (Assen, Asan), who led the revolt of 1186, were Vlachs. A brief review of the controversy over these points will serve to guide the student through the confusing polemic of both sides and to provide him with an understanding of the origins of the ‘second Bulgarian Empire.’

In 1920, Iorga published an article in which he tried to demonstrate that during the reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) certain local chieftains mentioned by Anna Comnena as living along the right bank of the Danube in Paristrion were Vlachs. Iorga relates their names — Tatos, Chalis, Sethslav and Satzas — to similar Vlach proper names. An examination of the passage in Anna Comnena indicates that there were only three of these chieftains, and not four, as Iorga mistakenly thought.²² Anna says that one of them ruled in Dristra (Silistria) and the others in Vitzina and elsewhere; and that the ‘Scyths’ (Pechenegs) who were invading the Empire from the north came to an agreement with these rulers before crossing the Danube, and moving on to harass Byzantine territory, where, between 1086 and 1091, they were to cause Alexius grave concern. Anna does not give a name to the people to whom the chieftains belonged. Iorga argues that since the ‘Scyths’ had to consult with them, the chieftains themselves could not

²² ‘... τοῦ τε Τάρου τοῦ καὶ Χαλῆ ὀνομαζομένου καὶ τοῦ Σεσθλάβου καὶ τοῦ Σαρξᾶ.’ (*Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid, I, 222; ed. Leib [Paris, 1943], II, 81.) Tatos is also called Chales; the two are the same person. See below, note 32.

have been ‘Scyths’; there is nothing to show that they were Bulgarians; their lands are said to have been planted with wheat and millet, which were common Vlach crops. Iorga therefore concludes that they were Vlachs, and that the chieftains dominated miniature imitations of Byzantine frontier duchies under a loose Pecheneg control, and out of Byzantine jurisdiction. He adds — without any evidence whatever — that their sway extended across the Danube into those portions of modern Rumania long known as ‘Vlasca.’²³

These conclusions were accepted by Bănescu, who accumulated evidence to show the nature of Byzantine administration in Bulgaria between Basil’s conquest in 1018 and the revolt of Peter and Asen in 1186. From passages in Cedrenus and Attaliotes and from seals, he began in 1922 to construct the lists of Byzantine ‘dukes’ of Bulgaria and Paristrion. Dukes of Bulgaria are attested to under Basil, who sent Constantine Diogenes and John Triacontopoulos, *προνοεῖταις* and *πρατωρ Βουλγαρίας* with residence perhaps at Nish or Sofia (Triaditzia, Serdica). Dukes of Paristrion, Bănescu then thought, did not appear until the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055), when Katakalon Kekau-menos held the post. His immediate successors, Michael, son of Anastasius, Basil Apokapes, Nicephorus Botaneiates, the Vestarch Nestor, and George, son of Dekanos, are also known. Their title was *ἄρχων τῶν παριστρίων πόλεων* or sometimes *κατεπάνω τῆς Δριστρίας* after the site of their headquarters; sometimes the word *παραδούναβις* is used as the equivalent of *παρίστριον*. After the accession of the Comnenoi in 1081, no mention of the individual dukes’ names had previously been noted; but Bănescu concluded that their office was maintained until the death of Manuel. To the evidence, such as it is, provided by Anna Comnena’s mention of the three ‘Vlach’ chieftains Bănescu adds that which Cedrenus and Attaliotes indirectly supply, and maintains that the Vlach element emerged under the Comnenoi as effective local rulers. Pushing aside Zonaras’ clear statement that Tatos was a Pecheneg, and clinging to Attaliotes’ vague mention of the polyglot population of the Danube river cities, Bănescu, like Iorga, concludes that Tatos and his colleagues were ‘Rumanians.’²⁴

Returning to the subject, Bănescu later added new and reliable evidence from Cedrenus and Cinnamus to show that, by the time of Basil’s conquest, ‘Bulgaria’ meant to the Byzantines only that western portion of the country which had so long held out against them. He shows that Skoplye was its capital, and that there the ‘Duke of all Bulgaria’ (once called *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*, once ὁ ἐν Σκοπίοις διέπων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δόνκος) exercised supervisory authority over the local military commanders at Strumitza, Prilep, Prizren, Achrida, Castoria, and

²³ N. Iorga, ‘Les premières cristallisations d’état des Roumains,’ Académie Roumaine, *Bulletin de la Section Historique*, v–viii (1920), 33–46. The chief source is Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid, i, 222 ff; ed. Leib, ii, 81 f.

²⁴ N. Bănescu, ‘Les premiers témoignages byzantins sur les Roumains du Bas-Danube,’ *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, iii (1922), 287–311. Chief sources are Cedrenos, ii, 476, 483, 487, 497, 583, 584, 585, 587, 602, 607, 610; Attaliotes, p. 204; Zonaras ii, 713, which Bănescu prefers to ignore. For the seals, see Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 240, 103, 241, 710–711. See also Bănescu’s shorter article, ‘La “Roma nuova” alle foci del Danubio,’ *L’Europa Orientale*, iii (1923), 580–585, in which chauvinism is more apparent than in some of the others.

Štip. In the east the Dukes of Paristrion — the term which had replaced ‘Bulgaria’ as applying to the territory along the river — were subject directly to the Emperor. Newly discovered seals, and a close study of Skylitzes enabled Bănescu to draw up a fuller list of the Byzantine dukes of Bulgaria, and to add to the list of dukes of Paristrion a new founder of the line, Simeon Vestes (1030).²⁵ Although further data were added in later articles,²⁶ the basic Rumanian position in the controversy has not been altered: it emphasizes the division of former Bulgarian territory into two duchies and the importance of the Vlach element.

In 1925 the Bulgarian response to the articles began. Mutafčiev referred Iorga and Bănescu to articles by Vassilievskii and Kulakovskii, and to Skabalanovich’s book on the Byzantine church and state in the eleventh century, maintaining that these authorities had long since disproved the Rumanian theories.²⁷ But, as Bănescu was quick to point out, Mutafčiev had only clouded the issue: these authorities’ views turned out to be not germane, out of date, or in substantial agreement with the Rumanian position. Indeed, Bănescu proceeded to demonstrate that the duchy of Paristrion dated as far back as the victory of John Tsimisces over the Russian Svyatoslav in 972.²⁸ During the next ten years Mutafčiev wrote in Bulgarian and then translated into French and expanded an

²⁵ N. Bănescu, ‘Changements politiques dans les Balkans après la conquête de l’Empire Bulgar de Samuel (1018). Nouveaux Duchés Byzantins: Bulgarie et Paristrion,’ Académie Roumaine, *Bulletin de la Section Historique*, x (1923), 1–24 (separate pagination). Almost all the new evidence is supplied by seals published by J. Mordtmann, ‘Μολυβδούσιον λα βυζαντινά τῶν Ἐπάρχων Εὐρώπης,’ *O έν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἐλληνικὸς φιλολογικὸς σύλλογος*, xvii (1886), supplement volume, 144 ff. Some additional data from Georgian sources (*Vita beati patris nostri Ioannis atque Euthymii*, ed. P. Peeters, *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxvi–xxxvii [1917–1919], 50).

²⁶ N. Bănescu, ‘Ein neuer κατεπάνω Βολγαρίας,’ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* xxv (1925) pp. 331–332. The new addition is mentioned by Kekaumenos (ed. Vassilievsky and Jernstedt), p. 181. This brings the total for ‘Bulgaria’ to thirteen. See also N. Bănescu, ‘Unbekannte Statthalter der Themen Paristrion und Bulgarien: Romanos Diogenes und Nicephorus Botaneiates,’ *Ibid.*, xxx (1930), 439–444, containing new data provided by a seal, cited above note 20, as published by Panchenko, and by another passage in Attaliotes (p. 97). Here Bănescu specifically equates δούξ, κατεπάνω, and ἄρχων.

²⁷ First in *BZ*, xxv (1925), 211; then in a note in *BZ*, xxvi (1926), 250–251. V. G. Vassilievskii, ‘Vizantiya i Pechenegi,’ *Trudy* (St Petersburg, 1908), i, 1–175; Yu. Kulakovskii, ‘Gde nachodilas’ vidrinskaya eparchia konstantinopolskago Patriarchata?’ *Vizantiiski Vremennik*, iv (1897), 315–336. Kulakovskii tries to show (pp. 327 ff.) that Tatos and his three (really two) fellow local rulers were Russians. His line of argument, up to the conclusion, is the same as that followed by Iorga to show that they were ‘Rumanians.’ Exactly the same passages from Anna, Cedrenus, and Attaliotes are cited; but the proof that Tatos=Tatush (Russian) is no more (and no less) convincing to me than Iorga’s that Tatos=Tatul (Rumanian). Iorga’s work was all done for him by Kulakovskii; he should at least have cited the article; and, to that extent, Mutafčiev’s indignation is justified. N. Skabalanovich, *Vizantiiskoe gosudarstvo i tserkov v XI veke* (St Petersburg, 1884), pp. 225–227, gives a very short account, now out of date. V. N. Zlatarski, ‘Kakv narod se razbira u Anna, Komnina pod izraza γένος τη Σκυθικόν,’ *Izvestiya na Istoricheskoto Druzhestvo v Sofiya*, xi–xii (1931–1932), 71–83, concludes that the local rulers were Uzes, not Pechenegs, Cumans, Russians, or Vlachs. See the most recent work of Gyóni, cited note 32 below.

²⁸ N. Bănescu, ‘À propos des duchés byzantins de Paristrion et de Bulgarie,’ *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, iii (1926), 321–325; ‘La domination byzantine sur les régions du bas-Danube,’ Académie Roumaine, *Bulletin de la Section Historique*, xiii (1927), 10–22; ‘Ein ethnographisches Problem am Unterlauf der Donau aus dem XI. Jahrhundert,’ *Byzantion*, vi (1931), 297–307.

attack on the Rumanians. Here for the first time he argued that the word 'Vlach' does not mean Vlach, that is to say a Latin-speaking person, but is a device used by the Byzantine sources to avoid saying 'Bulgarian'.²⁹ In this way he turned the Rumanian arguments against their authors: if 'Bulgaria' meant to the Byzantines only the southern and eastern portion of the country (which the Bulgarian historians are prepared to admit only for the period of the Comnenoi) then the word 'Bulgarian' means only an inhabitant of that part of the country; and the word 'Vlach' is simply a way of designating Bulgarians from the northern and western parts of Bulgaria. 'Vlach' is only a *façon de parler*; it means a Bulgarian from that part of Bulgaria no longer called Bulgaria. These views were developed and expanded by Zlatarski, who disagrees with Mutafčiev on details, but whose basic position is the same.³⁰ All the detailed arguments of the Bulgarians were once again, and I think conclusively, answered by Bănescu.³¹

This is not to say that the Rumanian position on the period 1018–1081 is to be adopted *in toto*. I am convinced by their demonstration that from the time of Basil II on, the Byzantines had a divided military administration for Bulgaria. I believe that the reappearance of the Vlachs in the sources betokens perhaps an increase in their numbers, and surely an increase in their participation in the national life. But I cannot accept Iorga's thesis that the right bank of the Danube was held by Vlach local chieftains as early as the time of Alexius Comnenus. Indeed, Iorga's view, accepted by Bănescu, has not won universal acceptance even by Rumanians, but was combatted by Giurescu, who correctly refers to it

²⁹ P. Mutafčiev, 'Bulgari i Rumuni v istoriyata na Dunavskite zemli,' *Godishnik na Sofiskiya Universitet, Ist-fil fak.* xxiii (1926–1927), 1–24; *Bulgares et Roumains dans l'histoire des pays danubiens* (Sofia, 1932). See Iorga's review in *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, x (1933), 67–72. I have not seen the response to Mutafčiev by P. Panaitescu, 'Les relations bulgaro-roumaines au moyen âge,' *Revista Aromânească* i (1929), 9–31. *BZ*, xli (1941), 262, reports an article by I. Duičev on the 'theme' of Bulgaria, reference to which he has found in MS Vat. gr. 299 of the fourteenth century, containing a text of the eleventh or twelfth. The article, which I have not seen, and whose Bulgarian title is not recorded in *BZ*, appeared in the *Godishnik* of the National Library and National Museum of Plovdiv, 1937–1939 (Sofia, 1940), p. 797.

³⁰ V. Zlatarski, 'Ustroistvo Bolgarii i polozhenie bolgarskago naroda v pervoe vremya poslye pokoreniya ich Vasiliem II Bolgaroboitseyu,' *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, iv (1931), 49–68. F. Dölger, in a brief notice of this article *BZ*, xxxi (1931), 443–444, points out the ineffectiveness of Zlatarski's argument that Basil's maintenance of unity in the ecclesiastical administration of Bulgaria necessarily implies maintenance of a unified civil and military administration. See also 'Politicheskoto polozhenie na severna Bulgaria prez xi. i xii. věkove,' *Izvestiya na Istoricheskoto Druzhestvo v Sofija* ix (1929), pp. 50, separate pagination. Zlatarski has also written an article on the subject in the *Festschrift* for the Yugoslav scholar, Šišić (Zagreb, 1929), pp. 143–148, inaccessible to me. 'Edna datirana pripiska na Grützki ot srđata na XI věk,' *Byzantinoslavica*, i (1929), 23–24, maintains that παραδούναβις, far from being the equivalent of Paristrion, is a family name. This point was met by S. V. Kougeas, "Ἐπὶ τὸν βιβλιογραφικὸν σημεώματος τὸν ὑπ' ἀριθ. 263 Κοισλωνίου κόδικος," *Ἐλληνικά*, iii (1930), 458–462, and K. Amantos, 'Παραδούναβος,' *ibid.*, iv. (1931), 80, who show clearly that Zlatarski is wrong.

³¹ N. Bănescu, 'La Question du Paristrion,' *Byzantion*, viii (1933), 277–308, where he lists Zlatarski's seven chief points, and answers them one by one. See also the still more recent sigillographic evidence published by Bănescu, and cited above, note 20.

as a mere conjecture.³² So much then for the problem of administration after the conquest.

During the years between 1018 and the accession of Alexius Comnenus in 1081 there were three Bulgarian revolts. The first (1040–1041) arose because of the intolerable exactions of Michael IV's minister, John the Orphanotrophos, who for the first time demanded that taxes be paid in Bulgaria in money rather than in kind. The rebellion was led by Peter Deljan, probably a son of Gabriel Radomir, himself the son of the great Tsar Samuel. Gabriel Radomir had been murdered by his rival John Vladislav, son of Aaron, who, it is now believed, was the representative of the legitimate Bulgarian royal family against the Armenian ‘Comitopouloī.’ The hostility between the rival families continued into the third generation: Alusian, son of John Vladislav, first left Byzantine service in Asia Minor to join Deljan's revolt, then betrayed and blinded Deljan, and finally betrayed the rebels to the Byzantines,³³ who had in any case defeated them outside Thessalonica. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from the sources as to the legitimacy of Deljan, there can be little doubt that this was a genuinely Bulgarian revolt, inspired by popular discontent, and made possible by popular loyalty to the old dynasty.

Thereafter, the influx of Pechenegs and Cumans turned Bulgaria into a battle ground between Byzantium and these Turkish tribes; and we hear of no expressions of Bulgarian national self-consciousness or of rebellion until 1073. Then a new revolt broke out during a lull in the Pecheneg war. This was engineered by Bulgarian nobles under George Voitech, (*Boîraxos*) with the assistance of the Serbs,

³² C. Giurescu, ‘O nouă sinteza a trecutului nostru,’ *Revista Istorica Româna*, II (1932), 2, calls Iorga's conclusions on the Rumanian origin of the three chieftains ‘nedovedita’ (unproved), and corrects Iorga's misreading of the passage in Anna, rightly reducing the number of the chieftains from four to three. See also V. Bogrea's note published, *Universitatea din Cluj, Anuarul Institutului de Istoria Națională*, I (1921–1922), 380–381. For Giurescu's views on the Vlachs of the Balkans see his *Istoria Românilor* (Bucharest, 1938), I, 310 ff. The subject has most recently been thoroughly reviewed by M. Gyóni, *Zur Frage der Rumänischen Staatsbildungen im XI. Jahrhundert in Paristrion (Archaisierende Volksnamen und ethnische Wirklichkeit in der ‘Alexias’ von Anna Komnene)* [Ostmitteleuropäische Bibliothek, ed. E. Lukinich, no. 48 (Budapest, 1944)] pp. 106. Like the other works of Gyóni, here cited, this became available only after the completion of this study. It examines all the polemic on the subject of the national origin of the three chieftains, makes a searching study of the vocabulary of Anna Comnena, and concludes that they were probably Pechenegs.

³³ Zlatarski, *Istoriya*, II, 41 ff.; and ‘Wer war Peter Deljan?’ *Suomalais-Ugrisen Tiedekaitemian Toimitak-sia, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fenniae*, Series B 27 (Helsinki, 1932), 351–363. Psellus, who, Zlatarski is sure, got his information from Alusian, a friend of his, says that Deljan was illegitimate; and Zonaras copies Psellus. From Skylitzes-Cedrenos Zlatarski derives a tradition that he prefers: Deljan was legitimate. He could not have been accepted by the Bulgarians, Zlatarski argues, had he not been so. See also Schlumberger, *Épopée*, III, 286 ff.; Vassilievsky, *Trudy*, I, 258 ff; and N. P. Blagoev, ‘Delyan i negovoto vüstanie v Moravsko i Makedoniya protiv Vizantiitsitë,’ *Makedonski Pregled*, IV (1928), 1–2, 175–176. Harold, son of the king of Norway, took part in the Byzantine campaign against the rebels. Other sources are Kekaumenos and the Armenian Matthew of Edessa. See Adontz, *loc. cit.* (note 16 above), pp. 40 ff. for the proof that these murders were not, as had previously been believed, all committed within the family of the Comitopouloī. Samuel and Aaron were not brothers, as has been thought; Samuel had only one brother, David.

who supplied a new 'Tsar' in the person of their prince Constantine Bodinus, who took the name of Peter. The revolt was put down by Byzantine troops.³⁴ Shortly thereafter, a third revolt (*ca* 1078–1080) broke out, headed by a Greek Bogomile named Lika and by a Slavic Bogomile named Dobromir or Dragomir. The country was being overrun by the Pechenegs, who seem to have supported the revolt; and the Bogomile religious views of its two leaders indicate that there was more behind this movement than mere political discontent with Byzantine rule. It is virtually impossible to decide what role was played by the Bulgarian population during this uprising.³⁵

But, to judge from the decreasing effectiveness of the three successive revolts, and from the cessation of all rebellion for a period of more than a century under the Comnenoi, it seems reasonable to suppose that, after the mid-eleventh century, the ability of the Bulgarians to revolt successfully against Byzantium was diminished. The first revolt seems to have been purely Bulgarian; the second was partly Serbian in inspiration; the third was probably religious rather than national. This diminishing effectiveness may be attributed partly to the exhaustion and depopulation suffered during the wars with Basil II; but it is surely to be explained in large measure by the fact that Bulgaria had become the scene of the war between Byzantium and the Pechenegs and Cumans, as well as the staging ground for military operations against the Normans on the Adriatic coast, and the thoroughfare for the armies of the first three Crusades. Even Zlatarski refers to this period before 1185 as the 'period of Grecization.'³⁶ Here too, then, the views of the Rumanian scholars are substantially borne out.

III

When, after more than a century, the fourth uprising did take place in 1186, it was under the auspices of two local chieftains, Peter and Asen, whom *all* the sources, Byzantine and western, agree in calling Vlachs, and who lived in the Balkan mountains.³⁷ The most elaborate theories have been resorted to by Bul-

³⁴ Zlatarski, *Istoriya*, II, 138 ff. (Source Skylitzes.) See also the Presbyter of Dioclea, ed. F. Šišić, *Letopis Popa Duklyanina*, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Posebna Izdanya XVIII (Belgrade-Zagreb, 1928), 357–358. (Latin text.)

³⁵ Zlatarski, *Istoriya*, II, 162 ff., and especially Appendix 5, pp. 495–496, where Attaliotes and Skylitzes' accounts are compared and discussed.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 167, 'Epocha na Romeizatsiyata.' See also Zlatarski's article, 'Naměstniki-upraviteli na Bûlgariya prez tsaruvaneto na Aleksiya I Komniin,' *Byzantinoslavica*, IV (1932), 139–158 and 371–398, based almost entirely upon the letters of Archbishop Theophylact of Achrida.

³⁷ For the period of the outbreak of the revolt the only source is Nicetas Choniates. (It may be of some interest to note that all the passages of Nicetas dealing with the Asen brothers have been collected and translated into Rumanian with an introduction by G. Murnu, 'Din Nichita Acominatos Honiatul,' *Analele Academiei Române*, Seria II, 28 [1905–1906] *Memoriiile Sectiunii Istorice*, 357–467). A few years later we have as well the testimony of Ansbert and of the other western sources for the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa. Then comes the papal correspondence with Ioannitsa, continuing on after the fourth Crusade, and the flood of materials for the Crusade itself, with Villehardouin and Robert of Clari as the most important. It is worth noting that a few years before the revolt, and about the same time as their appearance in Benjamin of Tudela (1160) — see Appendix A below — the Vlachs appear in an important passage of Cinnamos as an element of the Byzantine army being

garian historians to prove that the word 'Vlach' had by 1185 come to mean a 'Bulgar from the northwest part of the country.' They explain this phenomenon as the result of a conspiracy of silence on the part of Byzantine writers, who, they argue, were trying to avoid the use of the word 'Bulgar' and to substitute 'Vlach.' In fact, however, it can be demonstrated that Byzantine writers use the word 'Bulgar' quite freely when they are talking about Bulgars, and use 'Vlach' only to refer to Vlachs. It has long been realized that any other interpretation involves the twisting of the sources until they bear no relationship to the ascertainable facts about the origin and development of the 'second Bulgarian Empire.'³⁸

recruited for duty against the Cumans. The historian even refers to the Italian (Roman) origin of the Vlachs. (Cinnamos, p. 260: '... Λέοντα δὲ τινα Βαράτζην ἐπίκλησιν ἐτέρωθεν στράτευμα ἐπαγγέμενον ἀλλο τε σύχρον καὶ δὴ καὶ Βλάχων πολὺν δῆμον, οἱ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἄποικοι πάλαι εἶναι λέγονται, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τῷ Εὐξείνῳ καλουμένῳ πόντῳ χωρίων ἐμβαλεῖν ἐκέλευν εἰς τὴν Οὔννικήν....') The 'Black Sea regions' referred to are presumably in the Dobrudja, south of the Danube. See note 62. Rumanian historians themselves have differed as to the locale of the Vlach revolt. D. Onciu, *Originea Pricipatelor Române* (Bucharest, 1899), pp. 28–29, 151–153, placing it north of the Danube, and Iorga, *Geschichte des Rumänischen Volkes* (Gotha, 1905), p. 96, in the Pindus mountains of Thessaly, while A. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiana* (Bucharest, 1926), III, 224, maintains that the Balkan range and the land between it and the Danube was never called Vlachia. This anxiety to locate the revolt away from the Balkan range and north of the Danube can be attributed to the Rumanians' determination to defend (against the Hungarians) their favorite theory of 'Daco-Roman continuity' north of the Danube. (The Hungarians maintain that *all* the Rumanians [Vlachs, Daco-Romans] were withdrawn from present-day Rumania and established in the Balkan mountains [Moesia] by Aurelian when he abandoned Dacia in the late third century.) To admit the presence of Vlachs in the Balkan mountains in 1186 would strengthen the Hungarian contention that the Vlachs disappeared north of the Danube, even though it would refute the Bulgarian argument that the Vlachs had nothing to do with the revolt of Peter and Asen. The most sensible Rumanian discussion of the problem — which correctly locates the origin of the brothers Peter and Asen in the Balkan mountains — where Nicetas (who knew) put it (p. 808: 'ὅς τραφεῖς ἐν τῷ Αἴγαῳ'), is that by C. C. Giurescu, 'Despre Vlahia Aseneștilor,' *Lucrarile Institutului de Geografie al Universității din Cluj*, IV (1928–1929; Cluj, 1931), 109–124. See also C. Brătescu, 'Nume vechi ale Dobrogeii: Vlahia lui Asan, Vlahia Alba,' *Arhiva Dobrogei*, II (1919), 18–31. Brătescu makes much of the evidence supplied by a well-known passage of William of Rubruck, the celebrated thirteenth-century Franciscan traveller, locating Vlachia between the Danube and the Balkan mountains. See also A. Sacerdoteanu, *Guillaume de Rubrouck et les Roumains au milieu du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1930).

For the likelihood that the name Asen (Asan), generally admitted to be of Turkish origin, is connected with a word in use among the Khazars, meaning 'king,' see *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht* (ed. A. Zeki Validi Togan) in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIV, 3 (Leipzig, 1939), Excursus 99a, p. 270; who refers to *Hudud al 'Alam* (tr. V. Minorsky, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, Oxford, 1937), pp. 161–162 and 451. See *Études Slaves et Roumaines*, I (1948), 64, for a review of Togan.

³⁸ The bibliography of this controversy is as follows: The most recent book to examine the evidence is the brief work of N. Bănescu, *Un problème d'histoire médiévale. Crédation et caractère du second Empire Bulgare* (Bucharest, 1943). This is essentially an answer to V. Zlatarski, 'Potekloto na Petra i Asenya, Vodachit' na vyzstanieto v 1185 god,' *Spisanie na Bulgarian Akademiya na Naukite*, XLV (1933), 8–48; and *Istoriya*, II, pp. 410–483; but it reviews the previous literature as well. Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 ff. Zlatarski's theories go back to F. I. Uspenskii, *Obrazovanie vtorago Bolgarskogo Tsarstva* (Odessa, 1879), extract from the *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Novorossiiskogo Universiteta*. It was Uspenskii (p. 57) who first broached the theory that the Byzantine sources (Nicetas and Cinnamos) for the twelfth century — the reigns of John II and Manuel Comnenus — for political reasons sup-

These are about as follows: in the year 1185, the Emperor Isaac Angelus, celebrating his marriage with the daughter of King Bela III of Hungary,^{38a} found himself short of ready cash. He proceeded to levy a tax on flocks and herds, which

pressed the word Bulgar and replaced it with the word 'Vlach.' This is easily proved false; Bănescu (*Un Problème*, pp. 13 ff.) gives numerous examples of the appearance of the word 'Bulgar' in the sources, arguing also that the official title δούξ or καρεπάνω τῆς Βουλγαρίας which appears on the seals of Byzantine officials in the province is sufficient evidence that the name was still in use. To Uspenskii's other chief argument against a Vlach origin for the brothers Peter and Asen — that they called their state the 'Bulgarian Empire,' — Bănescu replies that the tradition of the first Bulgarian Empire was so strong that it was essential for any later state on the same territory and making the same pretensions to bear the same name. Zlatarski tries unsuccessfully to show that Boril, successor of Peter, Asen, and Ioannitsa, was the descendant of another Boril, who was an influential (Bulgarian) courtier at the court of Nicephorus Botaneiates (1078–1081), and was an early enemy of his influential young general, Alexius Comnenus. Some of Bănescu's points refuting Zlatarski and Uspenskii had first been made by V. G. Vasilievskii, in his review of Uspenskii's book, *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narochnago Prosveshcheniya*, cciv (1879), 144–217 and 318–348, who also showed that the name of Bulgaria and Bulgarians was not dropped by Byzantine authors. Arguing from the evidence of later folk-tradition, Vasilievskii concluded that the brothers had grown up in an area where a kind of fusion between Vlachs and Bulgars had taken place. Vasilievskii's strictures went unnoticed by most later scholars, J. L. Pič, for example, in his *Über die Abstammung der Rumänen* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 87 ff., following Uspenskii. Meanwhile, C. R. von Höfler ('Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der slavischen Geschichte, I, Die Walachen als Begründer des zweiten bulgarischen Reiches der Aseniden, 1186,' *Sitzungsberichte der K. Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xcvi [1879], 229–245), considering the sources independently of Uspenskii, and without any Slav *parti pris*, concluded that the new kingdom was founded by Vlachs, and that the Cumans played a large part in the struggle for its creation, with the Bulgarians simply a third element in the movement. Other significant treatments of the subject are those of A. D. Xenopol, 'L'Empire Valacho-Bulgare,' *Revue Historique*, xlvi (1891), 277–308 stressing the role of the Vlachs; P. Mutafčiev, 'Proizchodüt na Asénevtsi,' *Makedonski Pregled*, iv (1928), 1–42, 149–152 which supports a 'Cumano-Russian' origin for the name of the Asens. Bănescu's demonstration that Mutafčiev and Zlatarski have misread the sources and created hypotheses out of nothing, is altogether convincing. Zlatarski reverts to the subject *Istoriya*, iii, 16 ff., but presents no new evidence or arguments. Recent works which add nothing are P. Nikov, *Vtoro Búlgarsko tsarstvo* (Sofia, 1936), which, Duičev, in the bibliographical article cited above (note 2) refers to as a 'Büchlein'; another book with the same title (Sofia, 1937), containing essays by Nikov, Duičev, and others, which Duičev calls 'ein Sammelwerk mit populären Aufsätzen'; and some popular articles in the periodical *Búlgarska Istoricheska Biblioteka*.

In Sofia, during the summer of 1948, after this study had been completed, I was able to secure a copy of the most recent Bulgarian work on the subject: Vsevolod Nikolaev, *Poteklo na Asénevtsi i etnicheskiyat charakter na osnovanata ot tēch dārzhava* (Sofia, 1944), pp. 140 with French and Russian resumés. Nikolaev quite rightly maintains that, irrespective of the racial origin of the founders, the 'second Bulgarian Empire' was primarily a Bulgarian state, and argues that the Rumanian claims that it was a manifestation of the Rumanian national genius are chauvinist and meaningless. Having demonstrated the irrelevancy of the founders' racial origin, however, Nikolaev devotes much ingenuity to an effort to prove that they were not Vlach, or, perhaps, Vlach on their maternal side only. His work is a tissue of misunderstandings and false assumptions: he even concludes that Peter and Asen were descendants of the rulers of the first Bulgarian Empire. Professor Dimiter Angelov of the University of Sofia, in conversation with me, himself gave the same estimate of Nikolaev's book, and expressed his personal belief that Peter and Asen were Vlachs who successfully led a revolt and founded a state predominantly Bulgarian in traditions, population, and language. See now Angelov's review of Nikolaev's book, *Istoricheski Pregled*, iii (1946–1947), 374–383.

^{38a} The bride, Margaret or Maria, then only ten years old, was to have a remarkable career. After the death of Isaac and the second Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 she married Boniface of Montferrat, and became Queen of Thessalonica.

fell especially heavily upon the region of Anchialus. The Vlachs of the Balkan mountains sent Isaac, who was at Kypsellia in Thrace, two messengers, the brothers Peter and Asen. These petitioned to be enlisted in Isaac's armies, and to be given by imperial decree some small property in the mountains. Isaac refused; the brothers, especially Asen, were loudly and rudely insistent, and threatened to revolt unless their wishes were granted. The sebastocrator John struck Asen in the face; and the brothers left in a fury.³⁹ When they reached their home in the mountains, the Vlachs at first refused to rebel against the Empire; but Peter and Asen built a church, into which they gathered many 'people of both sexes possessed by devils,' who were told to prophesy that 'God had decided upon the freedom of the Bulgarians and of the Vlach people and upon the removal from their necks of the yoke they had borne so long.' The inspired prophets added that St Demetrius, who was a name to conjure with, had left Thessalonica and its temples and had come over to them to preside over the rebellion.⁴⁰

This convinced the rank and file of the Vlachs, who then opened a bloody campaign, giving no quarter to prisoners. Peter crowned himself with a golden diadem, and donned the purple boots symbolic of the office of Emperor. The Vlachs swept down from the hills, taking cattle and men from the cities. Advancing to meet them, Isaac scored a signal success in a battle in a fog, which prevented the Vlachs from retreating to their mountains; he drove them — like the Gadarene swine — into the Danube. But they were not drowned. They crossed the river, and joined the Cumans (Scyths). The grave difficulties of the terrain helped decide Isaac not to follow up his advantage or to garrison the inaccessible Vlach mountain villages. He retired after burning their harvest, misled by their false promises of submission. On his return to the capital he was reproached by Leo Monasteriotes, one of the judges in the city, who said that the spirit of Basil the Bulgar-slayer was grieved at Isaac's conduct. Monasteriotes recalled that, after destroying the Bulgarians, Basil had advised that, if the Vlachs should ever revolt, the Emperor of the day should follow his example, and garrison their country. Monasteriotes and Basil both proved to be right. Reinforced by their Cuman allies, the Vlachs re-crossed the Danube, and, finding no Byzantine army in Moesia, Nicetas says, they were not contented to rule over Moesia alone, but did as much harm as they could to the Rhomaeans, uniting the rule

³⁹ Nicetas, pp. 481–482. Here occurs the first clear account of the word 'Vlach,' and the identification of Peter and Asen as Vlachs (p. 482): ' . . . τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Αἴμον τὸ δρός βαρβάρους, δὲ Μυσοὶ πρότερον δύομάζοτο, νυνὶ δὲ Βλάχοι κυκλήσκονται . . . ἡσαν δὲ οἱ τοῦ κακοῦ πρωτοπρύγοι καὶ τὸ ξένος δλον ἀνασέσσαντες Πέτρος τις καὶ Ἀσάν, δημογενεῖς ταυτόποροι.' In spite of this and of all the other evidence, F. Cognasso, 'Un imperatore Bizantino della decadenza, Isacco II Angelo,' *Bessarione*, xxxi (1915), 44, calls them 'Due bojari bulgari.' In addition to the works already cited, an account of the Bulgarian wars is included in M. Bachmann, *Die Rede Johannes Syropoulos an den Kaiser Isaak II Angelos* (1185–1195) (Munich, 1935), pp. 72–98, drawn especially from the hitherto little-used 'rhetorical' sources.

⁴⁰ The propaganda about St Demetrius was likely to be enhanced by the great impression produced by the Byzantine loss of Thessalonica, his city, to the Normans, a few months before. It was clear that he must have abandoned Thessalonica, which he had so often protected; why should he not have come to the aid of the Vlachs and Bulgars? Apparently Isaac Angelus later captured an icon of St Demetrius in the house of Peter; Theodore Balsamon wrote a poem on the subject: 'Εἰς ἄγιον Δημήτριον εὐρεθέντα παρὰ τὸν βασιλέων εἰς τὴν οἰκλαν τῷ ἀποστάτον Σθλαβοπέτρου,' ed. K. Horna, 'Die Epigramma des Theodor Balsamon,' *Wiener Studien*, xxv (1903), 192.

of Moesians (Vlachs) and Bulgarians under one sovereign, as it had been before.⁴¹

Isaac himself did not march against the rebels this time, but sent an army under the sebastocrator John, who was a good general, but under suspicion of plotting for the throne, and who was replaced by the Emperor's brother-in-law, the Caesar John Cantacuzene. Through carelessness in failing to post guards, Cantacuzene was badly defeated by the Vlachs in a night attack, Peter even capturing and putting on the gold-embroidered robes of the Caesar. Cantacuzene's successor, Alexius Branas, tried to usurp the Byzantine throne, leading a rebellion against Isaac, from which the Emperor was saved only by the intervention of Conrad of Montferrat.⁴² When this was over (1187) Isaac took the field in person against the rebels in Bulgaria. Although he pursued the Vlachs from Adrianople to Philippopolis to Sofia (Triaditsa), he won no major victory, and the enemy escaped from the liberated territory with all his booty. The imperial armies were caught by winter, and Isaac himself went back to Constantinople for recreation at the games. When he renewed the campaign in the spring (1188), it was to spend three months in the fruitless siege of Lobitsos. Operations were suspended after Isaac had captured Asen's wife, and had been given a third brother of Asen and Peter, John — the later King Ioannitsa — as a hostage. But these Byzantine successes were illusory. Nicetas says things went from bad to worse.⁴³

In the next year, the forces of Frederick Barbarossa, moving on Constantinople, presented a grave threat to the Empire. As they crossed the Balkans in July 1189, they received letters from Peter, who had joined with two Serb zhupans in an alliance against Isaac. The allies now offered Frederick aid in any operation he might undertake against Byzantium. The offer was renewed that winter, when Peter specifically promised Frederick 40,000 Vlach and Cuman archers for an attack on Constantinople, scheduled for the beginning of spring 1190; and this offer Frederick was tempted to accept. But he reached an agreement with Isaac during the winter, and decided not to attack Constantinople. Isaac's 'dapifer magnus' asked Barbarossa for aid against the Vlachs, and, on the same day, a representative of Peter the Vlach arrived, eager to get Frederick's aid against the Greeks. Frederick refused both requests. This is almost all we know of the relations between Barbarossa and the Vlach brothers: one source adds that, when Peter offered Frederick the 40,000 auxiliaries for use against

⁴¹ Nicetas, pp. 485–489. ' . . . τὴν τῶν Μύσων καὶ τῶν Βούλγαρων δυναστείαν εἰς ἐν συνάψουσιν ὡς πάλαι ποτὲ ἦν. . . .' The specific equation of Μύσοι with Βλάχοι (see note 39) above plus the specific reference in this passage to Μύσοι and Βούλγαροι as separate peoples is in itself enough to dispose of the 'Bulgarian' theory that 'Vlach' meant 'Bulgar' or that there was a conspiracy of silence among Byzantines to drop the word 'Bulgar' from usage.

⁴² Nicetas, pp. 489 ff. For Branas' revolt, see Cognasso, *loc. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

⁴³ Nicetas, pp. 515–516, and 517–521. For the military tactics of the speedy Cumans, who attacked the heavy armed and slow-moving Byzantine forces, see the letters of Nicetas reporting on the campaign to the Patriarch. Nicetas, who took part in the operations in person, was logothete τῶν στερέτων and reports the entire campaign as a great victory. See Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, (ed. K. Sathas, Venice, 1872), I, 77 ff. Eustathius of Thessalonica also congratulated Isaac on the victory in an oration delivered at Philippopolis, *Opuscula* (ed. Tafel), pp. 41–45. See head of this article.

Isaac, he also asked Frederick to crown him ‘with the diadem of the realm of Greece’; and explains that Barbarossa in a friendly way turned the request aside, since he was more anxious to get on with the Crusade across the Straits than to delay in ‘Greece’ to help claim an empire for somebody else.⁴⁴

After the pressing danger from the crusaders — or a crusader-Vlach alliance — had passed, Isaac undertook in 1191 a new expedition against the Vlachs, who were ravaging Byzantine territory. By way of Anchialus he marched into the narrow passes of the Balkans. He found the fortresses supplied with newly-built walls and towers, and the enemy leaping up the inaccessible heights as lightly as deer and as sure-footed as goats. Isaac made the mistake of taking a short-cut near Berrhoea through a narrow valley, where there was a waterfall, instead of keeping to the main road, which was suitable for marching. He was set upon, and lost the greater part of his army, escaping himself, Nicetas says, only through divine aid. The action was so hot — the Vlachs hurling stones upon the Greeks

⁴⁴ The passages from which this account is drawn are all in ‘Ansbert’ and the *Historia Peregrinorum*, (ed. Chroust), *MGH, SS*, new series, v (1928). For the first account of the Asen brothers (p. 33): ‘... in Bulgarie maxima parte ac versus Danubium, quo usque mare influat, quidam Kalopetrus Flachus ac frater eius Assanius cum subditis Flachis tyrannizabat. In ea fluctuatione regni Grecie prefati comites de Saruigia (Serbia) et Grazzia (Rascia) eo tempore quo exercitus crucis Bulgariam transmeabat, occasione accepta, partem Bulgarie sue ditioni subiugaverant, federe initio cum Kalopetro aduersus imperatorem Constantinopolitanum. Qui scilicet Kalopetrus dominum imperatorem (Frederick) scriptis et nuntiis officiose salutare debita reverentia et fidelis auxilii contra hostes sponsione maiestati eius inclinabat.’ This shows again that Peter and Asen were Vlachs, although Bulgarian scholars argue that the Latin sources followed the Greek in calling them Vlachs instead of Bulgars. This cannot be supported: the Latins were dealing with the Vlachs directly, not through Greek intermediaries, and the Latins were hostile to the Greeks, and would not have adopted such a Greek usage, even if it had existed, which it did not. The Latins were well informed as to who was who in the Balkans. For the offer of 40,000 men (p. 58): ‘Kalopetrus, Blacorum et maxime partis Bulgarorum (note the distinction between the peoples) in hortis Tracie dominus, qui se imperatorem ... (lacuna probably to be filled by ‘nominabat et legatos misit ad imperatorem [Frederick] qui eum salutabant’ see below, passage from *Historia Peregrinorum*) et coronam imperiale regni Grecie ab eo sibi imponere efflagitabat seque ei circa initium veris quadraginta milia Blacorum et Cumanorum tenentium arcus et sagittas aduersus Constantinopolim transmissurum constanter asseverebat. Quem nuntium dominus imperator benigne a se pro tempore remisit et Kalopetro placentia rescripsit.’ See pp. 64–65 for terms of Frederick’s peace with Isaac, which made the Vlach alliance unnecessary to him. For the end of his negotiations with the Vlachs, p. 69: ‘... dapifer magnus Constantopolitanus imperatorius (Isaac) qui exercitum pergrandem adunaverat, ut Blachorum hostium publicorum agmina perturbaret, transmissa legatione supplicavit domino imperatori (Frederick) et, quoniam pax inter ipsum (Frederick) et dominum sum Constantinopolitanum imperatorem fratrem imperii eius (Isaac) unita esset, gloriolum exercitum peregrinorum Christi sibi transmitteret in adiutorium ad dimicandum contra Blachos. Ipsa nichilominus die Kalopetrus Blachorum dominus itemque a suis dictus imperator Grecie, litteris directis auxilium Christi peregrinorum aduersus exercitum Grecorum expoposcit; sed utrique nuntiis a domino imperatore (Frederick) inefficaciter ad sua sunt reversi.’ Finally, see the *Historia Peregrinorum* (*ibid.*, p. 149): ‘Interea Kalopetrus qui cum Assanio fratre suo dominabatur populis Blacorum, misit legationem Adrianopolim, diadema regni Grecie de manu imperatoris capiti suo rogans imponi et aduersus imperatorem Constantinopolitanum promittens se venturum illi in auxilium cum quadraginta millibus Cumanorum. Imperator vero illius petitioni amicabile et placens pro tempore dedit responsum, quamvis alia cura et maiori sollicitudine propositum iter proficere moneretur. Amplius namque desiderabat partibus transmarinis succurrere et videre bona Hierusalem quam in Grecia demorando alienum sibi imperium vendicare.’

from above, and attacking on the ground at the same time — that Isaac lost his own helmet in his headlong dash for Berrhoea. As a result of this imperial defeat, the Vlachs recaptured Anchialus, took Varna, destroyed Sofia, and removed the inhabitants and cattle from Stoumpion and Nish.

Isaac was like a honeycomb with bees buzzing all around it, says Nicetas; he did not know what to do first. Dividing his army between the military leaders, he rebuilt Varna and Anchialus, from which the Vlachs had apparently withdrawn, and installed garrisons. In the fall of 1192 near Philippopolis he attacked the Vlachs and also the Serb Zhupan, who had destroyed Skoplye. Again, however, his luckless forces were caught, this time crossing the Morava, as they pushed on into south Serbia, and many soldiers were drowned or pierced by spears. But Isaac passed Nish, and moved across the Sava to a rendezvous with his brother-in-law, King Bela of Hungary. After a conference with him, planning joint action against the Vlachs, Isaac returned at once to Constantinople via Philippopolis.⁴⁵

Isaac then appointed his cousin Constantine Angelus governor of Philippopolis, with the title of *στρατηγός*, and, for a while, this young but able general kept the Vlachs at a distance. They feared him more than they did the Emperor. But, like so many successful provincial governors, Constantine fancied himself as Emperor, and put on the purple boots. His attempted usurpation came to nothing (he never had an effective following), and Isaac had him blinded. Peter and Asen rejoiced at his misfortune, saying that Isaac could have done them no greater favor, and that they hoped Isaac’s family, the Angeloi, would continue in power for many years, and never die, if possible. Vlach depredations began again on a scale greater than ever.⁴⁶

In 1194 Isaac put Alexius Gidos, commander of the troops in the east, and Basil Vatatzes, commander of the troops in the west, in command of a force, which engaged the Vlachs near Arcadiopolis, and suffered a severe defeat, Vatatzes being killed in the field. So the Emperor decided to take command in person once again, and in the spring of 1195 began to assemble a large army, which included auxiliaries sent him by Bela as arranged at their conference in Serbia. But once more the Vlachs won a victory, which was Isaac’s last defeat. A group of discontented nobles headed by his brother, Alexius Angelus, succeeded in winning over the army; Isaac was dethroned; he escaped, was captured, blinded, and remanded to that captivity from which the arrival of the Latins of the fourth Crusade some eight years later was so briefly to rescue him.⁴⁷

Alexius III Angelus proceeded to disband the army, and send the troops home, paying no heed to the ravages of the Vlachs and Cumans.⁴⁸ He made an effort to negotiate a peace, sending ambassadors to Peter and Asen. But the conditions proposed by the Vlachs were intolerable for the Empire, and, while Alexius was in the east — attempting to deal with the insurrection of a Cilician rebel⁴⁹ — the

⁴⁵ Nicetas, pp. 561–569. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades — Historiens Grecs*, II, 738–741, where, as an appendix, is published an oration previously unprinted.

⁴⁶ Nicetas, pp. 570–573. ⁴⁷ Nicetas, pp. 587–596.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 600. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 608–610.

Vlachs destroyed another Byzantine army near Serres, captured the commander, Alexius Aspietes, seized numerous fortresses, and garrisoned them, taking away a great amount of booty. The Emperor countered this move by sending his son-in-law, the sebastocrator Isaac, at the head of another army. When Asen's spies warned him that the Emperor had sent troops, and urged him to take proper precautions before he went on another raid, because Alexius was a much better soldier than his brother Isaac, Asen responded somewhat sententiously that rumors (*φήμαι*) were not to be heeded, and that he would have to be convinced by the evidence of his own eyes rather than take hearsay. If one took Alexius' previous achievements as a guide, Asen said, one found that he had no military experience, and that, unlike Isaac, he had never won a victory. He had got the crown altogether by chance. There was no reason for the Vlachs to worry about him. Then, in a rhetorical flight, suspiciously like Nicetas' own style for a barbarian chieftain, Asen went on to show that, by all calculations, Alexius was no better general than Isaac, and that the Byzantine armies would not be found formidable by the Vlachs, who had so often defeated them. In the end, this proved to be the case. The sebastocrator Isaac fell into a trap, and his army was annihilated and he himself captured near Serres. The Cuman who captured him tried to keep it a secret, in the hope of getting a large ransom, but the rumor spread about, and Isaac was delivered to Asen.⁵⁰

Not long thereafter, one of Asen's captives, a priest, who spoke the Vlach language, begged for his freedom, and was refused, Asen saying with a grim pun (a pun, it is true, only in Greek, and we are told that they were speaking Vlach) that he intended not to let him go (*ἀπολύειν*) but to kill him (*ἀπολλύειν*). The priest, weeping, told Asen that God would show no future mercy to a man who had refused to heed the request of a poor suppliant. And indeed Asen was shortly thereafter killed by Ivanko, a Vlach, who was having an affair with Asen's wife's sister. Angered at the scandal, Asen had begun by threatening his wife, but soon turned his anger against Ivanko, whom he sent for late at night, refusing to postpone the interview. Taking council with his friends, Ivanko concealed a sword under his cloak for use only if Asen drew first. Asen reached for his sword immediately, and Ivanko struck. It was said that the captive sebastocrator Isaac had been at the root of the plot, and that he had promised Ivanko his own daughter in marriage. But even before the killing of Asen, Isaac had died in his chains. Ivanko's friends agreed that he would make a better ruler than the tyrannical Asen; and, seizing Tirnovo, Ivanko prepared to hold out against Asen's brothers Peter and Ioannitsa.

He requested Byzantine aid, offering to hand over Tirnovo, Vlach capital and the key to their Balkan defenses. Alexius sent Manuel Kamytzes at the head of an army, which had hardly left Philippopolis and entered into Vlach territory when it mutinied and demanded to go home, unwilling to tackle the Balkan terrain, which had proved fatal to so many previous armies. Kamytzes' forces broke and fled, fearing that the enemy was upon them. A second attempt by Alexius

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 612–617.

to send an army to relieve Ivanko in Tirnovo came too late. Troubled because the Greeks had not arrived, and beset by Peter and Ioannitsa, Ivanko fled to Constantinople, where he was well received, entered imperial service, and married the widow, rather than the young daughter, of the sebastocrator Isaac. 'Why,' said Ivanko, who was a crude chap, and who lived with the Byzantines but never learned their ways, 'should I bother with the suckling lamb when I can have the ewe, who is ready to be covered?' Ivanko distinguished himself fighting against his fellow Vlachs, and Alexius III put great trust in him, hoping that he had finally found an answer to this threat to the Empire, which had been increasing steadily for more than twelve years, and to whose seriousness the devastation of all Macedonia and Thrace, Nicetas says, bore witness more eloquently than any commemorative inscriptions or historical writings.⁵¹

The assassination of Peter, surviving leader of the original Vlach revolt, seemed another piece of good fortune for the Byzantines. Rule over the Vlachs and their allies then passed (1197) to Ioannitsa, the third brother, who had once been a hostage in Byzantine hands, but who had escaped, and fled back to his home. Nicetas expresses the view that Ioannitsa was just as deadly as Peter or Asen.⁵² How true this was both Byzantines and the successful warriors of the fourth crusade were shortly to learn.

It was at this juncture, in 1198 or 1199, that local Vlach chieftains other than the family of the Asen brothers began to set up independent principalities. Chrysos (Dobromir Chrysos), a Vlach, had at first not joined in the original insurrection of Peter and Asen, but had helped the Byzantines against them with a force of 500 men. Later he was captured, and drawn over to the side of his own people, disappointing Alexius by setting himself up as local ruler at Strumnitsa. The Emperor undertook one fruitless expedition against him, and some time later set out on a second, Chrysos having by this time taken possession of the virtually impregnable fortress of Prosakon (Prosek) on a cliff jutting out into the Vardar, and almost surrounded by water.⁵³ Here Alexius foolishly undertook siege operations, which, however, nearly succeeded. Had it not been for a shortage of battering rams, Prosakon might have fallen, and much later trouble saved.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 617–624. Ivanko's personality, and his comment on the ladies of the sebastocrator's family; p. 623: '... Ρωμαίοις μὲν συναντιζόμενος, μεταρρυθμίζομενος δὲ μηδαμώς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φρονήματος δῆμαλὸν καὶ εὐένδοτον. . . ."Τὶ μοι καὶ τῷ ἐν γάλαξιν," ἔφασκεν, "ἀρνεῖθε ἀμνάδος πρὸς ὄχειαν καὶ αἰγὸς τελεῖας ἐπιδεομένῳ;"' The effect of the Vlach wars, p. 624: 'Tis δ' ἀν καὶ ἀριθμένη δύνατο ὅσαι καὶ ὅτε τοῦ ἔτους Σκύθων καὶ Βλάχων ἐγίνοντο ἔφοδοι, καὶ οὐα ἔργα ἔδρων ἀνδρία; μαρτυροῦσι δήπου τὰ πεπραγμένα ἡ τῶν πρὸς Αἴμου χωρῶν ἔρημα Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θράκης οἱ λησμοὶ στηλῶν καὶ κύρβεων ἀκριβέστερον καὶ ξυμπάσης ιστοριας πραντέρον.'

⁵² Nicetas, pp. 621–622.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 643–644. For the first name Dobromir see Nicetas' address to Alexius III Angelus, in *Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη* (ed. K. Sathas, Venice, 1872), II, 90. For Prosakon and its rulers including Chrysos see N. Radoyichich, 'O nekim gospodarima grada Proseka na Vardaru,' *Letopis Matitise Srpske* CCLIX (1909), 1–19, and CCLX (1909), 32–40 (Serbian); P. Mutafčiev, 'Vladětelitel na Prošek,' *Sbornik na Bulgarskata Akademiya Na Naukité*, I (1913), 1–85; V. N. Zlatarski, 'Ansbertoviyat "zupan ili satrap na Búlgariya" ne e bil Dobromir Chriz, Godishnik na Sofiiskiya Universitet, Ist.-Fil. Fak. XXIX (1933), 1–20. Zlatarski, *Istoriya*, III, 108 ff.

⁵⁴ Nicetas, pp. 665–672.

Then Ivanko, so useful for the brief period he had fought against the Vlachs, also deserted. Alexius sent his sons-in-law, Theodore Lascaris and George Palaeologus, to catch him, but they could not do so. Although wiser heads felt that this sort of pursuit of an eagle from crag to crag or of a serpent gliding through the rocks was inadvisable, Alexius tried once again, and a Byzantine army retook several castles; but Ivanko, who had now changed his own name to Alexius, captured Manuel Kamytzes, the protostrator, by a stratagem, and scored a series of important military successes, exhibiting great cruelty when in his cups by chopping off the limbs of his captives.⁵⁵ But the Emperor Alexius, having sworn to respect the person of Ivanko at a conference on terms of peace (Ivanko wanted an imperial grant of all the cities he had captured, and the person of his wife, whom he had left behind in Byzantium when he had deserted) broke his oath — an act which Nicetas condemns — and took Ivanko prisoner.⁵⁶ The next year (1201 or 1202) the Vlachs and Cumans raided Byzantine territory as usual, and this time the capital was saved only by some Russian mercenaries.⁵⁷

Manuel Kamytzes, Ivanko’s prisoner, was now ransomed by Chrysos, and joined him at Prosakon, whence, together, they raided and subdued a large area of Macedonia and Thessaly,⁵⁸ while John Spiridonakis, imperial governor of Smolena, a Cypriot by birth, also set himself up as independent. But Alexius defeated Spiridonakis, and made peace with Chrysos, sending him Ivanko’s wife, Theodora, widow of the sebastocrator, Isaac. This broke up the alliance between Chrysos and Kamytzes, who was now driven out of Thessaly, and took refuge at Stanon. We hear no more of him. These were real successes for Alexius, and he crowned them by signing a truce with Ioannitsa, whose terms Nicetas does not give,⁵⁹ but which, it may be conjectured, included the granting of the imperial title, and the establishment of the Bulgarian patriarchate. The evidence for this will be presented below.

But it was now the eve of the Latin conquest; these last events are to be ascribed to 1202 or 1203; the ‘young Alexius,’ son of the dethroned Isaac Angelus and nephew of Alexius III, had gone to the west, to enlist sympathy and aid for his imprisoned father, and was soon to return with the forces of the fourth Crusade. This is all that Nicetas tells us about the Vlach-Bulgarian-Cuman revolt from 1185 to the Latin conquest; and, except for Ansbert’s brief references to the negotiations between Frederick Barbarossa and the Vlach leaders, it is almost all we know. The emergence, toward the end of the period, of semi-independent local rulers, Chrysos, Ivanko, Kamytzes, and Spiridonakis, all of whom were in and out of Byzantine service, and Nicetas’ shift of the major part of his attention to them, should not obscure the fact that the most important political formation on the territory of the old Bulgarian Empire was the loose conglomeration of Balkan peoples in revolt led by the Vlachs Peter and Asen, and later by their brother Ioannitsa.

Of their political institutions we know absolutely nothing, except for a single

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 675–680.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 685–687.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 691–692.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 707–708. Also Radoychich, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁹ Nicetas, pp. 708–709.

mention (see below) of a 'constable,' who appears to have been a trusted servant of Ioannitsa, and who may have been an officer of the royal household. We do not know what was the relationship of the three peoples — Vlachs, Bulgarians, and Cumans — to each other, how much power their nominal 'Emperor' had over them or over the local chieftains like Chrysos, how it was exercised or delegated, or how wide was its territorial extent. Nicetas does not even tell us whether Ioannitsa took the title of 'Emperor' after the death of Peter, although we know from another source, as will be seen, that he did. We can be sure, however, that the long succession of military victories over the Angeloi had gained the brothers great prestige. This is perhaps best indicated by the fact that in 1199 Pope Innocent III had begun to correspond with them. Much of the correspondence survives; it is second in importance only to Nicetas as a source for the development of the 'second Bulgarian' Empire.⁶⁰

IV

In his first letter, written during the last two weeks of December 1199, Innocent III addressed his correspondent as 'the noble man Ioannitsa.' He opened the communication by attributing the Vlach military victories over the Byzantines to God, who had been rewarding Ioannitsa's humility and devotion to the Roman church. Having heard, the Pope says, that your ancestors came originally of a noble Roman line, and that this explains your devotion to the Apostolic See, I have long since been meaning to send you ambassadors, but have been delayed by the pressure of church affairs, and am just now getting around to it. I am

⁶⁰ The letters in this correspondence have recently been re-edited by I. Duičev, 'Prepiskata na Papa Innocentiya s bulgaritę' ('Innocentii III epistolae ad Bulgariae historiam spectantes'), *Godishnik na Sofiskiya Universitet, Ist.-Fil. Fak.* xxxviii (1942), no. 3, pp. 116, with 11 plates. This has not been accessible to me. It is referred to in Duičev's bibliographical article cited above (note 2), and is reviewed with care by M. Lascaris, *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, xix (1942), 621–629. In an earlier article printed *Izvestiya na Búlgarskoto istorichesko druzhestvo*, xiii (1933), 113–141 — also inaccessible to me — Duičev pointed out minor inexactitudes in the text of the letters as they are published in A. Theiner, *Vetora Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium* (Rome, 1863), hereafter Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* which, however, I have had to use. But Duičev never mentions — so Lascaris says — the edition of the letters in E. de Hurmuzaki and N. Densusianu, *Documente privitoré la Istoria Românilor*, i (Bucharest, 1887), hereafter H.-D. *Documente*, which is in effect a new edition, and which I have also used. Neither Theiner nor Hurmuzaki-Densusianu presents the letters in chronological order, which is often to be inferred only from internal evidence. I have attempted to follow the course of the correspondence as it actually took place. Quotations from Duičev in Lascaris' review indicate that Duičev affirms the most extreme version of the Bulgarian theory: 'L'étude des sources contemporaines . . . confirme complètement l'opinion que la renouvellement du second empire bulgare a été effectuée uniquement par les Bulgares.' There was, he says, among twelfth and thirteenth-century authors 'un mode qui consistait dans l'emploi du nom de *Vlaque* pour désigner les Bulgares du mont Balkan et de la Bulgarie du nord,' the name 'Bulgar' being reserved for the inhabitants of southern Bulgaria. This is, of course, the Zlatarski theory, which I cannot accept. The Greek and Latin sources were written independently of each other by well-informed eyewitnesses. A Vlach was a Vlach to them, and a Bulgar a Bulgar. Peter, Asen, Ioannitsa, Chrysos, and Ivanko were Vlachs, and spoke a Vlach language. The testimony of every source so far considered bears this out; the papal letters are no exception, as we shall see. Zlatarski (*Istoriya*, iii, 108), calls them Bulgars. For the papal correspondence see pages 173 ff.

sending you as envoy Dominic, the archipresbyter of the Greeks at Brindisi, and urge you to receive him with the proper honor and kindness, and tell him further of your devotion to us. When he shall have reported back on the sincerity of your proposal and the degree of your affection, I shall send you ambassadors of higher rank, legates, who may strengthen you and your people in their love for the Apostolic See, and who may tell you of our good will.⁶¹

This letter is clearly marked as an answer to a prior appeal of some sort from Ioannitsa or from Peter and Asen. At least informal representations had been made suggesting that the Vlach-Bulgarian princes were ready to leave the Greek ecclesiastical fold and enter the Roman. Only such a situation could account for Innocent's confidence in Ioannitsa's loyalty to Rome, past and future, or his explanation that he had long since been intending to send Ioannitsa an embassy. Incidentally the reference to Ioannitsa's claim to Roman ancestry, which modern Bulgarian scholars dismiss as mere diplomatic flattery, is, it seems to me, strong further evidence, if any were needed, that Ioannitsa was a Vlach and not a Bulgarian.⁶² These conclusions are borne out by the remainder of the correspondence.

⁶¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ccxiv, col. 825, Book II, no. 266; A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 931; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 11, no. 18; H.-D. *Documente* I, 1, no. 1. ‘Nobili viro Iohannitio etc. Respxit dominus humiliatem tuam et devotionem, quam erga Romanam ecclesiam cognosceris hactenus habuisse, et te inter tumultus bellicos et guerrarum discrimina non solum potenter defendit, sed etiam mirabiliter et misericorditer dilatavit. Nos autem, auditio quod de nobili Urbis Romae prosapia progenitores tui originem traxerit, et tu ab eis et sanguineis generositatem contraxeris et sincere devotionem affectum, quem ad apostolicam sedem geris quasi hereditario iure, iam pridem te proposuimus litteris et nuntiis visitare; sed variis ecclesie sollicitudinibus detenti hactenus non potuimus nostrum propositum adimplere: nunc vero inter alias sollicitudines nostras hanc etiam assumendam duximus. . . . Dilectum . . . Dominicum archipresbiterum Grecorum de Brundisio ad te personaliter destinantes, monemus . . . quatenus ipsum humiliter et devote recipiens, honorifice ac benigne pertractes, et per eum plenius nobis tuam devotionem exponas. Cum enim plene nobis per ipsum de sinceritate tui propositi et devotionis affectu constiterit, ad te proposuimus maiores nuntios vel legatos potius destinare, qui tam te quam tuos in apostolice sedis dilectione confirment, et te de benivolentia nostra efficient certiorem.’

⁶² That contemporaries were conscious of the Roman origin of the Vlachs (sometimes calling it ‘Italian’) is indicated by the passage of Cinnamos, already cited, note 37 above. Even better informed was Kekaumenos, who says they were originally the descendants of the Dacians and the ‘Bessoi,’ and was aware of their King Decebalus, whom Trajan had defeated. *Strategicon*, op. cit., p. 74: ‘πολεμθέντες παρὰ τῷ βασιλέως Τραϊανῷ καὶ παντελῶς ἐκτριβέντες ἔλλωσαν, καὶ τῷ βασιλέως αὐτῶν τῷ λεγομένῳ Δεκαβάλῳ ἀποσφαγέντος . . . ὥστοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι Δᾶκαι καὶ Βέσοι. φύουν δὲ πρότερον πλησίον τῷ Δανούβῳ ποταμῷ καὶ τῷ Σάου, ὃν μὲν ποταμὸν Σάβαν καλοῦμεν, ἔνθα Σέρβοι ἀρτίως ὀνκώντων . . . οἵ καὶ ἔξελθόντες τῶν ἑκέσει διεσπάρορησαν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰτείρῳ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ, οἱ δὲ πλεόνες αὐτῶν φύησαν τὴν ‘Ελλάδα.’ M. Gyóni, in his interesting study, ‘L’Oeuvre de Kekaumenos, Source de l’histoire Roumaine,’ *Revue de l’Histoire Comparée*, xxiii, nouvelle série III (1945), 96–180, analyses the passage carefully. His demonstration that Kekaumenos took from Dio Cassius, or from some epitome of Dio current in eleventh-century Byzantium, all his information on Trajan and Decebalus is quite convincing. (It had been suggested but not demonstrated by Tomaschek, ‘Hämushalbinsel,’ loc. cit., 493–494.) But Gyóni’s effort to explain Kekaumenos’ identification of the Dacians and ‘Bessai,’ on the one hand, with the Vlachs, on the other, as archaizing typical of the Byzantine sources (pp. 175 ff.) does not entirely come off. It is true that Kekaumenos made an error in locating the Dacians and Bessai ‘near the Danube and the Sava, where the Serbs now live’; it is true that he uses the entire passage about these people of antiquity to illustrate perfidy, in connection with a warning to his son against the same trait in the Vlachs. But it would be an extraordinary coincidence if these

It was not until some time in 1202 that Ioannitsa replied, probably early in the year, since Innocent's next letter is dated November; and communication between Tirnovo and Rome was very slow. A note in the papal register says that Ioannitsa's letter had been translated from Bulgarian into Greek and then into Latin.⁶³ Calling himself 'Caloiohannes Imperator Bulgarorum et Blachorum,' Ioannitsa thanked the Pope for his letter, told him that his late brothers Peter and Asen and he himself had previously tried to get into touch with him, but had been blocked by enemies, asked to be taken into the Roman Church, and requested a crown, just as one had been bestowed on 'our old Emperors.' Our books tell us, wrote Ioannitsa, that Peter was one, and Samuel was another, and that there were others before them who had crowns. Of course, this Peter is the Bulgarian who was recognized as Emperor by the Byzantines in 927. Ioannitsa also told Innocent not to be surprised at his delay in answering: at first he had suspected that the archipresbyter of Brindisi was not a genuine envoy; but a certain Pretextatus (otherwise unknown) had vouched for his authenticity. He asked Innocent to send him the high-ranking ambassadors of whom the Pope's letter had spoken.⁶⁴

In this letter Ioannitsa not only acquiesces in the attribution to him of Roman blood ('Deus qui reduxit nos ad memoriam sanguinis et patrie nostre a qua descendimus') but also claims lineal descent from the Emperors of the first Bulgarian Empire. His constitutional position as Emperor was defensible only if he could claim to be in the Bulgarian line of descent. At this time a Vlach Empire was not a possible concept, while there was a splendid precedent for a Bulgarian Empire. Basil, the metropolitan of Zagora, also sent greetings to the Pope; and

factors alone, as Gyóni argues, explained away the flat identification of the Vlachs of the eleventh century with the Dacians and 'Bessai' of Trajan's day. Awareness of the Roman origin of the Vlachs is not expressed by any source before Kinnamos known to me, but it became a truism of sixteenth and seventeenth-century comment on them even by Hungarians. I have not seen the latest work on this subject, A. Cioranescu, *La tradition historique et l'origine des Roumains*, which is reviewed by G. Brătianu in *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, xix (1942), 663–665. For the 'Bessoi' see Tomaschek, 'Hämushalbinsel,' *loc. cit.* 478 ff., especially 499 ff.

⁶³ 'Litterae Caloioannis domini Bulgarorum et Blacorum missae domino Innocentio papae III translate de Bulgarico in Graecum et de Graeco postea in Latinum.' It is highly likely that Ioannitsa, who though a Vlach, was now claiming descent from the emperors of the first Bulgarian Empire, conducted his correspondence in Bulgarian, the official language of the first Empire. There would have been plenty of scribes available; and models would have been furnished by the archives of the earlier emperors, which, in part at least, seem to have fallen into Ioannitsa's hands. (See the references below, note 64, to the 'books' in which he had discovered that crowns had been sent by the Popes to Peter and Samuel.) There is, however, it seems to me, the barest possibility that the first version of the letters was in Vlach, although there is no evidence that Vlach was a written language at this time. If, by chance, it was written, it surely would have been set down in cyrillic characters, and, to an official of the papal chancery, would have looked just like Bulgarian. I doubt if certainty on the original language is attainable, although Lascaris, *loc. cit.*, says that Duičev professes to see traces of the original Bulgarian through the Latin version, which alone has come down to us.

⁶⁴ Migne, *PL*, ccxiv, col. 1112 f., Book v, no. 115; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, i, 15 f., no. 26; H.-D. *Documenta*, i, 2, no. 2. 'In primis petimus . . . coronam et honorem tamquam dilectus filius, secundum quod imperatores nostri veteres habuerunt. Unus fuit Petrus, alias fuit Samuel, et alii, qui eo imperio precesserunt sicut in libris nostris invenimus esse scriptum.'

a ‘prince’ named Bellota wrote asking that he and his family be admitted to the church of Rome.⁶⁵

Innocent replied, 27 November 1202, to ‘Caliohannes, lord of the Bulgars and Vlachs,’ saying that, upon consulting papal records, he found that there had indeed been many kings (‘reges’) crowned in the land now subject to Ioannitsa. He referred particularly to the correspondence of Popes Nicholas (858–867) and Adrian (867–872) with the King of the Bulgarians, Boris (852–889), who had been christened Michael. Adrian, Innocent recalled, had sent to Bulgaria Roman priests, whom the Bulgarians had slighted, preferring the Greeks. This was a disquieting precedent, Innocent wrote, which tended to make him cautious; he would send Ioannitsa no Cardinal at present. Meanwhile, however, he would send his chaplain and personal friend, who was to regulate all church affairs in Ioannitsa’s realm. The chaplain was to bring a pallium for the Archbishop Basil, and would have the right to ordain priests and consecrate bishops. He was also charged with the task of investigating the problem of a Bulgarian crown, in ancient books and other documents, and was to make recommendations on this matter to the Pope. In closing, Innocent once more reminded Ioannitsa of the ties which bound a population of Roman origin to Rome.⁶⁶

Here the Pope’s cautious approach is clearly revealed: the crown, which was of course the matter of greatest concern to Ioannitsa, was still to be a subject for investigation. But enough hope was held out by Innocent’s references to the precedent he had discovered for Bulgarian kingship to keep Ioannitsa on the hook; although a careful reading of the letter would have shown the ambitious Vlach that the Pope was talking not of an imperial crown but only of a royal crown. Innocent was a skillful fisher of men, and knew how to play his fish. Meanwhile a start could be made on bringing order on the Roman model to the Vlacho-Bulgarian church; and no commitment would have been made to Ioannitsa. Moreover, while Ioannitsa called himself *imperator*, Innocent still called

⁶⁵ Migne, *PL*, ccxiv, col. 1115–1116, Book v, no.’s 117 and 118; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, i, 17 and 18, no.’s 28 and 30; H.-D. *Documente*, i, 5 and 7, no.’s 4 and 6.

⁶⁶ Migne, *PL*, ccxiv, col. 1113, Book v, no. 216; Potthast, 1775; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, i, 16, no. 27; H.-D. *Documente*, i, 3–4, no. 3: ‘Petisti . . . ut coronam tibi ecclesia Romana concederet, sicut illustri memorie Petro, Samueli et aliis progenitoribus tuis in libris tuis legitur concessisse. Nos ergo, ut super hos maiorem certitudinem haberemus, registra nostra perlegi fecimus diligenter, ex quibus evidenter comperimus, quod in terra tibi subiecta multi Reges fuerant coronati. . . . Cumque idem Adrianus illuc cum duobus episcopis quandam subdiaconum direxisset, Bulgari corrupti donis Grecorum et promissionibus circumventi, Romanis electis, Grecos presbiteros receperunt. Licet igitur tanti memoria levitatis nos usque adeo induxerit ad cautelam, ut nullum ex fratribus nostris, Cardinalibus scilicet, presentialiter ad tuam presentiam mitteremus, nichilominus . . . capellatum et familiarem nostrum . . . ad te duximus destinandum . . . ut in tota terra tua quoad spiritualia corrigit, que corrigenda cognoverit et statuat quae . . . fuerint statuenda. . . . Mandavimus . . . ipsi et de corona progenitoribus tuis ab ecclesia Romana collata tam per libros veteres quam per alia documenta inquirat diligentius veritatem, ut cum . . . de omnibus redditu fuerimus certiores, consultus et maturius, prout procedendum fuerit, procedamus. . . . Expedit . . . tibi . . . ut sicut genere, sic sis etiam imitatio Romanus, et populus terre tue, qui de sanguine Romanorum se asserit descendisse, ecclesie Romane instituta sequatur. . . .’ For the papal relations with the first Bulgarian Empire, see Runciman, *op. cit.*, chapter 3, pp. 99 ff.

him only *dominus*. Simultaneously Innocent replied to Archbishop Basil, enjoining upon him obedience to Rome; and wrote a similar letter to Prince Bellota.⁶⁷

But before the papal chaplain had arrived in Tirnovo with this letter, Ioannitsa wrote to Innocent again, in August 1203. Six years had now passed, he said, since he had first tried to get in touch with Rome. He had been delighted to receive the archipresbyter of Brindisi, to whom he had given a letter for the Pope, but he did not know whether the Pope had ever received it. The Greeks had heard of the papal mission to Tirnovo, he wrote, and had sent Ioannitsa a patriarch; and the Emperor (it must have been Alexius Angelus, and the negotiations those for the final truce mentioned above) had said: 'Come to us, and we will crown you Emperor and make a patriarch for you, because there can be no Emperor without a patriarch.' Ioannitsa went on to say that, not wishing to accept this offer, he had maintained his loyalty to Innocent and to St Peter; he was sending his archbishop to Rome as his representative with a large train and cattle, and silken cloths and wax and silver, horses and mules, to adore the Pope, and he requested Innocent once more to send cardinals empowered to crown him Emperor, and to make a patriarch in his country. To this letter, which was entrusted to the Archbishop Basil to carry with him, the archbishop himself appended a note saying that he and his party had reached Durrazzo, but had there been denied passage across the Adriatic by a Greek, who had got the Duke of Durrazzo to warn him that if the archbishop went to Italy Ioannitsa would be in trouble. The local Latin clergy had also advised him not to go. He was sending on Ioannitsa's letter to the Pope by Sergius, Ioannitsa's imperial constable, and Constantine a priest.⁶⁸

In this letter we can clearly discern Ioannitsa's impatience, and his own not very subtle effort to bring pressure to bear on the Pope. His weapon against Innocent was the threat, here only hinted at, that he might go over to the Greeks. Innocent had in mind, we know, the previous failure of the papacy in Bulgaria; and was presumably the more anxious to secure Ioannitsa's allegiance. By his emphasis upon his refusal *so far* to be won over by the blandishments of the Greeks, Ioannitsa let it be seen that another time his patience might have run out. What he wanted of Innocent was still the same thing; and he re-stated his demands more emphatically: after all, the Greeks were ready to grant them. We can be fairly confident that, in order to keep Ioannitsa out of the Roman church, and to make peace with him, they would have made good their offer, with the same mental and titular reservations they had had in the case of the Bulgarian Emperor Peter nearly three hundred years before.

Innocent's response both to Ioannitsa and to Basil said simply that their letters had crossed; and repeated once more the instructions which his chaplain had been ordered to carry out. He informed the anxious pair that the chaplain was now on his way to them via Hungary. He urged Archbishop Basil to try again

⁶⁷ Migne, *PL*, ccxiv, col. 1116 and 1118, Book v, no.'s 119 and 120; Potthast, 1776 and 1777; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, i, 17 and 18, no.'s 29 and 31; H.-D. *Documente*, i, 6 and 7, no.'s 5 and 6.

⁶⁸ Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, i, p. 20, no. 36; H.-D. *Documente*, i, p. 10, no. 10. For Basil's postscript and date see also De Thalloczy, Jireček, and de Sufflay, *Acta . . . Albaniæ*, *op. cit.*, i, p. 41, no. 127.

to come to Rome in person if possible, advising the crossing to Apulia; and he promised Ioannitsa that his demands would receive due consideration.⁶⁹ From a later letter of Archbishop Basil, we know that the Pope’s chaplain, John, arrived in Tirnovo while Basil was still waiting near Durrazzo in the hope that he might be able to cross over to Italy. Ioannitsa sent word to him that the long-awaited papal envoy had arrived; and summoned him back to the capital. In September 1203 Basil returned to Tirnovo, found John there, and received the papal benediction and the pallium on 8 September. He wrote thanking Innocent, and asking for some holy oil, and for instructions as to its use, as well as for pallia for the metropolitans of Preslav and Belebuzda (Kustendil).⁷⁰

The papal registers contain the Latin text of a chrysobull (*chrysobolum*) almost surely first written in Greek, which Ioannitsa now issued. Calling himself ‘Lord and Emperor’ of all Bulgaria and Vlachia, he recounts how he consulted ‘our’ ancient books and the laws of ‘our’ predecessors to find out where the Bulgarian Emperors had got their empire, their imperial title, their crown, and their patriarchal benediction. Symeon, Peter, and Samuel, ‘our predecessors,’ had got these from the Roman church and from the Pope. So he had asked the present Pope for the same things. And now Innocent III, he wrote, had given a patriarchal blessing to Tirnovo; henceforth all churches of his empire and his patriarch and clergy were to be subject to Rome. In order that the chrysobull might be valid, Ioannitsa wrote, he had given his empire into the hands of John, the Pope’s chaplain.⁷¹ Actually Basil had received only an archbishop’s pallium, not the rank of patriarch; but Ioannitsa’s chrysobull simply brazens this out.

To Innocent, however, Ioannitsa wrote expressing joy at the arrival of John

⁶⁹ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 156 and 158, Book vi, nos. 143 and 144; Potthast, 1994 and 1995, 10 September 1203; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, i, 20, no. 37; H.-D. *Documente*, i, 11, no. 11.

⁷⁰ Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, i, 28, no. 44; H.-D. *Documente*, i, 27, no. 19: ‘Sed littore michi ex parte domini mei Imperatoris venerunt . . . dicentes michi: Reverttere cito, quia hic pervenit cardinalis (but it was *not* a cardinal — see what follows) a domino papa . . . reversus sum et perveni Drinaum per mensem Septembrem, et inveni virum sanctum, iustum et rectum a tua sanctitate directum, nomen eius Iohannes cappellanus. . . . Et dominus Iohannes cappellanus . . . vestram michi dedit benedictionem et largiens pallium ad plenitudinem pontificalis officii, mense Septembbris VIII die . . . Sanctum crisma non habemus, imo a Grecis reciperamus: sed de cetero nos tamquam et vos Greci exos habent . . . de sancto crismate nos doceas . . . et mittas michi . . . pallia ad opus duorum metropolitanorum Priosthlaue et Belebusdii. . . .’

⁷¹ Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, i, 27, no. 43; H.-D. *Documente*, i, 26, no. 18: ‘. . . inquisivi antiques nostrorum scripturas et libros et beate memorie imperatorum nostrorum predecessorum leges, unde ipsi sumpserint regnum Bulgarorum et firmamentum imperiale, coronam super caput eorum et patriarcharum benedictionem: et diligenter perscrutantes in eorum invenimus scripturis quod beate memorie illi imperatores Bulgarorum et Blachorum Symeon, Petrus et Samuel et nostri predecessorum coronam pro imperio eorum et patriarchalem benedictionem acceperunt a sanctissima dei Romana ecclesia et ab apostolica sede, principe apostolorum Petro. . . . patriarchalis benedictio et mandatum in civitate . . . Trinovi data . . . a domino papa . . . Ecclesie enim omnes totius imperii . . . et patriarcha meus, Metropolitani, Archiepiscopi, episcopi, et cuncti sacerdotes Romane subsint ecclesie. . . . Et ut presens chrysobolum imperii mei ratum et firmum habeatur, dedi imperium meum in manibus Reverendissimi viri Iohannis sacrosante Romanae sedis legati et domini pape cappellani. . . .’ For the probable Greek original of this, see Lascaris’ review of Duičev’s edition of these letters, *loc. cit.*, p. 623.

the chaplain, who had made Basil ‘primate’ of all Bulgaria; but asking in the strongest terms that the Pope now send the staff of a patriarch, and the other insignia which a patriarch was wont to have; and make the present ‘primate’ a patriarch. He also asked, because of the long distance to Rome and because of the ‘wars of men,’ that the Pope grant permission to the church of Tirnovo to elect patriarchs, Basil’s successors. He asked for holy oil; the Greeks, he said, would give him none when they knew that he had gone over to Rome. He repeated his request that a cardinal be sent with a crown and sceptre for him, and a golden bull for the church of Tirnovo. He concluded with an offer to have Innocent mediate the boundary dispute between him and the King of Hungary, and the announcement that he was sending presents: ‘examita dupplatria, et cupam auream et yperperorum libras quatuor, et scutellas argenteas tres et gradale argenteum.’⁷² This letter was carried by the Bishop of Blandizuber (Branichevo). Here we can detect Ioannitsa’s anxiety that all the proper protocol be followed and all formalities accomplished to set him on the level of his Bulgarian predecessors and Byzantine rivals. He was by no means satisfied with the mere rank of ‘primate’ for Basil or with the further investigation which seemed necessary before he himself was to get his crown. The repeated reference to the Greeks in connection with the holy oil may have been intended as a subtle reminder to the Pope of the alternative still open to Ioannitsa.

This missive finally elicited a whole series of letters from Innocent, all written on 25 February 1204. Perhaps the report of John the chaplain had also proved satisfactory. For the Pope had now decided, at last, to send a cardinal, and to fulfill Ioannitsa’s wishes — up to a point. This time Innocent formally saluted him as ‘Karissimo filio in Christo Calaiohanni illustri Bulgarorum et Blachorum regi,’ told him at length of the calling of a king, and sent him the sceptre of a kingdom and the diadem of a king by the hands of Leo, cardinal priest of Santa Croce, a legate of the Holy See. In exchange, Ioannitsa was to swear loyalty to Rome. Moreover, he granted Ioannitsa’s petition (of which we now hear for the first time, the letter of request presumably having been lost) to be allowed to coin money with his effigy on it. And he informed Ioannitsa that Basil was to be his primate.⁷³ He officially notified Basil of the change in Ioannitsa’s status (‘hac-

⁷² Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 29, no. 46; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 29, no. 21: ‘... et rogo et deprecor magnam sanctitatem vestram, ut compleat desiderium imperii mei et mittat virgam pastoralem ad congregandos oves, et cetera quae patriarcha consuevit habere, et faciat presentem primatum patriarcham in sancta et magna ecclesia Trinove prime civitatis totius Bulgarie, et habeat ecclesia ipsa etiam post mortem istius patriarche patriarcham ... et quoniam grave esset propter longitudinem vie et guerras hominum in obitu cuiusdam patriarchae recurrere ad ecclesiam Romanam, concedatur ecclesie Trinove, ut sibi possit eligere et consecrare patriarcham ... sciat sanctitas tua quod cum sci- verint Romei (Greeks) quod receperimus consecrationem a sanctitate tua non dabunt michi crisma. Et aliud peto ... ut mittas Cardinalem ... et des ... diadema et sceptrum ... et mittas privilegium bullatum auro. ... Et de confinio Hungarie, Bulgarie, et Blachie relinquo iudicio sanctitatis tue ... et cessent occisiones christianorum. ...’

⁷³ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 277, Book VII, no. 1; Potthast 2135; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 23, no. 40; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 17, no. 15: ‘... Regem te statuimus ... et per dilectum filium L. tituli sancte Crucis presbiterum Cardinalem ... sceptrum Regni ac Regium tibi mittimus diadema, eius quasi nostris tibi manibus imponendum, recipiendo a te iuratoriam cautionem, quod nobis et successoribus nostris et ecclesie Romane devotus et obediens permanebis. ... Ad petitionem ... publicam in

tenus dominum . . . regem statuimus'), and in his own, assuring him that a primate and a patriarch amounted to the same thing. Basil could anoint, bless, and crown future kings, and had a great many other privileges and duties.⁷⁴ The primate also received a separate letter on the necessity of anointing priests, not hitherto practiced in Bulgaria, and a matter of grave concern both to Basil and to the Pope.⁷⁵ Innocent wrote a special letter introducing the legate, who was carrying all these communications, and also the form by which he would confer the pallium and by which Basil would accept it.⁷⁶ He also sent Ioannitsa a cross for use as a standard (*vexillum*) in war against 'those who render the crucifix lip-service only' — the Greeks — and against the wild pagans.⁷⁷ He also sent pallia to the bishops of Preslav and Belebuzda (Kustendil).⁷⁸ The Hungarians were warned to give the cardinal legate safe transit.⁷⁹ This, however, they did not do at first, despite their previous promises to the Pope. They held Leo up at the Danube; and Innocent wrote angrily and sorrowfully in September 1204, urging that this be remedied.⁸⁰ But apparently the Hungarian King Emeric had changed his mind before hearing from Innocent; Leo was permitted to cross into Ioannitsa's territory. He arrived in Tirnovo safely on 15 October 1204, anointed Basil on the seventh of November, and crowned Ioannitsa king on the eighth.⁸¹

regno tuo cudendi monetam tuo caractere insignitam liberam tibi concedimus facultatem. . . . Archiepiscopo Trinovitanus . . . privilegium concedimus primatice. . . . ' No coins of Ioannitsa are known, and only one seal, published quite recently, on which he calls himself, in Bulgarian, and in Slavic letters 'Tsar of the Bulgars.' N. A. Mušmov, 'Un sceau du plomb du Tsar Kaloyan, 1197-1207,' *Byzantinoslavica*, IV (1932), 135-138. This is doubtless the same seal that the *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, VIII (1931), 322, reports as having been published in the newspaper *La Bulgarie*, IX, no. 2487, not accessible to me.

⁷⁴ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 280, Book VII, no. 2; Potthast 2137; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 25, no. 41; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 20, no. 16: 'Fraternitatem tuam scire volentes quod apud nos hec duo nomina primas et patriarcha pene penitus idem sonant, cum primates et patriarche teneant unam formam, licet eorum nomina sint diversa. Presente quoque privilegio tibi et per te tuis successoribus inungendi, benedicendi, et coronandi reges Bulgarorum et Blachorum in posterum liberam concedimus facultatem.'

⁷⁵ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 282, Book VII, no. 3; Potthast, 2138; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 25, no. 42; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 22, no. 17.

⁷⁶ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 292, 294, 295, Book VII, no. 8, 9, 10, 11; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 30, 31, no.'s 48, 49, 50, 51; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 32 ff., no.'s 23, 24, 25, 26.

⁷⁷ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 295, Book, VII, no. 12; Potthast, 2141; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 33, no. 54; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 38, no. 29; ' . . . vexillum quo contra illos utaris, qui honorant labii crucifixum, cor autem eorum est longinquum ab ipso . . . et contra illos . . . qui non posuerunt deum adiutorem sibi sed in feritate sua . . . nitentur. . . . '

⁷⁸ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 292, Book VII, no. 7; Potthast, 2139; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 30, no. 47; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 31, no. 22. On the identity of Belebuzda with Kustendil, see D. Rattinger, 'Die Patriarchat und Metropolitansprengel von Constantinopel und die bulgarische Kirche zur Zeit der Lateinerherrschaft in Byzanz,' *Historisches Jahrbuch*, I (1880), 95 ff.

⁷⁹ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 296, Book VII, no. 13; Potthast, 2143; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, p. 32, no. 52; H.-D. *Documente*, I, p. 36, no. 27.

⁸⁰ Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 410, Book VII, no. 126; Potthast, 2282 (15 September); Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 34, no. 56; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 40, no. 32.

⁸¹ See Innocent's letter of thanks to Emeric, Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 427, Book VII, no. 137; Potthast, 2290 (4 October); Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 38, no. 58; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 47, no. 33. For the date of arrival see the letter of Basil, Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 39, no. 61; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 49, no. 35.

Ioannitsa, now calling himself 'Rex totius Bulgarie et Vlachie,' wrote joyfully thanking Innocent; he still referred, however, to Basil as a patriarch, and to his own land as 'imperium meum' rather than as 'regnum,' the word always used by the Pope.⁸² Basil also replied gratefully, reporting both ceremonies, and telling the Pope in addition that the cardinal legate had left Tirnovo on 15 November, taking with him two boys, one the son of Constantine the priest, and the other Ioannitsa's own son, to study Latin in Rome.⁸³

Thus, in November 1204, negotiations which had extended over a period of more than five years came to an end. Ioannitsa had obtained much but not everything. When the Pope sent Cardinal Leo in February 1204, he had no inkling of what was to happen at Constantinople two months later. The Crusaders, who had taken the city for the first time in July 1203, restoring Isaac Angelus and crowning his son, the young Alexius, sacked it again in April 1204, this time establishing a Latin Empire with Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut as Emperor, and driving the Byzantines into exile. The second sack of the city and the formation of the Latin Empire created an altogether new diplomatic situation. The kingdom of Ioannitsa, newly sanctioned by the Pope, was now a neighbor of the Latins, who were also papal protégés, Innocent having taken the Latin Empire under his protection, despite his chagrin at the Latin atrocities committed during the sack. Ioannitsa himself expressed his concern over the new development in his last letter to Innocent, already cited: 'Write to the Latins,' he asked the Pope, 'to keep away from my empire, and, if they do, my empire will not harm them; but let them not set it at little worth. If they make an attempt against my empire and set it at little worth, and some of them get killed, do not your Holiness suspect my empire because it will not be my fault.'⁸⁴ Here is an ominous forecast of the sort of relations which were to obtain between the two states under papal protection.

V

Before examining these relations in their earliest stages, it remains to give a brief account of the third people in the 'second Bulgarian Empire,' the Cumans, always mentioned by the sources with terror as providing the main strength of Ioannitsa's armies, but apparently never accorded any political status within the state or mentioned in the title of its rulers. Yet, as we have seen, the Cumans had been closely associated with the Vlachs ever since the days of the uprising of 1185, when Isaac Angelus had driven Peter and Asen across the Danube, whence they returned with their Cuman auxiliaries.⁸⁵

⁸² Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*, I, 39, no. 60; H.-D. *Documente*, I, 48, no. 34.

⁸³ Reference as in note 81 above.

⁸⁴ Reference as in note 82 above: 'De Latinis quoque, qui Constantinopolim introierunt, scribo sanctitati vestri ut eis scribatis, quatinus distent ab Imperio meo, et sic Imperium meum nullum malum eis facit, neque ipsi nobis parvipendant. Si forte ipsi conati fuerint contra Imperium meum et parvipenderint eum, et occidet ex eis, non habeat sanctitas vestra Imperium meum suspectum, sed sint universa libera.' For Innocent's letter taking Baldwin under his protection see Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 454, Book vii, no. 153; Potthast, 2321.

⁸⁵ The splendid series of articles by D. A. Rasovskii has unfortunately, so far as I know, been carried down only to the year 1170; so that it contains little more than a mention of the activities of

A people whose language was clearly Turkish, the Cumans are none the less distinguished from other Turkish tribes by the accounts of their appearance given by the sources. Strikingly handsome physically, they had blond hair and blue eyes: indeed, it is now generally agreed that the names *Polovtsy*, given them by the Russians, and *Falven*, sometimes given them by the Germans, come from words meaning 'yellow.' It is therefore conjectured that ethnically the Cumans may not originally have been Turks. Scholars explain the multiplicity of names by which they have been called at various times — including *Kipchak* and its variants — as the result of the amalgamation of various tribal groups into the mass of the Cumans during the early Middle Ages in northern central Asia. This was their original home, and it was there in the tenth century that the tribe of the Kipchaks won supreme power over the other tribes. The expansion of the Kitai state forced the Cumans south in the early eleventh century, and thereafter west; so that between 1050 and 1080 Cuman tribes became supreme over the plains of South Russia and Rumania, and as far west as the Carpathians, the Danube, and the Balkan mountains. In the great area between these western

the Cumans after they had crossed the Danube at the invitation of Peter and Asen. I depend upon it, however, for the brief sketch of the Cuman background in the text. D. A. Rasovskii, 'Polovtsy,' *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VII (1935), pp. 245–262; VIII (1936), 161–182; IX (1937), 71–85; X (1938), 155–178 (see 156–160 for the Cumans and the Asen family); XI (Belgrade, 1940), 86–128. So far as I am aware, the only significant work which Rasovskii's full bibliography omits is the very scarce book of the Rumanian Uniat priest, Ioan Ferent, *Cumanii și Episcopia Lor* (Blaj: Tipografia Seminarului Teologică Gr.-Catolic, n.d., but preface dated 1931), pp. 152, of which I possess a copy. The sections of interest here — not superseded because not yet reached by Rasovskii — are pp. 46–56, 'Cumanii și înființarea împăratiei româno-bulgare' and 'Cumanii și consolidarea imperiului româno-bulgar.' Ferent necessarily relies on Nicetas throughout, and on the treatment given Nicetas' passages by G. Murnu, *Vlahia Mare* (Bucharest, 1913), not accessible to me. G. Moravcsik, *op. cit.*, note 2 above, supplies (p. 48) references to an article inaccessible to me: D. Rasovskii, 'Rol Polovtsev v voinach Asyenei s Vizantiiskoi i Latinskoi Imperiami v 1186–1207 godach,' *Spisanie na Bûlgarskata Akademiya na Naukitë*, LVIII (1939), 203–211; see also G. Ostrogorsky and S. Radochich in *Byzantinoslavica*, IX (1947), 140. A. Bruce Boswell, 'The Kipchak Turks,' *The Slavonic Review*, VI (1927), 68–85, has some errors, but is not a bad introduction to the subject. Before Rasovskii the standard work was J. Marquardt, 'Über das Volkstum der Kumanen,' *Abhandlungen der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist.-Klasse Neue Folge*, XIII (1914), 25–236, an immensely learned work, concerning itself chiefly with the philological evidence for the period of the origin of the Cumans. P. Pelliot, 'À propos des Coumans,' *Journal Asiatique*, 11 série, XV (1920), 125–185, pointed out that Marquardt did not have access to many of the most valuable Chinese sources, and so reached some conclusions which should be modified. The article of S. Salaville, 'Les Comans,' *Échos d'Orient*, XVII (1914), 193–209, contains some episodes from Assyrian history, with which the Cumans are, perhaps somewhat fantastically connected; but for the period of the Middle Ages it is interesting, since it includes some pages on the bishopric of Milcov, the short-lived thirteenth-century Roman Catholic Cuman bishopric, with which Ferent's work is particularly concerned. Salaville (p. 204, note 7) cites C. Auner, 'Episcopia Milcoviae,' *Revista Catolica*, I (1912), 533–551, and III (1914), 60–80, not accessible to me, but which is presumably superseded by Ferent. Reference may also be made to Rasovskii's interesting general article, 'Les Comans et Byzance,' *Izvestiya na bûlgarskiya Archeologicheski Institut* IX (1935), 346–354. The chapters in F. Uspenskii, *Obrazovanie vtorago Bolgarskago tsarstva* (Odessa, 1879), pp. 75–88, and in R. Roesler, *Romanische Studien* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 328 ff., have been superseded by Rasovskii. For the Cuman language the most famous monument is the so-called *Codex Cumanicus*, which belonged to Petrarch, and is now in the library of St Mark at Venice (ed. G. Kuun, Budapest, 1888) and more recently K. Grønbech, *Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Minoris*, I (Copenhagen, 1936).

boundaries and Lake Balkhach, the Tian-Shan range, and the Altai and upper and middle courses of the Irtysh in the east — bounded by the forest zone in the north and by the north coast of the Black Sea in the south — there was no central political state formation.

Rasovskii, however, distinguishes five separate independent Cuman groups: the central Asiatic, the Volga-Yayik (or Ural), the Donets-Don (between the Volga and the Dnieper), the lower course of the Dnieper, and the Danube. It is with the last only that we have to do. The Cumans remained nomads until the Mongol invasion of the mid-thirteenth century. They seem never to have attempted the establishment of a territorial state or to have taken the other steps which might have led them to adopt a sedentary life. They assisted the Byzantine Empire, in the late eleventh century, in the destruction of their fellow-Turks, the Pechenegs; they assisted the Hungarians in various campaigns against Byzantium; and they played a part in the internal struggle of Kievan Russia in the eleventh century as well as in the wars of the Kings of Georgia against Persians, Armenians, and Seljuks. Throughout they remained a steppe-people, without cities or towns, living in felt tents on milk, cheese, and meat, as Robert of Clari says.

Indeed, Robert's description of them is perhaps the most valuable we possess, giving as it does a complete picture, even to such aspects of their religion as impressed a western observer. It deserves quotation here:

When he (Ioannitsa) was lord over them (the high men of Vlachia), he went to the Cumans and he wrought so with one and with another that he became their friend and they were all in his service and he was just like their lord. Now Cumania is a land bordering upon Vlachia, and I will tell you what kind of people the Cumans are. They are a savage people, who neither plow nor sow, and they have neither huts nor houses, but they have heavy tents made of felt in which they shelter themselves, and they live on milk and cheese and flesh. In the summer there are so many flies and gnats that they scarcely dare come out of their tents and sally forth from their country when they want to make a raid. Now we will tell you what they do. Each one has at least ten or twelve horses, and they have them so well-trained that they follow them wherever they want to take them, and they mount first on one and then on another. When they are on a raid, each horse has a bag hung on his nose, in which his fodder is put, and he feeds as he follows his master, and they do not stop going by night or by day. And they ride so hard that they cover in one day and one night fully six days' journey or seven or eight. And while they are on the way they will not seize anything or carry it along, before their return, but when they are returning, then they seize plunder and make captives and take anything they can get. Nor do they go armed, except that they wear a garment of sheepskin and carry bows and arrows. They do not worship anything except the first animal encountered in the morning, and the one who encounters it worships it all day, whatever animal it may be. Now John the Vlach had these Cumans in his service, and he used to come every year to raid the Emperor's lands even up to Constantinople, and the Emperor was not strong enough to defend himself against him.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople* (ed. P. Iauer, Paris, 1924), pp. 63–64; tr., E. H. McNeal (New York, 1936), pp. 87–88. The story that the Cumans worship the first animal they see on any given day is also told of the 'Mordwit Tartar' in the sixteenth century by the celebrated English envoy to Russia, Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (ed. E. S. Bond, London: Hakluyt Society, 1856), p. 96. Cf. Eustathius' description cited at the head of this article.

More valuable data on the Cumans as they appeared to the Latins of Constantinople after they had got to know them better is supplied by Joinville, famous biographer of St Louis. While St Louis was fortifying Caesarea in Palestine in the year 1250, Philippe de Toucy, who had been *bailly* in Constantinople, visited the camp, and told St Louis about the Cumans, with whom the Latin Emperor Baldwin II was in alliance. This alliance, Philippe reported, had been sealed by a blood-mingling ceremony: the Latin Emperor and the Cuman king and their leading followers were all bled into a bowl of silver; wine and water were added, and both parties drank of the mixture, making them brothers. Then a dog was made to pass between the two parties, and the Cumans thereafter cut him to pieces; the Latins followed suit with another dog. This was to symbolize the fate of anyone who should betray the alliance. Philippe de Toucy also told St Louis about Cuman burial customs: they had buried one of their great men fully clothed and seated in a chair, and had put his horse and his 'best serjeant' alive into the grave with him. The serjeant was given gold and silver by the other Cumans to take into the other world, and to keep safe for them; and also a letter to be delivered in the other world to the first king of the Cumans, in which the present king testified to the serjeant's good character.⁸⁷

Although Rasovskii, the leading authority on the Cumans, objects to the comment, reiterated by the Byzantine sources, that these people were uncivilized, and although it is true that nomad civilization is not to be belittled, at least with regard to the discipline and cohesion which permitted the conquest of so vast a territory, it must be said that the Cumans represent a degree of political maturity far less advanced even than that attained by the Vlachs and Bulgarians. It is perhaps not to be wondered at, then, that we find them as auxiliaries in the armies of the Asen brothers, but not as participants in the political life of the country. Their importance as an element in the future struggle between Ioannitsa and the Latins is very great; but it is almost exclusively military.

VI

Even before Ioannitsa wrote to Innocent III in November 1204, asking that the Pope warn the Latins to let his 'empire' strictly alone, he had made friendly gestures to the Crusader armies. In the spring of 1204, before the second capture of the city and the formation of the Latin Empire, and during the preparations for the siege, Ioannitsa, according to Robert of Clari

sent word to the high barons that if they would crown him King, so that he would be lord of his land of Vlachia, he would hold his land and kingdom from them, and would come to their aid to help them take Constantinople with all of a hundred thousand men. . . .

⁸⁷ J. de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis* (ed. N. de Wailly, Paris, 1874), pp. 270–274. For the Latin-Cuman alliance see also Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Chronica, MGH, SS, xxiii*, 947, 949, where more details about Cuman burial customs are found. For the practice among Turkic peoples of killing dogs to solemnize treaties, see V. Grumel, 'Sur les coutumes des anciens Bulgares dans la conclusion des traités,' *Izvestiya na Istoricheskoto Druzhestvo v Sofiya*, xiv–xv (1937), 82–92, where an alleged instance of this practice by the Bulgarians after their conversion, is shown by Grumel to be attributable rather to the Pechenegs. This is challenged by Yu. Trifonov, 'Küm vúprosa za Vizantiisko-Bülgarski dogovori s ezcheski obredi,' *Izvestiya na Bülgarskiya Archeologicheski Institut* xi, 2 (1937), 263–292.

When the barons heard this, they said they would consider it, and when they had taken counsel, they came to a bad decision; for they answered that they cared nothing for him nor for his help, but he should know well that they would hurt him and do him harm if they could. This was a very great mischance and a very great misfortune. Now when he had failed with them, he sent to Rome for his crown, and the apostolic sent a Cardinal to crown him, and so he was crowned King.⁸⁸

Robert's sound judgment on the ineptitude of the policy-makers of the Crusader host may itself provide the clue to Villehardouin's silence as to Ioannitsa's embassy. As a leading official, Villehardouin may well have been partly responsible for the unfortunate decision. Nicetas, however, knows of the embassy. He says that when Ioannitsa sent ambassadors to discuss friendship with the Latins, they had asked him to address them not as a king would address his friends but as a slave would address his masters. Otherwise, they threatened to invade his lands and reduce him to his former state. For this reason, Nicetas says, Ioannitsa welcomed the later advances to him of certain Greek nobles, Alexius III's former officers, who had also been rebuffed both by Boniface of Montferrat and by the Emperor Baldwin.⁸⁹ By their incredibly rash overconfidence the Latins drove into each other's arms Byzantine officials with a military following, and the Byzantines' traditional enemy, the king of the Vlachs and the Bulgars. Ioannitsa at once assumed command of the new coalition; and in late 1204 the Latins began to learn the painful lessons of inept diplomacy.

Ioannitsa was to capture and kill their Emperor Baldwin in April 1205, and to jeopardize their entire position in the East. Thereafter, he wrote again to Innocent III, telling how he had tried to reach a friendly agreement with the Latins, and how they had responded that they would have no peace with him unless he would return to them the lands which he had taken from the Empire. To this he had replied that he had a better right to his territory than the Latins had to theirs: he had recovered lands lost by his ancestors, and had been crowned by the Pope; they had taken territory which had never been theirs, and had, in fact, usurped a crown which belonged to him. Since the Empire was his rather than theirs, he would fight beneath the standard sent to him by the Pope, and bearing the papal keys upon it, against those who wore false crosses on their shoulders.⁹⁰ This bold response to the Crusaders provides sure proof of Ioannitsa's

⁸⁸ Robert of Clari (ed. Lauer), pp. 63–65; tr. McNeal, pp. 86–88. The repeated use by Robert and by Villehardouin of 'Jehan li Blak' for Ioannitsa, and of 'Blakie' for his country is of course further evidence that he was not a Bulgarian. Robert also knows something about the origin of the 'second Bulgarian Empire'; he says that Ioannitsa was once in charge of the Byzantine Emperor's horse farms, and was struck in the face with a whip by a eunuch, one of the Emperor's attendants. This is obviously a reflection of the story told by Nicetas of Asen's experience at the hands of the sebastocrator John (see above text and note 39). Robert did not know that Ioannitsa had been negotiating with the Pope all along.

⁸⁹ Nicetas, pp. 808–809.

⁹⁰ *Gesta Innocentii*, Migne, PL, ccxiv, col. cxlvii–cxlviii, chapter cviii: ' . . . Joannitus . . . audita captione regiae civitatis miserat nuntios et litteras ad Latinos, ut cum eis pacem haberet; sed ipsi ei superbissime responderent, dicentes, quod pacem non haberent cum illo, nisi redderet terram ad Constantinopolitanum imperium pertinentem quam ipse invaserat violenter. Quibus ipse respondit: quod terra illa justius possidebatur ab ipso quam Constantinopolis possideretur ab illis, nam ipse

continuing great ambitions: the Empire, he claimed, was his, and he boldly took advantage of his good relations with the Pope, and of the papal keys upon the standard under which Innocent had ordered him to do battle. The evidence seems clear that Ioannitsa made at least one, and perhaps two efforts to gain the friendship of the Latins, and to form an alliance with them. After the failure of the first attempt reported by Robert of Clari, he seems to have hoped that peace might be maintained if each side would leave the other alone, and this he tried to accomplish through Innocent. When a second attempt at reaching an agreement failed, Ioannitsa knew that war was inevitable, and hurled his défi.⁹¹ Thus the initial relations between the two *nouveaux arrivés* among the Balkan states, the Vlach-Bulgar-Cuman establishment at Tirnovo and the Latin Empire at Constantinople, both sponsored by the Pope, were destined to be hostile. A detailed consideration of these matters down into the period after 1204 will, it is hoped, be presented in a later study of the Latin Empire.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

APPENDIX A. See above, Note 21.

The bibliography on the Vlachs of the Balkans is very large. This note, which reviews all the sources known to me, refers only to some of the better secondary books and articles. For the evidence of place-names and the *Vita Sancti Severini* that the population living on the right bank of the Danube in the sixth century were *Romani*, see N. Iorga, 'La "Romania" danubienne et les barbares au Vie siècle,' *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, III (1924), 35–51. The chief clue by which the ancestors of the Vlachs are recognized in the earlier sources is their use of a Latin language. Thus, in Theophylactus Simocatta there appears a famous passage, repeated and added to by Theophanes. In 586, while a Byzantine army was marching in the Balkans against the Avars, the baggage on one of the pack mules began to slip. A muleteer's shout, in the language of the country (*ἐπιχωρίῳ τῷ γλώττῃ*) of *τόρνα, τόρνα* (in some mss. *τερόνα*), or, as Theophanes has it, *τόρνα, τόρνα φράτερ* was misunderstood by the troops as a signal for retreat; and a panic ensued. (*Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae* [ed. C. De Boor, Leipzig, 1887], p. 100; Theophanes, ed. De Boor, I, 258.) Until recently this passage has been universally accepted as demonstrating that the language of the Thracian region in which the Byzantine troops were operating was Latin, and that the soldiers and the local population were

recuperaverat terram quam progenitores ejus amiserunt, sed ipsi Constantinopolim occupaverant, quae ad eos minime pertinebat: ipse praeterea coronam regni legitimi receperat a summo pontifice; sed ille, qui se appellabat Constantinopolitanum basileum, coronam imperii temere usurpaverat a se ipso: quare, potius ad ipsum quam ad illum imperium pertinebat, ideoque sub uno vexillo, quod a beato Petro receperat, ejus clavibus insignito, pugnaret fiducialiter contra illos qui falsos cruces suis humeris praeferebant. . . .

⁹¹ In addition to the bibliography already cited, the following works deal with the initial relations between the Crusaders and the 'second Bulgarian Empire'; V. Makushev, 'Bolgariya v kontse XII i v pervoi polovine XIII veka,' *Varshavskaya Universitet'skiy Izvestiya*, III (Warsaw, 1872), pp. 66, (Separate pagination); E. Sayous, 'Les Bulgares, les croisés français de Constantinople, et Innocent III,' *Études sur la religion Romaine et le moyen âge oriental* (Paris, 1889), pp. 252–270; V. Zlatarski, 'Grûtsko-Bulgarski Stûiz prez 1204–5 god,' *Godishnik na Sofiskiya Universitet, Ist. Fil. Fak.* VIII–IX (1911–1913), pp. 1–23; B. Barvinok, 'Rolya Balkanskych Slov'yan v Istorii Vizantii za IVgo christovago pochodu,' *Ukrainska Akademiya Nauk, Yubileini Zbirnik na poshanu Akademika Dimitriya Ivanovicha Bagaliya, Zbirnik Istorichno-filologichnogo viddilu*, LI (Kiev, 1927), pp. 1175–1187. (Ukrainian.) B. Primov, 'Grûtsko-Bulgarski stûiz v nachaloto na XIII vek,' *Istoricheski Pregled*, IV (1947–1948), 22–39; 'Robert de Clari i otnosheniya mezhdü Bulgariya i Latinskata imperiya,' *Godishnik na Sofiskiya Universitet, Ist.-Fil. Fak.*, XLIII (1946, 1947), 6–22.

Vlachs. This has now been challenged by a Greek and a Hungarian scholar: G. Koliás, 'Τοπα — ἐπιχώριος γλώσσα,' *'Επετηρίς Έταιρελας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, xiv (1938), 295–299; and M. Gyóni, 'Az Állítólagos Legrégibb Román Nyelvemlék [Das angebliche älteste rumänische Sprachdenkmal],' *Archivum Philologicum [Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny]*, lxv (1942), pp. 11 (Magyar with German summary). They argue that *torna* is common to Serbian as well as to Romance languages other than Rumanian or Vlach, that it had passed into the ordinary military language of command in the Byzantine army and therefore cannot be taken as indicating anything particular about the origin of the soldiers, and that the term *epichorio* simply means Latin, without reference to the country through which the troops were moving. However this may be, after this now somewhat dubious passage relating to the late sixth century, there is silence with respect to the Vlachs in the narrative sources for about four hundred years. They do not reappear until a passage of Skylitzes referring to the year 976.

The numerous articles of Rumanian historians which theorize about this interim period argue, for example, that the word '*Ῥωμαῖοι*' (*Romani*) in sources such as Procopius and Menander Protector denotes this Latin-speaking people; but this, it seems to me, cannot satisfactorily be proved. See, for example, I. Siadbei, 'Sur les plus anciens sources de l'histoire des Roumains,' *Annuaire de L'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, ii (1934), *Mélanges Bidez*, ii, 861–868, who also cites, without quoting the Greek, a passage from the life of St Demetrios of Thessalonica, of the second half of the seventh century, Migne, PG, cxvi, col. 1367, which he thinks shows a clear distinction drawn between the Greek language and the languages of the *Romans*, Slavs, and Bulgars. (Migne, PG, cxvi, col. 1368: '... καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισταμένην γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν 'Ρωμαῖον, Σκλάβων, καὶ Βουλγάρων'.) H. Gelzer, 'Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung,' *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Klasse der K. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xviii (1899), 49, also quotes this passage, indicating that he believes the 'language of the Rhomaeanis' is here Latin. Elsewhere in the same text, however, *ῥωμαῖοι* seems to mean Greeks. I think that Siadbei's conclusions cannot yet be accepted. For some of Iorga's attempts to bridge the gap between Theophylact and Skylitzes see 'Le Danube d'Empire,' *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), i, 14–22; 'Les plus anciens états Slavo-Roumains sur la rive gauche du Danube,' *Revue des Études Slaves*, v (1925), 171–176; 'Entre Slaves et Roumains,' *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves. Les Balkans, Premier Recueil dédié à la mémoire de Théodore Uspenskii* (Paris, 1930), pp. 41–49. Further evidence on this intervening period, not noted by Iorga in these articles, has been thought to exist in a text found at Kastamonitou by Porphyry Uspenskii. See M. Lascaris, 'Les Vlachorichines, une mise à point,' *Revue historique du Sud-Est Européen*, xx (1943), 182–189. Referring to 'the time of the iconoclasts' this text mentions peoples called Richenoī (or Vlachorichenoī) and Sagoudatoī as coming from Bulgaria across Macedonia to Athos: The δῆχτῖνοι, referred to elsewhere only in the Acts of St Demetrios already cited, are there said to be Slavs. There has been considerable scholarly discussion of the Vlachorichenoī; but Lascaris' demonstration that the manuscript in which the passage occurs is of the seventeenth century at the earliest makes it unnecessary to summarize all the other learned conjectures, to which, in any case, he refers. The appearance in the Acts of St Demetrios, in close connection with the 'Richinoī,' however, of the Latin word *cāsa* for house, leads Lascaris to surmise that the tradition at least of the Vlachorichenoī may be genuine. Pending further discoveries, however, the text cannot be taken as a *bona fide* reference to the Vlachs or to a Latin-speaking Balkan people between Theophylact and Cedrenus. Finally, Latin origin has been claimed for two little-known Bulgarian khans of the eighth century, who appear in the (epigraphic) sources as Sabinus and Paganus; Iorga regularly refers to them as Vlachs without further evidence. I am not in a position to judge the philological argument here (the Bulgarians explain their names from Turkish roots), but apparently the names may well be Turkish.

In the year 976 the Vlachs appear as such for the first time, when Skylitzes (ed. Bonn, ii, 436) reports that they killed David, eldest of the Comitopouloī, and brother of Samuel, at a place between Kastoria and Prespa called 'Fair Oaks.' In 1014, (*Ibid.*, p. 457), Basil II was defeated by Samuel at a pass called Kimba Longus or Kleidion which is almost surely the equivalent of the Rumanian Câmpulung (Campus longus), a frequently-used place name. (On these two passages, see now M. Gyóni, 'Skylitzes et les Vlaques,' *Revue d'histoire Comparée*, xxv Nouvelle Série vi [1947], 155–173). In 1017, during the same wars, the spies of John Vladimir, Aaron's son and Samuel's rival, warned him of Basil's approach (*ibid.*, p. 466): '... μηδὲν ἄλλο βοῶντες εἰ μή "βεξεῖτε, ὁ Τσαΐσαρ";'

which may well represent a Vlach form ‘vgitsi’ from Latin ‘fugite.’ In 1020, when Basil issued his decree for the reorganization of the Bulgarian church, to which we have already referred, he specifically placed the ‘Vlachs of all Bulgaria’ under the jurisdiction of the new Archbishop of Ochrida (Gelzer, *loc. cit.*, *BZ*, II, 46): ‘... παρακελεύμεθα ... τὸν αἰτὸν ἀγιώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ λαμβάνειν τὸ κανονικὸν ... καὶ τῶν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Βουλγαρίαν Βλάχων. . . .’ and one of the bishoprics listed is ‘ὁ Βρεανίτης ἢ τοι Βλάχων’ (*ibid.*, I, p. 47). For more details on the Archbishopric of Achrida, see Gelzer, ‘Der Patriarchat von Achrida’, *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. Klasse*, xx (1902), 231 pages (separate pagination), especially pp. 3–11. I have not seen I. Snegarov, *Istoriya na Ochridskata archiepiskopiya* 2 vols. (Sofia, 1924).

At this time (s.a. 1027) comes the first reference to the Vlachs in a western source, *Annales Bareneses, MGH SS*, v, 53, where they are described as forming part of Constantine VIII’s expedition to Sicily: ‘... descendit in Italiam cum exercitu magno, i.e. Russorum, Guandalorum, Turcorum, Burgarorum, Vlachorum, Macedonum, aliarumque ut caperet Siciliam.’

It is Kekaumenos, however, whose *Strategikon* gives the first full description of the Vlachs of Thessaly (which was shortly to become known as μεγάλη Βλάχια) stressing their practice of transhumance and their bad reputation (quoted at the head of this article), and telling the story of their revolt of 1066. His *Logos Nouthetikos* reports that they were placed by Basil II under the rule of a special official: Nikoulitzza, grandfather of the author, was named to the post in exchange for his office of domestic of the excubitors: ‘... ἀντὶ τῶν ἔξοντίτων δωρέαται σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Βλάχων Ἐλλάδος.’ (Cecaumenos, ed. Vassilievsky and Jernstedt, p. 96.) The Hungarian scholar, M. Gyóni, is at present in the midst of a series of studies submitting all the passages relative to the Vlachs in the Byzantine sources to a searching re-examination. See his ‘L’Oeuvre de Kekaumenos, Source de l’histoire Roumaine,’ *Revue de l’Histoire Comparée*, xxiii, Nouvelle Série III (1945), 96–180. This is a French translation of his Magyar monograph, *A Legrégebb Vélemény A Román Nép Eredetéről* (Budapest, 1944), pp. 87 [The Oldest Theory on the Origin of the Rumanian People]. Gyóni reproduces from Vassilievsky and Jernstedt on pp. 75–87 all the passages relating to the Vlachs, with Hungarian translation; these are omitted from the French translation.

Anna Comnena repeatedly refers to the Vlachs in Macedonia and Thrace. She notes that they live among the Bulgarians, and that they lead a nomadic life: in fact she equates nomadism with the Vlachs. They had a village named Ἐζεβά; (*Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid, I, 169; ed. B. Leib [Paris, 1943], II, 24), recently plausibly identified with Ἐζερός, called by the Latins ‘Nazoresca.’ See M. Gyóni, ‘Egy Vlách Falu Neve Anna Komnene Alexiasában’ [Un village vlacque de l’Alexiade], *Archivum Philologicum [Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny]*, LXXI (1948), 22–31, (Magyar with French summary). They had leader named Pudilos, and acted as guides for the Cumans in the Balkan mountains: the first instance of a partnership which was to last for many years. (*Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid, II, 8, 61, 62; ed. Leib, II, 185, 193, 194.)

During the reign of Alexius Comnenus, in 1104, a group of three hundred Vlach families is reported selling food, particularly cheese, to the monks on Athos; according to the source, they disguised their wives and daughters as men, and, the Vlach ladies proving complaisant, there was a great scandal upon the mountain, until the Vlachs were driven out by order of the Emperor, amid a virtual revolt of the monks. P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunde für die Geschichte des Athosklosters* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 164 ff. W. Tomaschek, ‘Zur Kunde der Hämushalbinsel,’ *Sitzungsberichte der K. Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xcix (1882), 474–478, also mentions this incident, which he dates in 1097. See A. Sacerdoteanu, ‘Vlahii din Calcidica,’ *In Memoria lui Vasile Pârvan* (Bucharest, 1934), pp. 303–311. See also M. Gyóni, ‘Les Vlaques du Mont Athos au début du XIIe siècle,’ *Études Slaves et Roumaines*, I (1948), 30–42, a careful study, in which it is argued that the Vlachs were probably attempting to flee from onerous imperial taxation to the immune regions of Athos, and that Vlach women frequently wore male attire. The date here used, 1104, results from the discussion of Gyóni, based largely on Dölger, *Regesten*, 2 Teil, p. 49, no. 1226. Two Georgian saints’ lives, belonging to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century, testify to the presence on Athos of a people whose name the Georgian text gives as *Borgalni*, Bulgarians, and who are also called Slavs, but who, Professor R. P. Blake informs me, may well have been Vlachs. P. Peeters, ‘Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes,’ *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVI–XXXVII (1917–1919), pp. 51 and 105. The Georgian author calls them (according to Peeters’ Latin translation): ‘... homines plane

stupidi, brutis similes, inverecundi, impura reptilia depascentes,' and represents them as worshipping an ancient marble statue as a goddess. This the saintly hero of the *Vita* (George the Athonite) destroys.

Benjamin of Tudela in 1160 reports the brigandage of the Balkan Vlachs, and adds the interesting detail that they rob but do not kill Jews, whom they regard as brethren, giving their own children Jewish names. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (ed. M. N. Adler, London, 1907), p. 11. This is often regarded as fabulous gossip; but the reference to Old Testament names among the Balkan peoples has a real enough foundation: the Comitopouloii, for example, all bore them.

These are all the significant and unmistakable references in the sources to the Vlachs before the revolt of 1186 and the foundation of the 'second Bulgarian Empire.' No one secondary authority makes use of them all. For the language of the Balkan Vlachs, see T. Capidan, *Aromâni, dialectul Aromân*, Academia Româna, Studii și cercetări, xx (1932); the book of C. Murnu, *Vlahia Mare* (Bucharest, 1913) has not been available to me, nor has his article 'Les Romains de la Bulgarie médiévale,' *Balcania*, i (1938), pp. 1-21. A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans* (New York, n.d. but 1913) gives a good picture of these Vlachs in the twentieth century. See also G. Weigand, *Die Aromunen* (Leipzig, 1895), i. Some portions of the first chapter of L. Tamas, 'Romains, Romans, et Roumains dans l'histoire de la Dacie Trajane,' *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis*, i (Budapest, 1935), 1-96, are useful, despite a strong Magyar bias. I have not seen S. Pușcariu, 'L'ancienneté des établissements macédoroumains,' *Balcania*, i (1938), 22-30. R. Rösler's classic work (much disliked by Rumanians), *Romanische Studien* (Leipzig, 1879), contains a monograph (pp. 66-145) entitled 'Die Wohnsitze der Romänen im Mittelalter' of which pp. 100 ff. are concerned with the Balkan Vlachs. See also N. Iorga, *Études Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1939) i, 3-33, 98-136, 205-223; and *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité Orientale* (Bucharest, 1937), iii, 7 ff., 77 ff. A recent work, A. D. Keramopoulos, *Tί εἶναι οι Κοντόβλαχοι* (Athens, 1939), has not been accessible to me. It maintains that the Balkan Vlachs were originally Greeks, and has been unfavorably reviewed by T. Elwert, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xli (1941), 497-502. See also A. Sacerdoteanu, 'Considérations sur l'histoire des Roumains au Moyen-Âge.' *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France* (1928), pp. 103-245, especially pp. 216 ff.

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BALDWIN OF FLANDERS AND HAINAUT, FIRST LATIN EMPEROR OF CONSTANTINOPLE: HIS LIFE, DEATH, AND RESURRECTION, 1172–1225

By ROBERT LEE WOLFF

'Quantum honorem quantamve gloriam terra Flandriae et Hainoniae totaque progenies nostra in aeternum in captione Constantinopolitani imperii sit adepta, non solum in terram nostram, verum etiam per quatuor mundi climata, divina potentia credimus esse delatum.' (Letter of the Latin Emperor Henry, younger brother and successor of Baldwin, to their brother Godfrey, *praepositus* of the church of St Aimé at Douai, in 1206. Bouquet, *Recueil*, xviii, 527.)

ON 14 April 1202 Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut left the west to go on a crusade. The crusade was diverted from the Holy Land to the Byzantine Empire; in April 1204 the Greeks were expelled from Constantinople and a Latin Empire founded. Baldwin was chosen Emperor and on 26 May 1204 was crowned in Santa Sophia. In April 1205 he was captured by Ioannitsa, King of the Vlachs and the Bulgars, and some time thereafter he almost certainly died in captivity. This article will discuss Baldwin's ancestry, his character, and his achievements in the west prior to his departure. It will attempt to assess the effect upon his counties of Flanders and Hainaut of his departure and presumed death. It will re-examine the extraordinary episode of the 'false Baldwin,' which took place in 1225. It is designed to supplement the author's forthcoming book on the history of the Latin Empire by providing a study of the relevant materials concerning Baldwin's western possessions. The emphasis throughout will, therefore, be upon developments in Flanders and Hainaut.

BALDWIN'S ANCESTRY AND CAREER IN THE WEST

One of the great French feudal lords, perhaps the most powerful vassal of the King of France, the Emperor Baldwin was the ninth count of the name in Flanders and the sixth in Hainaut.¹ Born in 1172,² he was the son of Baldwin V, Count of Hainaut, who in 1169 had married Margaret, sister of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders. In 1177 Philip of Alsace, who was childless, left on a crusade, and made his brother-in-law Baldwin V his heir.³ Philip of Alsace was also the chief adviser of the young prince of France, the later Philip Augustus,⁴ to whom

in 1180 he succeeded in marrying his niece, Elizabeth or Isabelle, daughter of Baldwin V and Margaret. Much to Baldwin's sorrow, Philip of Alsace gave Elizabeth Artois and other Flemish territories as dowry.⁵ As a result of intrigues at the French court, Philip of Alsace almost immediately thereafter lost his influence over the young Philip Augustus, and a series of wars followed between them, in which Baldwin V of Hainaut at first sided with his brother-in-law, the Count of Flanders, against his son-in-law, the King of France.⁶ In 1184, however, Philip Augustus succeeded in splitting the alliance between Philip of Alsace and Baldwin V.⁷ Thereupon Philip of Alsace himself decided to remarry, choosing Princess Matilda of Portugal, and giving to her, as he had given to Elizabeth, a dowry of many important Flemish towns, in an effort to inflict as much injury as possible upon Baldwin V of Hainaut, hitherto his heir.⁸ He also went to war with Baldwin, who now had the support of Philip Augustus. Although formal peace was made in 1186,⁹ relations between the brothers-in-law are said never again to have been cordial.¹⁰

Philip of Alsace died of disease at Acre in 1191.¹¹ Since he had had no children by Matilda of Portugal, his sister Margaret, wife of Baldwin of Hainaut, inherited Flanders. From then until her death her husband was Count of Flanders as Baldwin VIII and Count of Hainaut as Baldwin V.¹² The territory to which he succeeded had been badly cut into by the dowries given by Philip of Alsace to Baldwin's daughter Elizabeth and to his own second wife Matilda. Since Elizabeth was Philip Augustus' wife and Matilda his ally, the effect of both these cessions had been to give the King of France a strong foothold in Flanders; and, on the death of Philip of Alsace, Matilda made a great effort to keep all of Flanders out of Baldwin's hands, and to hold it for Philip Augustus, who was hurrying home from Acre.¹³ She was finally restricted, however, by agreement, to those cities which had originally formed her dowry.¹⁴

Baldwin V also had difficulties in retaining the succession to the important county of Namur, a fief of the Empire — Hainaut was a fief of the Bishop of Liège — which had been given him in 1184 by his uncle, Henry the Blind (1126–1190), the aged Count of Namur and Luxembourg. Henry was later reluctant to abide by his promise, partly because a daughter was unexpectedly born to him in 1186. In 1188 Frederick Barbarossa and his son Henry VI invested Baldwin with the succession. Henry the Blind, however, outlived his nephew, and, although Baldwin called himself Marquis of Namur, he never actually ruled the county, which had been elevated to a marquisate.¹⁵

Margaret of Alsace died in 1194, and the county of Flanders descended immediately to her son, the young Baldwin, who became Baldwin IX, although his father was still living. During the next year, his last, the senior Baldwin retained only the titles Marquis of Namur and Count of Hainaut.¹⁶ When he died in December 1195, the young Baldwin inherited Hainaut as Baldwin VI, while a younger brother Philip received Namur, for which, however, he was to do homage to Baldwin. Namur thus became a fief of Hainaut, and the Counts of Hainaut in turn did homage to the Emperor for it.¹⁷

The chronicle of Gislebert, on which all students of the Low Countries in the twelfth century have had to rely, comes to an end in 1195, just as Baldwin

the younger, later to be first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, was succeeding to his heritage. A variety of narrative sources, none so authoritative or so full as Gislebert, must be consulted for Baldwin's reign in Flanders and Hainaut. This lasted only seven years, until 14 April 1202, when he left for the crusade,¹⁸ and most of its significant developments took place before Ash Wednesday, 23 February 1200, when he took the cross.¹⁹ The documentary sources, which still survive for these years in considerable number, are also of great importance.²⁰

Baldwin took the oath of fealty to Philip Augustus in 1196,²¹ but the political realities of his situation called for opposition to the encroachments of the French crown in Flemish territory. Baldwin first sought the support of Emperor Henry VI,²² after whose death in 1197 he allied himself successively with the Kings of England, Richard Lionheart²³ and John,²⁴ in their wars against France, accepting money from them and promising to make no separate peace with Philip Augustus. He also joined the English in their support for the Welf candidate for the Holy Roman Empire, Otto,²⁵ against Philip Augustus' candidate, Philip of Swabia.

In his effort to recapture some of the Flemish lands which had been dissipated by Philip of Alsace, Baldwin scored a notable success, when, in January 1200, after inflicting several defeats upon Philip Augustus, he imposed the treaty of Péronne, by which Philip agreed to return to Flanders a considerable portion of Artois,²⁶ part of the dowry of his first wife, Baldwin's elder sister, Elizabeth.²⁷ It is true that these concessions were obtained from Philip Augustus partly because he was under heavy pressure from the Pope, and wished to have peace,²⁸ but this does not alter the fact that Baldwin had proved himself an able soldier and strategist²⁹ in defeating the King of France, and an able diplomat in reverting to the English alliance and in imposing the conditions of the treaty of Péronne.

In addition to these military and political achievements, Baldwin is reported by a later source to have ordered a vernacular compilation of the history of his house.³⁰ What has become of this history, and whether it is still preserved under some other name or as part of a larger work, is not known.³¹ There is also some dispute as to Baldwin's own literacy.³² A tradition that he was a poet, composing extemporaneous verses in an exchange with a Provençal troubadour in Italy, is doubted by the best modern scholarship,³³ even if it were correct, it would not necessarily mean that he could read or write.

More significant, Baldwin issued in 1200 two important charters for Hainaut, which have come to be regarded as the foundation of both the feudal and the criminal law of that county, and which were certainly among the earliest attempts to codify what had hitherto apparently been a mere mass of ancient unwritten custom.³⁴ These charters appear to have been issued as an attempt to simplify the task of administering Hainaut while the Count was away on the crusade. The feudal code was designed to prevent the outbreak of private war, by providing a clear set of rules governing the inheritance of fiefs. The criminal code was designed to reduce the temptation for the always turbulent magnates of the county to disturb the peace, by providing a clear set of penalties for murder and mutilation, to which they were much addicted.³⁵ Both are worth re-examination here.

The feudal charter begins: 'Hec est declaratio legum in curia et comitatu

hainoensi . . . discretius conscriptarum, sigillisque et iuramentis domini Balduini comitis flandrensis et hainoensis et fidelium hominum suorum . . . ad perpetuam observationem confirmatarum.' This *declaratio legum* is devoted to the laws of succession for fiefs. A daughter succeeds if there is no son; the son of a second marriage succeeds rather than the daughter of a first; if an elder son or daughter dies before the parent who holds the fief, and leaves a child, this grandchild of the fief-holder is passed over in favor of the next younger brother or sister of the deceased heir, thus keeping the line of succession in the first generation of descendants. If there are no heirs of the body, the fief passes to the nearest living relative of the family from which the fief was inherited by the decreased proprietor. If a man wishes to bestow a fief upon his wife at marriage, he must do so with the approval of the lord from whom he holds the fief, and with the lord's other vassals as witnesses. If a man dies without heirs of the body, his wife shall retain only her dowry and the fruits of her husband's property during the year of his death; similarly a man whose wife has died childless does not retain her fiefs, which pass to her nearest heir, except for the fruits of her property during the year of her death. If the husband dies first, and there is an heir who is of age, he obtains immediate possession, the wife retaining only her dowry and the fruits of her husband's property for a year; if the wife predeceases the husband, her heir inherits in the same way, if he is of age. A son is of age at fifteen, a daughter at twelve. If during marriage a husband and wife have jointly (*pariter*) acquired a fief, and the husband dies without an heir, the fief passes to the nearest blood relation of the husband, who must pay the relief to the lord of the fief, and perform all the duties of military service and justice, but receives only one-half the revenue, the widow receiving the other half during her lifetime without being required to perform any of the military service or justice in exchange. If the husband and wife have jointly acquired an allod, and the husband dies without an heir, the wife inherits the whole allod for life, after which it goes to her husband's nearest relatives. If a wife's heir is under age, her widower shall be *bailli* (*baiulationem habebit*) for any lands the wife may have left; if it is the husband who has died, it is the wife who shall be *bailli* until the heir is of age. Widow and widower alike enjoy for life the allodial property of the deceased wife or husband. If the surviving parent dies before the heir is of age, the nearest relative acts as *bailli* until the heir is of age. A serf may not alienate his allod or make a fief without consent of his lord.

The *bailli* of the Count of Hainaut is established above all other *baillis*, gives justice to all persons, and has jurisdiction in all cases as if he were the Count himself; and the vassals of the Count must perform their duties of justice for him as for the Count.³⁶ The *bailli* may not, however, judge cases involving the landed possessions of the Count, whereby the Count might be deprived of some of his holdings; nor may the *bailli* bring any vassal of the Count to trial on any complaint or in any case regarding the vassal's title unless the Count is present.³⁷ But the *bailli* may judge cases concerning the Count's movable property and cattle. All decisions rendered in cases previously heard are confirmed.

The other charter begins 'Hec est forma pacis in toto comitatu hainoensi,' and is a summary of criminal law. According to the *forma pacis*, persons not knights or sons of knights pay a life for a life and a limb for a limb. Sons of knights who have themselves not been knighted before their twenty-fifth year 'tales erunt ad pacem quam rustici.' No revenge shall be exacted by the lord or the relatives of a man killed in self-defense. Nobody shall be punished or fined for killing a trespasser who has refused to promise that an earlier offense will not be repeated. If a homicide flees, his relatives and friends must formally abandon and forswear him; anyone who fails to do so is to be regarded as in the same category as the wanted criminal until he shall do so. Anyone who flees with the homicide must return and forswear him within a year; after a year such a person may not return any more than may the homicide himself; and during the year his lord may confiscate his movable property wherever in Hainaut this may be. Friends and relatives of the murdered man must give assurances to all those who have forsworn the murderer; those who refuse are regarded as in the same category as the murderer; except that they may leave the country within one day after having received a warning to give the required assurance, and their lords may confiscate their movable goods. If they do not leave, they are to be regarded as in the same category as the criminal; but they may give the required assurance at any time within a year.

In the case of the loss of limb, the procedure is the same: the friends and family of the criminal must forswear him; those of the victim must offer assurances to those who have so forsworn the criminal. The lord of a murderer or mutilator may confiscate his movable goods and the fruits of his land for a year, after which a fugitive loses his land, and the nearest heir inherits, provided he has forsworn the fugitive. The mortmain of the murdered man belongs to his lord. If a fugitive returns, no free city, no lord, and no man may protect him or hide him or prevent anyone from taking him prisoner, and from turning him over to the lord who has jurisdiction in his case. If the lord does not render justice, the Count of Hainaut shall. If a man is wounded or injured so that he may die, the perpetrator is to be held until it is known whether his victim will die. If such a man escapes, his custodian must swear, if a knight 'tercio militum,' if not a knight 'septimo hominum,' that it was not his fault.

Anyone, except a hunter or cook or butcher or foreigner, travelling through the land who carries a pointed knife must pay sixty *solidi* to the lord in whose jurisdiction he is found; if he is too poor to pay, his ears shall be cut off. Fines for offenders in all towns in which there is no previous law are as follows: for wounding a man or breaking a limb, fifty *solidi*, thirty to go to the victim and twenty to the lord who has jurisdiction; for shedding blood, thirty *solidi*, fifteen going to the victim and fifteen to the lord; for pulling hair or for a blow which does not shed blood, fifteen *solidi* to be divided evenly between the victim and the lord. Any such charge must be clearly proven. If there is no clear proof, the accused may swear *tercio* that he is not guilty, and may thus secure his release. Anyone owing a fine and not paying within two weeks is to be punished by the lord, according to the gravity of the case; if he has fled he is to be pursued like other outlaws, and

his friends are not to be annoyed. There should be a clear understanding as to these rules for fines among the lords and the neighbors and the men, the Count's men as well as others.³⁸

Although Baldwin's *declaratio legum* may have been the first attempt to codify the feudal practice of the county of Hainaut, his *forma pacis* is only a re-issue with modifications of an earlier charter which had been issued in 1171 by Baldwin's father, the senior Baldwin, on his accession. This charter has been lost; but it was known to Gislebert, who records some of its provisions in his chronicle.³⁹ He reports that the senior Baldwin, having settled 'de consilio nobilium et sapientium suorum' the violent local feud between the noble families of Trith and Aunoit, proceeded, 'de communi hominum suorum consensu et consilio,' to issue a 'peace' for Hainaut — 'quandam in Hanonia pacem ordinavit.' According to Gislebert, this peace, like the later document, included the life-for-a-life-and-limb-for-a-limb provision, provided for the proof of charges by the interrogation of witnesses ('per veritatem') rather than by ordeal ('per legem'), and required the relatives of a fugitive to forswear him.⁴⁰

It also included, however, a specific sanction against a noble's murdering or injuring a non-noble ('rusticus'): the Count not only had the power to punish such a noble murderer by death or by mutilation, but the criminal could not be pardoned except by consent of the relatives of the victim.⁴¹ This important provision does not reappear in the charter of 1200. Gislebert adds only that there were many other provisions in this earlier lost charter of 1171.⁴²

It was thought by the fourteenth-century Jacques de Guyse, and by one of the modern editors of Gislebert, Arndt, that the chronicler was simply attributing to Baldwin V the later *forma pacis* of Baldwin VI.⁴³ But this view cannot be maintained.⁴⁴ Gislebert wrote, we know, in 1196; the *forma pacis* of Baldwin VI was not issued until 1200. Even among the few provisions which Gislebert transcribed from the earlier *pax*, as we have seen, there is one important provision which was omitted from the later *forma pacis*. Finally, as chancellor, Gislebert was in a position to know exactly what charters the elder Baldwin had issued, and would hardly have made such an error.

Despite this evidence to the contrary, the younger Baldwin is regularly hailed by modern scholars as the first codifier of the criminal—as well as of the feudal—law of Hainaut.⁴⁵ It is now apparent that, with regard to criminal law at least, this honor — unless some earlier document is still to be discovered — belongs to the elder Baldwin.

It might be rash to read too much social history into the omission from the *forma pacis* of 1200 of that provision of the *pax* of 1171 which specifically protected the peasant against murder or injury at the hands of a noble, although, because of its inclusion, the earlier code seems far more enlightened. It is probably safe, however, to hazard a guess that the younger Baldwin, who for five years had been engaging in war, with the assistance of his vassals, and who in 1200 was providing for the good administration of his domains during his absence, felt it necessary to appease his vassals by omitting from his new charter a provision of the old charter which was injurious to them as a class, and which had greatly strengthened the authority of the Count over them.

That this interpretation (so far as I know not previously suggested) may be correct, would also appear to be indicated by the severe limitations imposed by Baldwin in the other charter, the *declaratio legum*, upon the powers of his own *bailli*. The *bailli* was specifically denied the power to judge any case involving a vassal's title to his fief.⁴⁶ This provision seems in fact to have implied a mere legalization of the *status quo* during Baldwin's absence. Moreover, it is difficult to see what sanctions there were to compel a vassal to observe, during this absence, the elaborate rules for succession to fiefs laid down in the *declaratio legum*: under these provisions, no claimant to a fief held, perhaps illegally, by one of Baldwin's vassals, could in fact receive justice during the Count's absence, since the *bailli* would have no jurisdiction in the case.

It is not proposed to analyze here the legal concepts in the two charters of the year 1200 or to study their provisions in comparison with those of other feudal and criminal law-codes⁴⁷ in force elsewhere in Europe at the time. So far as I can judge, they had no direct influence upon any surviving legislation issued in the Latin Empire of Constantinople.⁴⁸ But even a preliminary analysis of the charters, which makes it possible to evaluate Baldwin's abilities and his achievements in the west, leads to the tentative conclusion that the charters were to a considerable extent issued in the interest of his great vassals. One would not, of course have expected to find legal innovation; the argument of a nineteenth-century burgher of Mons that, because Baldwin had ordered the ears of his subjects cut off, he did not deserve praise as a law-giver,⁴⁹ is obviously just as naive and anachronistic as the view of the more sentimental nineteenth-century Belgian nationalists who saw in Baldwin not only a great hero, but a great legislative innovator. Baldwin is perhaps rather to be viewed as the codifier of existing practices.

With regard to the criminal law of the *forma pacis* he was probably following charters already issued by his father, modifying them in the interests of the nobles. With regard to the feudal law of the *declaratio legum* he was probably issuing the first regularization of existing feudal practice. At the same time, by limiting the power of his *bailli*, he was by anticipation weakening the central authority of the county during the period of his absence, when it would have been to his interest to strengthen it. A possible reason for this is suggested by the text of the *declaratio legum* itself: the Count's *bailli* is also denied the power to judge cases involving the Count's own landed property.⁵⁰ Baldwin was clearly anxious to assure the inviolability of his own domain while he was away. To secure the assent of his vassals to this provision, he may well have had to make the parallel concession to them, and forbid the *bailli* in effect to diminish the domain of any one of them. Viewed in this aspect, Baldwin's charters appear as the best compromise he was able to obtain.

Although numerous other acts of Baldwin survive, there are few which can be regarded as being of prime historical importance. Among these, perhaps, is the severe ordinance of 1199 aimed at 'usury,' the loaning of money at interest.⁵¹ It should perhaps also be noted that, during the two years between February 1200, when he took the cross, and April 1202, when he actually left for Venice, he issued a large number of charters confirming and adding to the privileges of ecclesiastic

tical foundations: thus, for example, the church of Saint Waudru (Waldestruda) of Mons was confirmed in the possession of all its serfs, male and female;⁵² a grant from the Count's own domain was made to a foundation for lepers at Mons;⁵³ the abbeys of Cambron,⁵⁴ of Messines,⁵⁵ of St. John of Valenciennes,⁵⁶ of Loos,⁵⁷ of Aldeburgh,⁵⁸ the church of Harlebek,⁵⁹ the religious house called the 'hermitage' at Ghent,⁶⁰ and all the Premonstratensians of Baldwin's domains⁶¹ were among the many receiving privileges and exemptions. Favors were conferred at this time upon laymen also: thus the towns of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, Courtrai, and Lille were relieved of an onerous obligation to furnish the Count, when he arrived within their precincts, with a measure of wine at a nominal charge of three deniers, irrespective of the market price. Baldwin now of his own accord undertook henceforth to pay for this wine what it had cost.⁶²

Baldwin had been married in 1186 to Marie, daughter of Count Henri of Champagne, and sister of Thibaut, predecessor of Boniface of Monteferrat as commander of the armies of the fourth Crusade. She was twelve years old at the time of their wedding, and had been betrothed to Baldwin almost since birth.⁶³ It was an unusually happy marriage; contemporary writers remarked upon the affection and trust of the couple for each other. Even the Byzantine Nicetas Choniates records Baldwin's devotion to his wife, and his personal chastity in her absence, as well as his efforts to impose his own standards upon the other nobles by twice weekly publicly forbidding anyone to spend the night in the imperial palace at Constantinople who was sleeping with a woman other than his wife.⁶⁴

Marie had taken the cross at the same time as Baldwin,⁶⁵ but could not leave Flanders when he did, in April 1202, because she was expecting a child.⁶⁶ Baldwin made her regent until she should leave the country, and several charters of hers survive from the year 1203.⁶⁷ Late in that year or early in 1204 she, too, set out for the east, leaving behind her two young daughters, Jeanne, born in late 1199 or early 1200, and Margaret, born in 1202.⁶⁸ These children and the regency for the county of Flanders were left in the hands of Philip, Marquis of Namur, Baldwin's younger brother, who called himself 'guardian of the land' of the Count.⁶⁹ William of Saint-Sauve or of Thy — an illegitimate son of Baldwin IV of Hainaut and so an illegitimate uncle of Baldwin VI, usually called simply 'William the uncle' — was *bailli* of Hainaut.⁷⁰ The Count and Countess were planning on an absence of no more than three years;⁷¹ as matters turned out, neither was ever to return to Flanders, and Marie's departure marks the opening of a period of personal tragedy and political disaster which was to characterize the history of Flanders and Hainaut for half a century.

THE DEATHS OF MARIE AND BALDWIN: IMPACT ON FLANDERS AND HAINAUT

Unaware that the Crusaders had gone to Byzantium instead of to Palestine, Marie sailed from Marseilles, and arrived at Acre in the summer of 1204, only to hear that Baldwin had been crowned Latin Emperor at Constantinople some months before.⁷² At Acre, Marie endeavored to assist the two papal legates, Cardinals Soffredo of Saint Praxed and Peter of Saint Marcellus (Peter Capuano)⁷³ in their unsuccessful efforts to put an end to the strife then ranging between King

Leo of Cilician Armenia and Prince Bohemond V of Antioch.⁷⁴ She also received the homage of the Prince of Antioch, which had been a fief of the Byzantine empire; and of which Baldwin, as successor to the emperors, had now become lord.⁷⁵

Some skepticism with regard to this incident as reported by Alberic of Trois Fontaines was once expressed by the late Professor John L. La Monte;⁷⁶ but we have, in addition to Alberic, the testimony supplied by a later letter of Pope Innocent III, of which Professor La Monte was not then aware. In this document Innocent quotes Bohemond V's own claim to have performed homage to the Latin emperor in terms which reveal the underlying political motives of the act.⁷⁷ There seems little reason, therefore, to doubt the story; and Professor La Monte himself later told me that he accepted it.

In August 1204 Marie died of the plague, which had broken out at Acre; and Baldwin's representatives, who had come to escort her to Constantinople as empress, returned with her corpse.⁷⁸ The story that she was buried in Santa Sophia seems to be a late invention.⁷⁹

For the short period between Baldwin's coronation in May 1204 and his capture in April 1205, only a few documents survive which deal with affairs in Flanders and Hainaut. Most of these relate to a single transaction: the transfer of a Flemish fief to Baldwin's clerk, Walter of Courtrai.⁸⁰ We have also the formal notification issued by Baldwin that his former seal as Count of Flanders and Hainaut now lacked authority.⁸¹ and his request to Philip Augustus and Louis VIII to aid in creating a chapter in the church of Notre Dame at Courtrai, the welfare of which was one of his special cares.⁸² With these minor exceptions, Baldwin seems to have been too busy and too far away to attend to the business of his lands in the west.

In April 1205, after a series of events which need not be examined here, Baldwin was captured near Adrianople by Ioannitsa, King of the Vlachs and the Bulgarians. Our two best sources, Villehardouin and Nicetas, report this without ambiguity. Robert of Clari, on the other hand, says only that Baldwin was lost and his fate unknown. Ernoul, far less well-informed than the others about events in the Latin Empire, reports that Baldwin was killed on the battlefield. Nicetas supplies the circumstantial detail that Baldwin was taken captive to Tirnovo, Ioannitsa's capital, high in the Balkan mountains, and there loaded with chains up to his neck. In August or September 1205 Innocent III wrote to Ioannitsa, who owed his crown to the Pope, urging him to set Baldwin free as a first step toward reestablishing peace with the Latins. Innocent also urged Henry, Baldwin's brother and *moderator* of the Latin Empire, to make peace with Ioannitsa.⁸³ The overwhelming weight of the contemporary evidence, then, is to the effect that Baldwin was taken prisoner by Ioannitsa.

It was not until July 1206, when Villehardouin himself and a group of other Latin knights relieved Renier de Trit, a Fleming who had been made 'Duke of Philippopolis (Plovdiv)', and who had been under intermittent siege for thirteen months in the castle of Stenimaka deep in Bulgaria, that further news of Baldwin was obtained: Renier of Trit had positive word that Baldwin was dead. Rumors to this effect had circulated previously, but now the Latins sorrowfully accepted

the news as genuine. Until this moment Baldwin's brother Henry had been only *moderator* of the Empire. Now, satisfied of Baldwin's death, the barons obtained the consent of their Venetian partners in the Empire, and had Henry crowned Emperor on 20 August 1206 in Santa Sophia. It is clear from this account, supplied by the eyewitness Villehardouin, that we are justified in accepting Baldwin's death in prison as a historic fact, or at least as one in which those contemporaries best able to judge entirely believed. A letter from Emperor Henry himself supports this view.⁸⁴

Our other reliable sources all concur: Nicetas tells the story that Ioannitsa's Greek allies in Philippopolis, under Alexander Aspietes, deserted their Bulgarian alliance and went over to the Latins: ' . . . when Aspietes went over to the Latins, Ioannitsa was boiling with rage, and, his anguish steadily increasing, he was finally driven to a state of virtual madness. So he ordered Baldwin to be taken out of prison and his legs to be cut off at the knee and his arms at the elbow with a Tenedean axe, and then that he should be thrown headfirst into a ravine. And there he lay for three days, a prey to the vultures, and mercifully expired.'⁸⁵ While the details of the dreadful punishment meted out to Baldwin may be fanciful, there is little reason to doubt the central fact: that Ioannitsa murdered his imperial prisoner in a fit of rage at Latin intrigues. These intrigues, not germane here, will be considered elsewhere: at present, our purpose is only to examine the evidence, and determine whether Baldwin actually died in captivity, a point of critical importance for the history of his lands in the west.

In addition to the testimony on Baldwin's death supplied by Nicetas, by the Emperor Henry, and by Renier de Trit as reported by Villehardouin, we have also the testimony of Ioannitsa himself. In a letter to Innocent III, the text of which is lost but the contents of which are paraphrased in the *Gesta Innocentii*, Ioannitsa replied to the Pope's urgent summons to him to release Baldwin that he could not because Baldwin had already died in prison.⁸⁶ As was natural, Ioannitsa left vague the manner of Baldwin's death, softening the facts for the Pope's consumption.

We also have the somewhat later testimony of George Akropolita, who tells us that Ioannitsa cut off Baldwin's head, hollowed out the skull, adorned it with jewels, and used it as a drinking-cup. It is tempting to recognize here a reminiscence of the Bulgarian Khan Krum, and the use to which he had put the skull of the Emperor Nicephorus I in 811.⁸⁷ But it is difficult to decide whether this reminiscence is merely a literary effort on the part of Akropolita (who doubtless was struck by the historical parallel of an Emperor of Byzantium in the hands of a savage ruler of the Bulgarians) or whether Ioannitsa, in conscious imitation of Krum (whose descendant he so loudly and with such little justification proclaimed himself to be), might not actually have decided to follow the example set by his illustrious predecessor.

These five sources are the most reliable. With Alberic of Trois Fontaines and with Ernoul, still contemporaries, we enter the realm of the fanciful, which is none the less important for our purposes here. Alberic tells a story whose authenticity he himself suspects, assuring his reader that he is merely repeating what he

had been told by a Flemish priest who had passed through Tirnovo on his way back from Constantinople. According to this priest, Ioannitsa's wife had tried to seduce Baldwin in prison, and to make him promise to take her away with him if she should set him free. When Baldwin refused, the angry woman told Ioannitsa that Baldwin had promised to make her his empress if she would release him. Thereupon Ioannitsa got drunk one evening, had Baldwin brought in and killed before him, and ordered his corpse thrown to the dogs. He then issued a public edict commanding the death to be kept secret.⁸⁸

Here we have, of course, a clearly recognizable instance of the Potiphar's wife motif, one of the commonest in folklore. This alone would render the story suspect, while certain other features, such as the public edict ordering a murder to be kept secret, are plainly ridiculous. It seems likely that this version was concocted in the Flemish court under circumstances which we shall shortly examine, and that Baldwin's well-known chastity may have served as its inspiration.

Alberic adds that Archbishop John of Mitylene and a monk named Albert who had been in Tirnovo the same year agreed to the main fact: that Baldwin had been killed there. The same Flemish monk who had told the story of Ioannitsa's wife reported that a Burgundian woman living in Tirnovo one night saw Baldwin's corpse glowing in the dark, and gave it decent burial. The Flemish monk, who had spent a night at her inn, had heard from her that her husband had been cured of a toothache and a fever at the tomb.⁸⁹ Of this it need, perhaps, only be said that Burgundian lady innkeepers were rare in Bulgaria in the year 1205, and that this story is clearly an invention.

Ernoul reports that, while Baldwin's brother Henry was still only *bailli* (*moderator*), and was making every effort to get news of Baldwin, a man came to him and said that he had got Baldwin out of prison, and had taken him to a forest where he had left him with two men to guard him. He would send him to Henry by sea if an escort of knights and sergeants could be provided. Henry thereupon had two galleys armed and put aboard the knight Conon de Béthune⁹⁰ and the knights and sergeants. The ships proceeded to the forest where the man said he had left Baldwin. This was 'sor mer Major,' on the Black Sea. When the rescue party arrived and went to the place under a tree where the man said he had left Baldwin, they found nothing but some remains of bread and onions and salt; but they did not know who had eaten them. Although the man swore that his story was true, they searched the forest in vain, and finally went back to Constantinople.⁹¹

The appearance of these curious accounts in two usually reliable and nearly contemporary authorities is testimony to the popular interest in the fate of the Latin Emperor. Those who did not know what had really happened to him explained his disappearance as best they could. Even Alberic's Flemish monk, odd though his account is, knew that Baldwin had died in prison. Of the contemporary sources for the Latin Empire of Constantinople only Ernoul suggests that Baldwin might have escaped; and even his account does not vouch for the veracity of the man who alleged that he had set Baldwin free from prison: indeed Ernoul, as we have seen, says that Baldwin was killed on the battlefield, and thus

suggests that the man was lying. If we were to begin to doubt events in thirteenth-century history so well documented as the death of Baldwin in captivity, we should shortly have little to say on any subject. Yet, as we shall see, sober modern scholars, among them Winkelmann and Petit-Dutaillis, have doubted his death because they have limited themselves to a consideration of the sources for events in Flanders and Hainaut, and have not consulted those for events in Constantinople, which no student of the Latin Empire would challenge.

Upon the disappearance of Marie and Baldwin, Flanders and Hainaut, united with such pains by Baldwin V and so effectively protected against the encroachments of Philip Augustus by the younger Baldwin himself, descended to a five-year-old girl, Baldwin's eldest daughter Jeanne, often called 'Jeanne of Constantinople,' still under the tutelage of her uncle, Marquis Philip of Namur.⁹²

In the east, as we saw, uncertainty as to Baldwin's fate led to a delay of more than a year before his younger brother Henry was crowned Emperor. In the west, too, there was much doubt: as late as June 1206 Philip of Namur swore fealty to Philip Augustus for Flanders in the name of his niece Jeanne, and promised to aid the King against any person but the Emperor Baldwin, should he return to Flanders.⁹³ There was also a strong popular belief that the Count had never died. By 1206, however, Philip of Namur had begun to style himself regent of Flanders and Hainaut (*bajulus, ballivus, procurator et tutor*, etc.).⁹⁴

He now affianced himself to a five-year-old daughter of Philip Augustus by Agnes of Meran, whom he undertook to marry when she should have reached the age of twelve.⁹⁵ Thus Philip of Namur created a bond dangerous to his wards, since Philip Augustus was determined to avenge the indignity of the treaty of Péronne. In September 1208 the King of France was able to secure from his prospective son-in-law the persons of Baldwin's two young daughters. Philip of Namur delivered his nieces to Philip Augustus on the following conditions: that they should not be married without his consent before they were twelve; that thereafter they could be married if the prospective husband consented to give Philip of Namur as much money as had already been offered by Matilda of Portugal (widow of Philip of Alsace and still a powerful figure in Flanders), who was eager to obtain the hand of Jeanne for her nephew, Ferrand, third son of King Sancho I of Portugal; and that, if no husband who would meet these conditions should present himself, the girls were to be restored to Philip of Namur, after which they could not be married without the consent of Philip Augustus.⁹⁶

Modern Belgian historians have often expressed considerable anger at this cold-blooded agreement, and at Philip of Namur's alleged treachery in surrendering his wards to his dead brother's lord and old enemy. Even in a period when widows and orphan girls were valuable chattels, thought of only in terms of the fief which they would bring in marriage, it seems that the behavior of Philip of Namur was condemned as cowardly and disgraceful. It aroused genuine indignation,⁹⁷ especially in Hainaut, which was not even a fief of France, and whose heiresses were none the less turned over to the French king. Apparently the Bishop of Liège, who was the suzerain of Hainaut and presumably could have interposed a successful objection to the transaction between Philip of Namur and Philip Augustus, was bought off; but this is not certain.⁹⁸

Once in possession of the girls, Philip Augustus first arranged in 1210 or 1211 to sell them for 50,000 *livres parisis* to Enguerrand de Coucy, a great French noble, who was expected to recoup the expense by arranging for their marriage. According to the agreement, neither Enguerrand nor his brother was to marry either of the heiresses without the consent of the Church,⁹⁹ although it is clear that de Coucy himself intended to marry Jeanne and secure Flanders if he could. But, though they wished for a ruler, the Flemings would have none of Enguerrand de Coucy, because he was, as Philip Mouskes says, ‘fel et crueus Et despissans et orgilleus.’¹⁰⁰ So the agreement between him and Philip Augustus fell through, and, in the end, Jeanne ‘de Constantinople,’ Baldwin’s elder daughter, married Matilda’s nephew, Ferrand of Portugal, at Paris in January 1212.¹⁰¹

Shortly after the marriage Philip of Namur died, according to the chroniclers, in great remorse over the misery he had brought upon his nieces.¹⁰² Before his death he released them from all the obligations they had incurred toward him, excepting only the rights of his sister Yolande, Countess of Auxerre and later Empress of Constantinople, to whom he left Namur.¹⁰³ When Yolande and her husband Peter of Courtenay inherited the Latin Empire in 1216, Namur descended to their eldest son Philip.¹⁰⁴

On their way back to Flanders after the wedding ceremony in Paris, Jeanne and Ferrand were taken prisoner by Louis, heir to the French throne, son of Philip Augustus and Elizabeth of Flanders, and first cousin to Jeanne. At Péronne he required them to surrender to him all that Baldwin had won there in 1200.¹⁰⁵ Returning to Flanders angered by the conduct of Prince Louis, Ferrand met a hostile reception from his great vassals,¹⁰⁶ and conspired with his aunt Matilda, the dowager countess, to form an alliance against France with John Lackland, King of England.¹⁰⁷ At first successful in its military enterprises, this coalition of John and Ferrand, to which the Emperor Otto IV also belonged, was decisively defeated at Bouvines¹⁰⁸ in July 1214 by Philip Augustus. Ferrand was taken prisoner, and remained in France for twelve years, despite Jeanne’s efforts to procure his release, which were supported in 1223 and later by the papacy.¹⁰⁹ During his absence, Jeanne ruled Flanders alone with a council of pro-French nobles, of whom Arnoul d’Audenarde was the most influential.¹¹⁰

Almost at once there came to a head a family crisis which had been brewing since 1212. In that year Baldwin’s younger daughter, Margaret, had married Bourchard d’Avesnes, a noble of Hainaut with whom she was deeply in love. The Countess Jeanne and Ferrand at first interposed no objection, and the wedding was celebrated publicly. But later, when Bourchard laid claim to part of the inheritance from Baldwin, Jeanne refused.¹¹¹ From then on she devoted herself to breaking her sister’s marriage, complaining to Innocent III that the alliance was illegal, and alleging a variety of reasons, the most telling being the charge that in his youth Bourchard had taken clerical orders.¹¹² The Pope took her at her word, and, apparently without an investigation, condemned the marriage, as did Honorius III, his successor.¹¹³ Bourchard d’Avesnes and Margaret, however, continued to live together, and had two children, John and Baldwin, born in 1218 and 1219.¹¹⁴ Excommunicated and at war with Jeanne, Bourchard was captured by her, and kept prisoner for two years (1219–1221), despite Margaret’s pleas

to her sister to release him. As a price for his release Jeanne finally forced the unhappy couple to separate, and, as a first step toward reconciliation with the church, Bourchard was to go to Rome to obtain absolution.¹¹⁵ His absence lasted some time, and was apparently prolonged by the intrigues of Jeanne, despite the intervention on his behalf of the King of Jerusalem and of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, then Robert de Courtenay¹¹⁶ (whom Bourchard had once captured in a skirmish in Flanders, but had released without demanding ransom.)¹¹⁷ During this absence Jeanne somehow prevailed upon Margaret to marry another noble, William of Dampierre (late 1223).¹¹⁸

This second marriage naturally created a sensation: not only had the first not been officially annulled, but the blood relationship of Margaret and William of Dampierre was within the forbidden degrees.¹¹⁹ Bourchard d'Avesnes returned in 1224, and demanded his wife (who had already had a child by William), but he was not even given custody of his own two sons.¹²⁰ Public opinion grew strong against the heartlessness of Margaret and the even more cruel behavior of the Countess Jeanne. General discontent at the political misfortunes which the counties had suffered under a woman's government and at the domestic scandals of the ruling house created an atmosphere of great unrest which permeated all classes, and was increased by the devastation and pillage of the private warfare which had raged between the sisters, and by a famine.¹²¹

THE EPISODE OF THE FALSE BALDWIN

With the situation thus troubled and uneasy, the time for an explosion seemed at hand; the spark was provided by the rumor, which began to circulate in 1225, that Baldwin of Constantinople was alive and had returned to Flanders.¹²² Three years previously, so a later source reports, Arnoul de Gavre, an important counsellor of Jeanne with the title of governor (*gubernator*) of Flanders and Hainaut, had, while visiting the belfry at Valenciennes, discovered his long-lost uncle in the habit of a Franciscan monk newly come to Hainaut. This uncle, Josse de Materne, at first reluctant to own his identity, finally told his nephew how he and twenty-seven companions had gone on the crusade with Baldwin. They had, he said, attended Baldwin's coronation, had fought in the battle in which he had been captured, and had continued in the service of his brother, Emperor Henry, until his death in 1216. They had left Romania only in 1218 to join a new crusade led by Alfonso of Portugal, brother of their new lord, Ferrand of Flanders. They had fought against the Moors in North Africa, and, on their return to Portugal, had renounced the world and become Franciscans. Some of them had then come to Valenciennes, the rest going to other places in Flanders.¹²³ The appearance in Franciscan habits of these mysterious men of noble bearing excited great popular interest (Franciscans were still a novelty at this time in any case) and the story that they were returned companions of Baldwin began to circulate as rumor, although de Gavre had been sworn to secrecy. People began to look with a new curiosity and hope at the faces of all monks they met.¹²⁴

Just at this time another mysterious stranger appeared in Valenciennes, declaring publicly that Baldwin himself would soon be returning, and not only

making lavish promises of future generosity but distributing large sums of money to the population, and collecting many powerful supporters.¹²⁵ The moment was psychologically ripe for somebody to discover Baldwin, of whose death there had always been much doubt, and who had become a legendary figure in the popular imagination.¹²⁶ It seems probable that the nobles most opposed to Jeanne's rule had, at least in part, prepared the ground. The exact degree to which a hoax had been planned and the degree of complicity of the principal actor will probably never be known. It is possible that the initial 'recognition' of the false Baldwin by his 'discoverers' was *bona fide*, and that it was only afterward that the faction opposed to Jeanne realized what a powerful weapon had been placed in their hands. It is equally possible that these nobles coached and 'planted' the false Baldwin where he was sure to be discovered. In any case, they proceeded to take advantage of their opportunity to unite opposition to the pro-French policy of the Countess.

In February 1224 a beggar in the small Flemish village of Mortaigne, near Tournai and Valenciennes, aroused the curiosity of a local noble, who tried unsuccessfully to get him to admit that he had been a companion of Baldwin, like the Franciscans.¹²⁷ The beggar was discovered to be living as a hermit in the near-by forest of Glançon,¹²⁸ and became the source of much local gossip. Interrogated by the local gentry, he denied that he was one of the nobles who had gone on the crusade. None the less, they finally persuaded themselves that he was Baldwin in person. He himself denied this vigorously, and likened their anxiety for their Count's return to the Breton desire for the reappearance of King Arthur. For almost a year the belief that Baldwin had come back seems to have flourished only in the neighborhood of Valenciennes, and not to have spread abroad through Flanders.

It is interesting and not surprising that one of the first lords mentioned by name as having visited and interrogated the hermit, was Bourchard d'Avesnes, angry at the treatment accorded him by Jeanne, eager to regain control over his sons, and ready to seize any opportunity to bring about a change in the regime. Philip of Courtenay, Marquis of Namur (who had declined the imperial crown of Constantinople in favor of his younger brother Robert), also visited the hermit; so did the lord of Mortaigne, Everard Radous.¹²⁹ All three became supporters of the hermit (always supposing that they had not plotted the whole deception from the beginning), and a throng of nobles and clerics soon had joined him. To their number were shortly added multitudes from the lower classes.

During Holy Week 1225 the hermit decided that after all he was the lost Count of Flanders, and now displayed scars which the real Baldwin had had. Some found him about a foot shorter in stature than Baldwin had been; but his supporters attributed this to age. He seemed not to know the local geography as well as might have been expected, and he made a few mistakes in French, which Baldwin had known remarkably well. But Albert of Stade thinks that this could easily have come about as a result of the hermit's long stay among Greeks and Saracens. At any rate, wild rejoicing, accompanied by disorders, broke out among the population. Valenciennes welcomed the 'Emperor,' who made a triumphal entry into

the town, after having been given a ceremonial bath and shave. He promised that others of his former companions would soon return.¹³⁰

From this time on, he acted as sovereign, sending his 'daughter' Jeanne an official message to announce his return, telling of his adventures since escaping from the prison of Ioannitsa, who, he said, had tortured him, and reporting no fewer than seven captivities in the hands of the Saracens. According to one account, he admitted having been a Moslem for a while: the Pope, he said, had imposed a seven-year penance on him for this; but the time was now up.¹³¹ Jeanne sent her favorite, Arnoul d'Audenarde, to interview the hermit, and Arnoul came back convinced that this was indeed her long lost father.¹³² Louis VIII, who had succeeded Philip Augustus in 1223, now sent four of his great nobles to investigate the situation. His interests in the matter were clearly the same as Jeanne's: both hoped to establish the hermit as an impostor. The king's envoys found that most of the towns were now supporting the hermit: they had begun to elect their own magistrates after the disorders had broken out; and when the king's men summoned them to abandon this practice they replied that they must have time before giving a definite answer.¹³³

A search was now instituted for all those still alive who had known the real Baldwin; as many as possible were confronted with the hermit. Walter of Courtrai, who had been Baldwin's clerk, failed to recognize him; nor did the pretender recognize Walter. None of Baldwin's other old associates, including some who had been brought up with him, thought the hermit genuine. But the lower classes insisted that he was their count, and those who denied it were met by a popular outcry that they had been bought by Jeanne.¹³⁴ At the instigation of Arnoul de Gavre, his uncle Josse de Materne and eighteen of the Franciscans who were former companions of Baldwin consented to testify before Jeanne; according to Jacques de Guyse, all averred that they had seen Baldwin dead on the battlefield,¹³⁵ a testimony which may have set Jeanne's mind at ease, because she and her partisans believed, quite rightly, that Baldwin had been captured, and might have escaped. As we know, the Emperor was not killed on the battlefield but in captivity. Since the Franciscans seem to have manifested a curious reluctance to be brought into the presence of the hermit, it seems possible either that this story in Jacques de Guyse is a later invention or that the Franciscans were themselves only posing as former companions of Baldwin.

In any case, Jeanne summoned Valenciennes to disregard the false Baldwin, and her chief councillor, Arnoul d'Audenarde, who was rumored to be her lover, indicated that he had changed his mind: he had now decided that the hermit was not Baldwin after all. There followed a virtual civil war, in which followers of both sides devastated the countryside.¹³⁶ Apparently Mons alone of the big cities supported Jeanne,¹³⁷ who found herself forced to flee to Paris to the protection of Louis VIII,¹³⁸ while Henry III of England wrote on 11 April, 1225 asking the false Baldwin for a renewal of the traditional alliance.¹³⁹ One of the nobles in the plot somehow restored Bourchard d'Avesnes' two little boys to him, and the false Baldwin thereafter made his public appearances accompanied by these two

'grandsons.'¹⁴⁰ Among his partisans were many high nobles, including the Dukes of Brabant (an ally of England), Louvain, and Limbourg.¹⁴¹

In Paris, Jeanne, apparently desperate, agreed to repay all Louis VIII's expenses up to 20,000 *livres parisis* and to permit him to occupy the towns of Douai and l'Ecluse until the debt should be paid, if he would aid in restoring her to power.¹⁴² The king then sent his aunt, Sibylle de Beaujeu, who was Baldwin's younger sister, to inspect the hermit. She had not seen her brother for twenty-three years, and found herself unable to recognize the hermit. She concluded that he was not really Baldwin, but concealed her opinion from him during their interview, and managed to persuade him to come to Péronne, with a safe-conduct, for an audience with Louis VIII which was set for 30 May, two weeks after Sibylle's departure.¹⁴³

At Pentecost, on 18 May, the hermit wore an imperial crown, made ten knights, issued charters, and divided fiefs.¹⁴⁴ He sealed these acts with a seal which called him Count of Flanders and Hainaut and Emperor of Constantinople.¹⁴⁵ He made a triumphal progress throughout Flanders, dressed as an emperor, in a purple robe, with a cross carried before him, and with his banners as Count and Emperor and, one source says, as King of Thessalonica.¹⁴⁶ Everywhere but at Tournai, which belonged to France, he was received with immense popular enthusiasm; there the prudent magistrates sent him a deputation asking him not to enter the city for fear of the wrath of Louis VIII. He heeded their wish, and passed on to tumultuous welcomes at Lille, Courtrai, Bruges, and Ghent — if God had come to earth, says Mouskes, he could not have been better received¹⁴⁷ — before moving on to meet Louis at Péronne, scene of Baldwin's triumph over Philip Augustus in 1199–1200, and of Jeanne's humiliation by Louis in 1212.

Louis received the hermit courteously, as if in doubt as to his identity,¹⁴⁸ and put questions to him. The false Baldwin could not remember the whereabouts and details of his having done homage to Philip Augustus for Flanders, of his having received knighthood, or of his marriage to Marie of Champagne. His partisans maintain that he refused to answer these easy questions out of pride and wrath at being so closely interrogated, or in the fear of death. At any rate, he broke down, asked to have the inquisition postponed, and left the council-chamber, requesting a chance to dine and rest, and refusing the king's invitation to do so in his own rooms — which was presumably extended in order to keep the hermit from talking to anybody who could coach him on the right answers to Louis' questions.¹⁴⁹ After the hermit had left the royal presence, the Bishops of Orléans and Beauvais and the abbot of Aumosne or Petit-Cîteaux, near Blois, told the king that they recognized him as a jongleur, who had once before tried unsuccessfully to impersonate Count Louis of Blois, one of Baldwin's closest companions, who had been killed at Adrianople. The Bishop of Beauvais added that the impostor had been in his prison. A long career of charlatany and hoaxes lay behind this latest performance of the jongleur, who, the ecclesiastics said, had originally been in the service of one of the lords of Champagne, Clarembaud de Chapes. The jongleur was called by many names, but he was really Bertrand de

Rayns. He had lost his toes not through torture in a Bulgarian prison but through frost-bite.¹⁵⁰

After leaving the audience and returning to his own quarters, the false Baldwin escaped during the night, leaving his noble followers dumbfounded. Louis VIII, convinced that he was dealing with an impostor, seems to have issued a decree of exile against him.¹⁵¹ He fled to Valenciennes; there many of his powerful and noble supporters deserted him, and the rich bourgeoisie wanted to give him up. But the poor remained loyal, and he was kept safe in a fortress with the two children of Bourchard d'Avesnes as hostages. Bourchard, who had abandoned the hermit, now sought vainly to get his children back.¹⁵² Louis VIII returned to Paris, highly amused by the whole incident.¹⁵³ Jeanne proceeded to besiege Valenciennes, where there was a revolution going on, and to take a stern revenge on the hermit's partisans. The municipality had fallen into the hands of the poor, who, while committing excesses and setting bonfires, 'swore a commune,' chose new magistrates, re-enforced the walls, and prepared to stand siege, holding rich citizens for ransom.¹⁵⁴

At this juncture, the hermit escaped from Valenciennes by night, helped by the abbot of St John's monastery. He had decided to appeal to Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne,¹⁵⁵ the most powerful lord in Germany, regent for Frederick II's son, Henry, King of the Romans, and suzerain of the Bishop of Liége, Hugh Pierrepont, who was in turn suzerain of the Counts of Hainaut. Albert of Stade, a Franciscan historian, maintains that the false Baldwin succeeded in seeing Archbishop Engelbert, who, on the prompting of the hermit, then forced from the Bishop of Liége an admission that the hermit was in truth not an impostor. The Bishop, says Albert, was unwilling to swear a false oath on the sacraments, and had to admit that he knew the false Baldwin to be genuine. Engelbert then is said to have urged that the hermit go to Rome to present his case to the Pope, and promised to stand behind his claims, if the Holy See should find them good.¹⁵⁶ Philip Mouskes, on the other hand, reports that the hermit, having reached the banks of the Rhine, told his entourage that he was on his way to see the Archbishop, and then, for the second time, ran away, taking all the available cash with him.¹⁵⁷ This version is confirmed by the Chronicle of Cologne, which specifically says that the hermit did not see Archbishop Engelbert.¹⁵⁸

In any case the hermit, whether on his way to Rome or merely fleeing from punishment, was soon arrested near Besançon in Burgundy, disguised either as a merchant or as a singer at an inn: the sources do not agree on the identity of the captor or the exact place of capture.¹⁵⁹ Before the capture of the hermit, Valenciennes had sent to Jeanne twelve representatives of the new commune (four knights and eight burghers) asking compensation for their losses and recognition for their commune. She had refused all terms except unconditional surrender, and had denounced the rebels for shaming Flanders and Hainaut. They had returned to Valenciennes to stand siege, but capitulated after having been defeated by the Countess' forces. So quickly did the revolt collapse that Jeanne's expenses amounted to no more than half the 20,000 *livres parisis* foreseen by the agreement with Louis VIII. So heavy were her exactions from the defeated towns

that she was able not only to repay the King of France by Ascension Day 1226, instead of over a period of twenty years as envisaged by her agreement with him, but also to arrange for the ransom of her husband Ferrand, whose release she was to obtain in 1226.¹⁶⁰

After the impostor had been captured, Louis VIII sent him to Jeanne, recommending that he not be put to death.¹⁶¹ She had him exhibited in chains throughout Flanders, while his guards told the crowds the true (or at least the official) story of his origin. He was tried at Lille, and is said by some authorities to have confessed that he was Bertrand de Rayns; others deny his confession.¹⁶² At any rate, he was condemned, placed between two dogs in a pillory, and exhibited to the unhappy mob, most of which still believed that he was their legitimate sovereign. Then he was tortured and hanged, and his corpse was exposed on a pole in the fields, surrounded by armed guards.¹⁶³ One source reports that the abbot of St John of Valenciennes came by night, and gave the body decent burial, but that Jeanne had it dug up and exposed again.¹⁶⁴

Despite his alleged confession and suspicious behavior, the populace remained most reluctant to believe that the impostor was not Baldwin.¹⁶⁵ Down through the centuries, Jeanne has often been accused of parricide, and remains one of the most controversial figures of Flemish history. As late as 1889 so profound a scholar as Winkelmann expressed the view that the hermit might really have been the Emperor Baldwin.¹⁶⁶ In order to make this hypothesis plausible, it would be necessary to regard as officially inspired all the authorities which report his confession, his inability (rather than unwillingness) to answer Louis VIII's questions, his two escapes from his own followers, and the failure of Baldwin's sister, Sibylle de Beaujeu, to recognize him. Not only must all of these historians be regarded as members of a conspiracy to obscure the truth, but one must also assume that to this putative conspiracy there belonged not only Jeanne and Louis VIII, the Bishops of Orleans, Beauvais, and Liège, and the abbot of Aumosne, but also the Flemish nobles who detested Jeanne and Louis, and who none the less deserted the hermit. All this is, of course, not altogether impossible: indeed, as we have seen, the Chronicle of St Martin of Tours makes precisely this charge. Nobody, says this chronicler, who pretended to have known the hermit as a jongleur is worthy of belief; all were talking to please Jeanne. Yet why should Bourchard d'Avesnes, for example, have abandoned the hermit unless he had decided that the game was up? Such a decision, one would suppose, could only have followed the successful unmasking of an imposture.

More important, the testimony as to Baldwin's death in captivity in Bulgaria in 1205 supplied by all the reliable non-Flemish sources we have reviewed above seems virtually to rule out the possibility that he might have escaped and returned some twenty years later to Flanders. Had he done so, he would certainly not have called himself, as the impostor did, King of Thessalonica. This was a title which Baldwin himself had conferred upon Boniface of Montferrat in 1204, and which in 1225 was held by Boniface's son William, although the Greeks of Epirus had already recaptured Thessalonica itself. Absolute scientific certainty on the point is perhaps not attainable; but it would appear that there is not even the barest

possibility that the hermit was really the Emperor of Constantinople and Count of Flanders and Hainaut.

More important for the history of Flanders and Hainaut than the question of his identity are the social aspects of the movement which supported the false Baldwin. Except at the very first, when he appears as the center of a group of disaffected nobles, the great strength of his following came from the *vilains* and *menuis gens*, who greeted him as the savior who would put an end to their troubles. He would make them rich or at least reform the system which oppressed them. He inspired such adoration that the monks of St John of Valenciennes kept his whiskers as reliques; and others drank his bath water.¹⁶⁷ What had presumably begun as a conspiracy among the aristocracy appears to have become almost a proletarian revolution. It is natural that this early manifestation of social unrest should have occurred in the highly developed urban manufacturing centers of Flanders rather than elsewhere in western Europe. The incident is perhaps most instructive as marking one of the first emergences of the lower classes from the obscurity in which, in the Middle Ages, they usually lived and labored. Pirenne attributed much importance to the movement, which he compares to the later more famous Flemish urban uprisings.¹⁶⁸ Dept calls attention to the famine which was raging in Flanders at the time as a contributory cause of the popular unrest.¹⁶⁹ It may even be (though no support for this suggestion is to be found in the sources, nor, so far as I know, has any modern scholar ever made it) that the desertion of the hermit by the majority of his noble supporters came, not as a result of his breakdown and secret escape from them after the interrogation at Péronne, but as a result of the nobles' alarm at the revolutionary social aims of the mass of his followers.

From the political stand-point the most important result of the episode was the continuing increase in the influence of the crown of France in the internal affairs of Flanders.

The young children of Margaret and Bourchard d'Avesnes fell, after the capitulation of Valenciennes, into the hands of her second husband, William of Dampierre, whose eldest brother kept them in prison for seven or eight years, where they were much neglected.¹⁷⁰ They did not return to Flanders until the 1230's, when it was to conduct a long, litigious, and bloody struggle with their half-brothers, their mother's children by William of Dampierre, for whom she now showed a strong preference.¹⁷¹ The law-suit and the attendant papal inquiry into the legitimacy of the d'Avesnes lasted far into the century, long after the death of Jeanne in 1244 and the succession of Margaret as Countess of Flanders and Hainaut. It became one of the issues in the conflict between the papacy and Frederick II,¹⁷² and brought untold misery upon the Low Countries.

But for us these later matters are peripheral. Here the episode of the false Baldwin serves to illumine in a most dramatic manner the degree to which the departure of Baldwin and Marie from Flanders and Hainaut and their subsequent deaths in the east left their western lands a prey to external aggression and internal disorder. The unhappy people, deprived of their count, who had maintained order and given them relative security, while holding French ambitions in check, were

ruled first by a minor under incompetent and possibly treacherous guardianship, and then in succession by two unstable and self-willed women. Twenty years after the Vlach prince Ioannitsa had murdered Baldwin, the population of Flanders and Hainaut willingly lent credence to an impostor, and temporarily bestowed upon the false Baldwin that support which they would so gladly have rendered to the genuine.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

¹ Baldwin of Constantinople has naturally been the subject of considerable research in Belgium, much of it permeated with romantic nationalism. M. Thil-Lorrain, *Baudouin de Constantinople, fondateur de l'Empire Latin d'orient d'après Villehardouin et Nicetas* (Brussels, n.d.) is designed as a school-book for the young. J. J. de Smet, 'Mémoire sur Baudouin IX comte de Flandre et de Hainaut et sur les chevaliers Belges à la cinquième croisade,' *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, nouvelle série, xxxi (1859), pp. 79, a more serious work of scholarship, is devoted almost exclusively to what we call the Fourth Crusade, with special emphasis upon the 'glorious' participation of the Belgians; it is full of errors. C. Wins, 'Éloge historique de Baudouin de Constantinople,' *Mémoires et Publications de la Société des Sciences, des Arts, et des Lettres du Hainaut* (hereinafter *MPSSALH*), 2 série, iii (1856), xi-lxii, is what its name implies, but has a good bibliography for the period. The occasion for the article was the proposal to erect a statue of Baldwin at Mons, finally done in 1868. For the entertaining debate which preceded the decision to erect the statue see C. de Bettingnies, 'La statue équestre de Baudouin de Constantinople,' *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, vii (1866-1867), 417-467, and 'Projet d'érection d'une statue à Baudouin de Constantinople: Rapport de la commission spéciale' *MPSSALH*, 2 série, vii (1860), 118-126. For a poetic tribute to Baldwin in the ripest romantic vein see A. Marsigny, 'Baudouin de Constantinople,' *MPSSALH*, 2 série, vi (1859) xxix-xxxiv. J. Le Rousseau, *Baudouin IX comte de Flandre, premier empereur latin de Constantinople* (Paris, 1854) is a five-act play of similar character. E. Prudhomme, 'Essai sur la chronologie des comtes de Hainaut,' *MPSSALH*, 4 série, vii (1882), 101-106, includes a short sketch of Baldwin's life. L. Vanderkindere, *La formation territoriale des principautés belges* (Brussels, 1902), i, 193-198, has a short and scrupulously documented account of Baldwin's wars with Philip Augustus. E. de Borchgrave, *Croquis d'Orient* (Brussels, 1908), pp. 74 ff., and C. Verlinden, *Les empereurs belges de Constantinople* (Brussels, 1945) are popular studies based largely on secondary materials, with little attention to Baldwin in the West. Neither E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel* (Homburg v.d. Höhe, 1905) nor J. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la Principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949) pays attention to this aspect of his career.

² He was born at Valenciennes, where a great fire broke out and burned down a large portion of the town. *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. L. Vanderkindere, Commission Royale d'Histoire, Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire de Belgique (Brussels, 1902), p. 102; *Gisleberti Chronicum Hanoniense*, *MGH*, SS, xxi, 519. These two editions are hereinafter cited as Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, and *MGH*, SS, xxi. See Vanderkindere's note, p. 102, note 4, of his edition, and H. Pi-renne, 'Quelques remarques sur la Chronique de Gislebert de Mons,' *Mélanges Gottfried Kurth* (Liège and Paris, 1908) i, 104, for comment.

³ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 121; *MGH*, SS, xxi, 526: 'Philippus comes Flandrie et Vironmandie [Vermandois, acquired by his first marriage with Isabelle of Vermandois] cruce Domini signatus, congregatis apud Insulsi [Lille] baronibus suis, Balduino comiti Hanoniensi et eius uxori Margharete comitis . . . tamquam justis et propinquioribus heredibus, ab hominibus suis Flandrie fidelitates et securitatis fecit exhiberi . . .' For a monograph on Philip of Alsace, see J. Johnen, 'Philip von Elsass, Graf von Flandern,' *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, Académie Royale de Belgique, lxxix (1910), 341-467.

⁴ For a detailed treatment of the developing relationship between Philip of Flanders and Philip Augustus, and for the events referred to in the next few paragraphs of the text see A. Cartellier,

Philipp August König von Frankreich (Leipzig, 1895) Book I, 37–41, 48–55, 63–71; Book II, *passim*; hereinafter this work will be cited by author's name without title or '*op. cit.*' For a much shorter treatment see H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (2d ed., Brussels, 1902), I, 197 ff. For older accounts see also L. Warnkoenig, *Histoire de la Flandre* (Brussels, 1835), pp. 196 ff., and E. Le Glay, *Histoire des comtes de Flandres* (2d ed., Lille, 1886), I, 242–286.

⁵ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 130; *MGS*, SS, xxi, p. 529; 'Dolebat quidem comes Hanoniensis quod pars Flandrie pro matrimonio illo ad regem Francorum post discessum comitis Flandrie devenire debebat; compositum enim fuit ut Atrebatum civitas [Arras] et Sanctus Audemarus [St Omer], Ariaque [Aire] et Hesdinum [Hesdin] videlicet terra extra fossatum [Fosséneuf — Artois] ad regem Francorum deveniret Philippus autem rex Elizabeth duxit uxorem . . . feria secunda post octavam pasche [28 April] anno Domini 1180.' For a seal of Elizabeth discovered in her tomb (when opened in 1857) and since lost, see E. Matthieu, 'Sceau d'Elizabeth d'Hainaut, Reine de France,' *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, xxxi (1901–1902), 46–50. See Cartellieri, I, *Beilagen*, pp. 19–28, for a thorough examination of the sources on the territorial cessions involved in the marriage agreement. There seems to have been considerable dissatisfaction among the French nobles over Philip Augustus' marriage, since Hainaut, a fief of the bishop of Liège, was far less important or rich than Flanders. This one would not gather from the modern Belgian historians: they usually stress Elizabeth's descent from Charlemagne, whose blood, they maintain, she brought back into the royal house of France. Cartellieri, p. 65, note 4, cites Gervase of Canterbury, where the passage is as follows: 'Suorum avunculorum omniumque fere nobilium Francie indignationem incurrit, eo scilicet quod suorum spretus consilio, comiti Flandrie soli credebat, et quod per ipsius consilium uxorem de tam humili progenie associare voluerit in reginam.' *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1879–1880), I, 294. Gislebert reports the French nobles' plot of 1184 — which failed — to bring about a divorce between Philip and Elizabeth.

⁶ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, pp. 131–132; *MGH*, SS, xxi, 530: ' . . . tunc tempore comes Flandrie contra regem Francorum rancorem conceperat et rex contra ipsum comitem Quorum discordie . . . vero malum sortite est, sicut in subsequentiis plenius manifestabitur.' Cartellieri devotes all of his Book II, pp. 95–192, to an analysis of the vicissitudes of the conflict. For an excellent monograph on the policy of Baldwin V see L. König, 'Die Politik des Grafen Balduin V von Hennegau,' *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, Académie Royale de Belgique, lxxiv (1905), 195–428.

⁷ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 164; *MGH*, SS, xxi, 540; see also Le Glay, *op. cit.*, I, 264. By naming Baldwin as the guarantor of a truce Philip Augustus aroused the suspicions of Philip of Alsace. Baldwin was astonished: 'Comes autem Hainoniensis ad partes suas reversus totus stupefactus de hiis que sibi referebantur . . .' A coolness had arisen also because Philip of Alsace in 1183 had put a stop to a war between Hainaut and Brabant. König, *loc. cit.*, p. 234.

⁸ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 164, *MGH*, SS, xxi, 541. The dowry included Douai, l'Écluse, Orchies, Lille, Nieppe, Cassel, Fournes, Dixmude, Bergues, and Bourbourg, and — Gislebert says illegally, since they had been allotted to Baldwin — Bruges, Ghent, Pays de Waes, Aalst, Geraumont, Ypres, Courtrai, and Audenarde.

⁹ Original document lost. Terms analyzed in Cartellieri, Book II, 177 ff.

¹⁰ Le Glay, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

¹¹ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 255; *MGH*, SS, 573: ' . . . comes Flandrensis Philippus . . . infirmitate aggravatus decessit in transmarinis partibus in obsidione Acre.' It was this event, Gislebert goes on to report, that caused Philip Augustus' sudden departure for the West. Gislebert himself saved the day for his master, Baldwin of Hainaut: he was in Italy when he heard the rumors of Philip of Alsace's death and of Philip Augustus' plan to hurry home and seize Flanders, Gislebert got word to Baldwin by speedy messenger, and Baldwin was able to forestall Philip Augustus.

¹² See below, note 17.

¹³ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 259; *MGH*, SS, xxi, 574: 'Mathildis autem omne quod poterat malum apud dominum Wilelmum Remensem archiepiscopum, qui pro absentia regis Franciam procurabat et apud alios quoscumque Francie potentes machinabatur contra comitem Hanoniensem.'

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 263, *MGH*, SS, xxi, 576: 'Cum grandis inter Balduinum comitem

Hainoniensem et Margaretam comitissam uxorem eius, iustum Flandrie heredem, et Mathildem comitis Philippi olim coniugem, controversia verteretur, dominus Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus . . . diem constituit . . . ut inter eos . . . vel iudicium vel concordium componeret. Post multas tamen contentiones, cum ipsa Mathildis comitissa totam Flandriam in dotalicio reclamaret, et econtra comes Hanoniensis iudicium requereret, proponens quod dotalicium aliud habere non debebat quam illud quod in nuptiis ei concessum fuerat; tandem inter eos hiuiusmodi pax ordinata est: quod comes Hanoniensis caput Flandrie et comitatum haberet scilicet Brugas, Gandavum, Ipram, Curtacum, Aldenardum, Warsam, Alost, Geralmont, et feoda alia imperii . . . Ipsa autem Mathildis . . . dotalicium sibi in nuptiis traditum, scilicet Duacum, Scusat, Orchias, Insulam, Cassellum, Furnas, Dikemudam, Borborch, Bergas, et mansionem Niepi sibi retinuit.'

¹⁵ The vicissitudes of the county of Namur are well recounted in A. Pinchart, 'Mémoire en réponse à la question d'histoire: Narrer les développements qui, depuis Henri l'Aveugle jusqu'à Philippe-le-Bon, ont préparé la fusion des comtés de Namur et de Hainaut, en discutant leur importance et l'influence qu'ils ont pu exercer sur la civilisation,' *MPSSALH*, 1 série, VIII (1848), 113–188, who relies chiefly on Gislebert, q.v. *passim*. This article hereinafter referred to as Pinchart, *Namur*. See also König, *loc. cit.*, pp. 288 ff.

¹⁶ The varying titles borne by Baldwin the elder at different times are clearly indicated by Gislebert's account of his changing seals, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 262; *MGH*, SS, xxi, 575: 'Hic equidem comes Hanoniensis sepeditus, cum ad principatum Flandrensem pervenisset, qui primo sigillum habuerat a patre suo sibi relictum, cui inscriptio erat: BALDUINI COMITIS HANONIENSIS, ex quo quamplures carte cum privilegiis ab ipso et a patre eius fuerant signatae, postea hoc fracto sigillo pro dignitate Namurensi supercrescente aliud habuit sigillum, cuius inscriptio fuit: BALDUINI MARCHIONIS NAMURCENSIS ET COMITIS HANONIENSIS. Isto sigillo non fracto sed recondito, quo multas eciam cum privilegiis firmaverat cartas, tertium habet sigillum cuius inscriptio fuit: BALDUINI COMITIS FLANDRIE ET HANONIENSIS ET MARCHIONIS NAMURCENSIS, quo multa innovavit et renovavit privilegia. Defuncta autem Margareta eius uxore, cum comitatus Flandrie ad Balduinum filium eius devenisset, sepeditus comes Hanoniensis secundum sigillum suum reassumpsit, cuius inscriptio erat: BALDUINI MARCHIONIS NAMURCENSIS COMITIS HANONIENSIS, et hoc usque ad finem vite sue utebatur, quo multa privilegia confirmavit . . .' For illustrations of these seals (apparently somewhat inaccurate), see O. de Wree [Vredius], *Les Seaux [sic] des Comtes de Flandres*, translated from Latin by L. V. R. (Bruges, 1641), plates 13, 14, 15. Latin edition, *Sigilla Comitum Flandriae* (Bruges, 1639).

¹⁷ Pinchart, *Namur*, p. 146. From then on, the Marquises of Namur were vassals of the Counts of Hainaut, and the Counts of Hainaut held the fief direct from the Holy Roman Empire.

¹⁸ This date established by C. Duvivier, *La Querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre* (Brussels and Paris, 1894), pp. 16–17, especially p. 16, note 2.

¹⁹ Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chapter 8, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1938), I, 10; ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874), p. 6.

²⁰ The charters of Baldwin are registered and summarized in A. Wauters, *Table chronologique des chartes et diplomes imprimés concernant l'histoire de la Belgique*, III (Brussels, 1895), and in the supplementary volumes by Wauters, VII, parts 1 and 2 (Brussels, 1885 and 1889), and by S. Bormans and J. Halkin, XI, part 1 (Brussels, 1907). The texts are printed in a large number of scattered collections. The collection containing the largest number is C. Duvivier, *Actes et documents anciens intéressant la Belgique*, nouvelle série (Brussels, 1903). For references to other collections, see below, notes 51 and following.

²¹ Rigordus, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, *MGH*, SS, xxvi, 293: ' . . . Baldoinus comes Flandrie fecit hominum regi Philippo apud Compennium (Compiègne) . . .' For the relations between Baldwin Philip 1194–1198, see Cartellieri, Book III (1910), 147 ff. Cartellieri does not, however, seem to have noticed this passage from Rigordus. For text of oath see Innocent III's letters: Migne, *PL*, CCXIV, 117 ff., Book I, no. 129; Potthast 153. See Vanderkindere, *Formation territoriale*, pp. 193 ff.; Wauters, *Table*, III, 57.

²² Cartellieri, III, 149, says of Baldwin 'Ein tieferer Einblick in seinen Charakter ist in dieser Zeit nicht zu gewinnen.'

²³ Roger of Hoveden, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series* (London, 1871), IV, 20; Matthew Paris, *Chronica*

Majora, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1874), II, 441. See Wauters, *Table*, III, 70; Cartellieri, III, 164; Vanderkindere, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²⁴ Text of treaty best in Duvivier, *Actes, Nouvelle Série*, p. 263, no. 135. Matthew Paris, *op. cit.*, II, 456, s.a. 1199. Wauters, *Table*, III, 116. De Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur etc.*, I, 328. Cartellieri, IV (1921), 15; Vanderkindere, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

²⁵ Cartellieri, III, 178.

²⁶ The treaty of Péronne has been repeatedly printed. There is a heliotype reproduction in L. De lisle, *Le Premier registre de Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1883), folio 29, *verso*. It is cited here from C. Duvivier, *La Querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre* (Brussels and Paris, 1894) II (*Preuves*), 1, no. 1: 'Philippus . . . nos dimittimus ei Sanctum Audemarum [St Omer] . . . et Aryam [Aire] . . . et feudum comitis Guinarum [Guines] . . . et feudum de Arda [Ardres] et feudum de Lillers et Rikebourg [Richebourg] et Gorgam [La Gorgue] et aliam terram quam advocatus Bethuniensis tenet ultra fossatum versus Flandriam. Et omnia alia de quibus contentio erat inter nos et comitem, scilicet feoda et dominia, remanent nobis . . . Et si contigeret quod Ludovicus, filius noster [later Louis VIII, Elizabeth's son, Baldwin's nephew, Count of Artois] moreretur absque herede de carne sua tota terra quae est de Flandria et Attrebantio [Artois] quae non movet de Viromandia [Vermandois] redibit ad Balduinum . . . Si . . . contingeret Mathildem . . . mori, volumus quod tota terra de dotalicio reveniat ad Balduinum . . .' Wauters, *Table*, III, 126; Cartellieri, IV, 34 ff. Vanderkindere, pp. 196–198, especially p. 196 note 5. Text also in Duvivier, *Actes, Nouvelle Série*, p. 268, no. 138.

²⁷ The king retained Bapaume, Arras, Lens, Boulogne, Saint-Pol, Hesdin, and Béthune. Vanderkindere, p. 197.

²⁸ 'Im Fall des Krieges drohte das Interdikt die Kraft des Königs von Frankreich zu lähmen, und es war deshalb seine wichtigste Aufgabe, Frieden mit England und dessen Bundesgenossen zu schliessen.' Cartellieri, IV, 33.

²⁹ At one stage of the campaign, in August 1197, Baldwin led Philip Augustus into a trap, cut off his retreat, and was on the point of taking him prisoner, and destroying his forces, when Philip sent an embassy to persuade him that, as a peer of France, he could not decently take his king prisoner; and at a personal interview promised to turn over all of Flanders to him. On the advice of his barons, Philip broke this promise as soon as he was safely back in France. Cartellieri, III, 159 ff.

³⁰ Jacques de Guyse, *Annales Hanonienses*, Book XIX, chapter 5, *MGH, SS*, XXX, 1 p. 240; ed. Marquis de Fortia (Paris and Brussels, 1831), XIII, 244–245: 'Hiis temporibus Balduinus . . . a magnis suarum patriarcharum clericis inductus fecit historias a mundi creacione abreviatas usque ad tempora sua sub brevi epilogacione recoligi atque conscribi, et specialiter historias que tangere videbantur patrias atque genealogias a quibus ipse derivari credebatur, de quibus nonnullas in precedentibus huic operi annotari; quas in Gallicano idiomati redigi fecit et que ab ipso Historiae Balduini nuncupabantur.'

³¹ See E. Sackur's introduction to the edition of Jacques de Guyse, *MGH, SS*, XXX, 1, pp. 61 ff., and references there to the learned articles in this controversy.

³² Philip Mouskes, *Chronique Rimée*, verses 24735 f. (cf. the edition by Baron de Reiffenberg, [Brussels, 1836], and that in *MGH, SS*, XXVI): 'Mais ainc li quens, ce set-on bien, / Ne sot laitres qui valust rien, . . .' See quotation from Albert of Stade in note 130 below on Baldwin's (and the false Baldwin's) knowledge of French.

³³ De Reiffenberg's Introduction to the *Chronique Rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, I (Brussels, 1836), exl, reports that, at the court of Boniface of Montferrat, Baldwin composed a verse rebuking a troubadour, Folquet de Romans, for his familiarity, and that the poet replied caustically. Baldwin's verse is quoted by De Reiffenberg. The incident is also reported by K. Hopf, *Bonifaz von Montferrat, der Eroberer von Konstantinopel und der Troubadour Rambaud von Vaqueiras*, ed. L. Streit, Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge, ed. R. Virchow and F. von Holtzendorff, 12 Series (Berlin, 1877), p. 283 (77), with no reference. See also L. Usseglio, *I Marchesi di Monferrato in Italia ed in Oriente*. Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina, CII (Turin, 1926), p. 393. The verses in question are to be found in Ms Vat. 3207 of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; the troubadour was Folquet de Romans, and the proper manuscript reading gives the name of his opponent as the Count of *Blandra*, not Flanders. It seems now to be agreed that the verses, to

which Folquet replied by an angry accusation that their noble author was a coward and traitor, were written not by Baldwin but by the North Italian Count of Biandrate, sometimes called Blandra, who was later deeply involved in the affairs of the Latin Empire, leading a revolt of the Lombard nobles in the Kingdom of Thessalonica against the Emperor Henry in 1208 and 1209. See Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1948), or N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874) as a sequel to his text of Villehardouin, *passim*. For Biandrate see also D. Brader, *Bonifaz von Montferrat bis zum Antritt der Kreuzfahrt* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 201–210. On the verses see A. Pillet and H. Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle, 1933), pp. 132–133, for Folquet de Romans' verse 'Aissi com la clara stella,' and p. 154 for the only known verse of Biandrate 'Pos vezum qu'el tond e pela,' previously attributed wrongly to Baldwin. See also G. Bartoni, *I. Trouvatori d'Italia* (Modena, 1915), pp. 260–261 and pp. 64 ff.; and O. Schultz [Goral], 'Die Lebensverhältnisse der italienischen Troubadours,' *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, VII (1883), 215–216, 232–233.

³⁴ The originals survive in the archives at Mons; the charters have been frequently reprinted, usually in inaccessible places. See Wauters, *Table*, III, 135–136, 695. For early bibliography see L. Devillers, *Inventaire Analytique des Archives des États de Hainaut* (Mons, 1884), I, 1 ff. Here cited from L. Devillers, 'Chartes du Hainaut de l'an 1200,' *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, VII (1867), 448–467; also to be found conveniently in *MGH, SS*, XXI, 619–622, as a supplement to Gislebert. Also in *MPSSALH*, II (1856), xliv ff. Reprinted with a short introduction and with a colotype reproduction of both charters by L. Devillers, *Chartes du comté de Hainaut de l'an 1200*, Publication Extraordinaire du Cercle Archéologique de Mons (Mons, 1898).

³⁵ Hainaut was less urbanized than Flanders, and the feudal lords more powerful and savage. Gislebert, for example (ed. Vanderkindere, p. 97; *MGH, SS*, XXI, 518) reports the heroic measures Baldwin V took against them for their excesses, and Jacques de Guyse (ed. Fortia, XII, 178; *MGH, SS*, XXX, I, p. 222) indicates what these excesses were. Gislebert: 'Balduinus . . . audiens multos in Hanonia fures et latrones commorari, qui de confidentia multorum potentium, ad quos sanguinis linea pertinebant, in malis operibus vivere non dubitabant, illos ubique perquirebat, captosque quos infames percipiebat, quosdam suspendens, alios igne concremans quosdam vero aquis submergens, alios vivos sepieliens, nulli eorum pro magnis parentibus parebat.' Jacques de Guyse: ' . . . quidem milites ac scutiferi in suis confidentes linagis, per patriam Hanonie mercatores peregrinos interficiebant, burgenses et alios divites, quos in campis seu villis interficere, spoliare, aut auferre poterant, clam et aperte predabantur. Aliqui vaccas et boves, aliqui porcos et oves, aliqui equos, vestes, et consimilia, cum pecunias extorquere non poterant, assumebant, et virginis opprimebant.'

³⁶ For a monograph on the council of Hainaut, which in its early pages describes the duties and powers of the *bailli*, but which is chiefly devoted to the later period, see A. Pinchart, 'Histoire du Conseil Souverain de Hainaut,' *Mémoires couronnées et autres mémoires publiées par l'Académie Royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux arts de Belgique*, Collection in 8vo, VII, (1858), pp. vi plus 168 (separate pagination). See now also L. Genicot, 'Le premier siècle de la "curia" de Hainaut (1060 env.—1195),' *Le Moyen Age*, LIII (1947), 39–60.

³⁷ 'Baiulus domini comitis Hainoensis supra omnes alios baiulos sub testimonio hominum domini comitis constitutus iusticiam potest facere de uno homine contra alium et exercere de omnibus rebus tanquam dominus comes. Homines vero domini comitis pro illo iusticiam plenarie debent facere de uno scilicet homine contra alium tamquam pro domino comite. Ipse autem baiulus de possessiōnibus et tenuris et hereditate domini comitis placitare non potest quod comes per illuc iusticiam vel manu tenementum perdere possit, nec potest baiulus aliquem domini comitis hominem trahere in causam vel querelam de tenuris suis vel hereditate eius nisi in presentia domini comitis,' Devillers, *loc. cit.*, p. 455.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 459–467.

³⁹ Ed. Vanderkindere, pp. 106–107; *MGH, SS*, XXI, 520–521.

⁴⁰ 'In qua quidem pace expressum fuit pro homine imperfecto hominem debet interfici, homicidam scilicet; pro membro vero ablato membrum ablatore debere tolli. Hec omnia non per legem sed per veritatem tractanda sunt Fugitivos autem, qui ad institutionem pacis venire et per eam agere noluerint ex presumptione vel timore, illorum proximi de consanguinitate illos abjurare debent . . .' For meaning of 'per legem' and 'per veritatem,' see Vanderkindere's edition, p. 106, note 5.

⁴¹ 'Si autem nobilis aliquis rusticum interficerit aliquem, aut membrum abstulit, dominus comes

in vita vel in membris ei potest indulgere; sed tamen domini comitis pacem habere non potest, nisi de consensu proximorum illius in quem maleficium perpetratum est.'

⁴² 'Multa quidem et alia in pacis hujus institutione fuerunt composita.'

⁴³ Jacques de Guyse, Book xviii, chapter 2, ed. Fortia, xii, 214; *MGH, SS*, xxx, 1, pp. 226–227: 'Iecit Gilbertus, quod iste dominus comes Balduinis statuit et ordinavit pacem et legem Montensem, que dicitur pax Hanoniensis; sed, salva sua reverentia, non est ita, quia eius filius, qui sibi in comitatu successit, eamdem composuit et de communi consensu et voluntate parium ac omnium homagia tenencium patrie perpetuo tenendam stabilivit. Et hoc probo ex eo, quia iste dominus comes, prout inferius patebit obiit anno domini MCC [scribe's error for MCXCV because of MCC appearing in next line] in mense Decembris XV Kal. Ianuarii, et pax Hanoniensis fuit ordinata, facta et proclamat anno domini MCC in mense Augusti, prout patet ex datis ambarum cartarum . . .' Passage quoted and approved by W. Arndt in his edition of Gislebert, in *SRG in usum scholarum* (Hanover, 1869), p. 100, note 1.

⁴⁴ See Vanderkindere's edition, p. 107, note 2.

⁴⁵ See for example, E. Le Glay, *op. cit.*, i, 291; L. A. Warnkoenig, *op. cit.*, i, 212; L. Devillers *Inventaire*, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii ff.; C. de Bettignies, *loc. cit.*, pp. 436 ff.; C. Wins, *loc. cit.*, p. xxiii.

⁴⁶ See above, note 37.

⁴⁷ For a topical discussion (principles, penalties, crimes, procedure) of the provisions of the *forma pacis* and of later local criminal law; and of their relation to Frankish and Roman law, see P. Cattier, 'Evolution du droit pénal germanique en Hainaut jusqu'au XV^e siècle,' *MPSSALH*, 5 série, vii (1894), 1–237.

⁴⁸ The Jerusalemite origin of the latter *Assises de Romania*, written down between 1303 and 1330, is no longer accepted. See G. Recoura, *Les Assises de Romania* (Paris, 1930), pp. 21 ff. and 30 ff.; see, however, J. L. La Monte's review of Recoura in *SPECULUM*, vii (1932), pp. 289–294, and 'Three Questions Concerning the Assizes of Jerusalem,' *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, i (1946), 201–211, especially 208 ff. It seems probable that the *Assises* had little to do with the Latin Empire itself, and derived rather from custom as developed in the Morea. For the period of the Empire, there is so little surviving data on its *consuetudines*, whether written or unwritten, that it is impossible to say whether or not the local charters of Hainaut had any influence. See P. W. Topping, 'The Formation of the Assizes of Romania,' *Byzantium*, xvii (1944–1945), 304–319, and *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, The Law Code of Frankish Greece* (Philadelphia, 1949).

⁴⁹ C. De Bettignies, *loc. cit.*, p. 424.

⁵⁰ See above, note 37. For a study on the institution of the *bailli* in Hainaut, mostly devoted, however, to the later period, see G.-H. Gondry, 'Mémoire historique sur les grands baillis de Hainaut,' *MPSSALH*, 4 série, x (1884), 1–247.

⁵¹ Wauters, *Table*, iii, 120; Warnkoenig, *op. cit.*, i, 342–343: 'Quum ex usura multa et infinita scaturiunt mala, videlicet ecclesiarum destructiones, nobilium et ignobilium principum et magnatum exheredationes, pauperum, pupillorum et viduarum desolations, et quod nemo fetore peccati huiuscemodi peccatoribus conquinato regnum coelorum intrare permittitur . . . pestem istam tam execrabilem, peccatum istud Deo et omnibus sancte eius odibile e finibus terrae et potestatis meae . . . penitus eradicare et extirpare decrevi. Inhibeo itaque . . . ne quis in terra mea pecuniam suam det ad usuram, et qui hoc fecerit inimicus meus erit, et de eo quicquid accidat, me non intromitto . . .'

⁵² Wauters, *Table*, iii, 162; published in the *Comptes Rendus des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 2 série, v (1853), 256.

⁵³ Wauters, *Table*, vii, 1, p. 430; published in L. Devillers, 'Cartulaires des hospices et des fondations de charité de la ville de Mons,' *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, xv (1877–1878), 277.

⁵⁴ Wauters, *Table*, iii, 161, and reference there.

⁵⁵ Bormans-Halkin, Supplement, *Table*, xi, 1, p. 348; Duvivier, *Actes, Nouvelle Série*, p. 321, no. 169.

⁵⁶ Bormans-Halkin, *Table*, xi, 1, pp. 348–349; Duvivier, *Actes*, p. 322, no. 170.

⁵⁷ Bormans-Halkin, *Table*, xi, 1, p. 349; Duvivier, *Actes*, p. 325, no. 172.

⁵⁸ Wauters, *Table*, iii, 170; Bormans-Halkin, *Table*, xi, 1, p. 349.

⁵⁹ Bormans-Halkin, *Table*, xi, 1, p. 349; Duvivier, *Actes*, p. 327, no. 173.

⁶⁰ Wauters, *Table*, III, 161, and references there.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁶² Wauters, *Table*, III, 169–170 and references there; Bormans-Halkin, *Table*, XI, 1, p. 348; Warnkoenig, *op. cit.*, I, 343 (for Ypres); Duvivier, *Actes*, p. 305, no. 161 (for Bruges), and p. 320, no. 168 (for Courtrai).

⁶³ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, pp. 102–103; *MGH*, SS, XXI, 519–520, *s.a.* 1171, the year of Baldwin's birth: ' . . . Philippus comes Flandrie, habitu colloquio et consensu cum illustri comite Campanie Henrico . . . matrimoniorum conventiones cum illo firmavit, ita quidem quod . . . Balduinus . . . Balduini et Margharetae filius parvulus, Mariam, Henrici comitis filiam, tunc puellam, haberet uxorem, cum utriusque ad annos nubiles pervenirent.' *Ibid.*, ed. Vandekindere, p. 192; *MGH*, SS, XXI, 550, *s.a.* 1186: ' . . . Balduinus comitis Hainoniensis filius, etatem habens 13 annorum [He was actually fourteen] Mariam comitis Campanensis sororem [Henry, her father, was dead, and Thibaut, her brother, had succeeded him] accepit uxorem, etatem 12 annorum habentem, apud Castellum Theri.' [Château Thierry]

⁶⁴ Gislebert, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 192; *MGH*, SS, XXI, 550–551: ' . . . vir eius Balduinus, juvenis eciam miles, caste vivendo, spretis omnibus aliis mulieribus, ipsam solam cepit amare amore ferventi, quod in aliquo homine raro invenitur ut soli tantum intendat mulieri et ea sola contentus sit.' Nicetas *Historia* ed. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), p. 790: 'ἡν δὲ . . . δ ἀνὴρ οὐτος εὐλαβής τὰ πρὸς Θέον, καὶ τὴν διαιτὴν ἐγκρατής, γυναικὶ δὲ μηδέ μέχρι βλέμματος προσεσχῆκὼς ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον τῆς οἰκείας γαμετῆς, ἀπεφοίτησεν. . . Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, δἰς εἰχει ἐκατητης ἐβδομάδος τὸν ἑσπέρας ἐπεμβοῶντα μηδένα τῶν οἰκείων ἀρχέων ἐντὸς κατενάξεσθαι μὴ νομίμω γυναικὶ πλησιάζοντα.' Baldwin's affectionate relationship with his wife can be discerned even in the formal language of his charters, where she appears not only as 'dilectam conjugem meam,' 'karisma uxore mea,' 'karissime consortis mee,' and 'ma très chière femme,' but once as 'amantissime uxoris mee.' Duvivier, *Actes, Nouvelle Série*, pp. 220, 250, 329, 332, and 274. See also Philip Mouskes, *Chronique Rimée*, verses 20375–6, ed. de Reiffenberg, II, 305, *MGH*, SS, XXVI, 746: 'Sa feme apriés lui s'en ala, / Ki moult très-durement l'ama.'

⁶⁵ See above, note 19.

⁶⁶ Villehardouin, chapter 317, ed. Faral, II, 124; ed. de Wailly, pp. 186–188; Baldwin of Avesnes, *Chronicon Hainoniense*, *MGH*, SS, XXV, 448.

⁶⁷ Wauters, *Table*, III, 201; VII, 1, p. 440; VII, 2, p. 1456; Bormans-Halkin, *Table*, XI, 1, pp. 352, 355, 356, 357, 360. Many of those most recently discovered are printed in Duvivier, *Actes, Nouvelle Série*.

⁶⁸ The birth-dates of the two children are given variously. But see especially C. Duvivier, *La Querelle des d'Avresnes et des Dampierre* (Brussels, and Paris, 1894), pp. 23–25, hereinafter referred to as Duvivier, *Querelle*. See now also T. Luykx, *Johanna van Constantinopel, Gravin van Vlaanderen en Henegouwen, haar Leven (1199/1200–1249)*, *haar Regeering (1205–1214)*, vooral en Vlaanderen, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren, en Schoone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang VIII, no. 5 (1946), 47–51, hereinafter referred to as Luykx, *Johanna*.

⁶⁹ Philip Mouskes, verses 20381 ff.: 'Ses frères li quens de Namur / L'ot fet de ballie séur. / Ses deux filles ot à garder / Et la tière pour amender,' ed. de Reiffenberg, II, 305; *MGH*, SS, XXVI, 746. Baldwin of Avesnes, *MGH*, SS, XXV, 449; *Annales Egmundani*, *MGH*, SS, XVI, 476; Jacques de Guyse, Book xix, chapter xiii, ed. Fortia, XIII, 285; *MGH*, SS, XX, 1, p. 248.

⁷⁰ Duvivier, *Querelle*, 18–19, and references there; Luykx, *Johanna*, 60 ff.

⁷¹ Wauters. *Table*, VII, 1296, registers a charter in which Baldwin postpones the settlement of a dispute for three years until he shall have returned from the crusade.

⁷² Baldwin of Avesnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 448–449; Villehardouin, chapters 317–318, ed. Faral, II, 124–126; ed. de Wailly, pp. 186–188.

⁷³ Peter Capuano was of an ancient and noble Amalfitan family, Counts of Prata, and should not be called Peter of Capua, as is frequently done. See E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel* (Homburg v.d. Höhe, 1905), p. 51, note 3; P. Riant, 'Innocent III, Philippe de Souabie, et Boniface de Montferrat,' *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XVII (1875), 335, note 6; and especially M. Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell' antica città e ducato di Amalfi* (Salerno, 1876), I, 90 (note 1), 383 ff., 665.

⁷⁴ Wauters, *Table*, III, 251, registers two letters to Innocent III. In the first, which appears in the *Gesta Innocentii* (Migne, *PL*, ccxiv, col. cli ff.) Peter Capuano himself reports (col. clvii) 'Dum vero reversus est Accon dominus cardinalis, institut nobis comitissa Flandriae, qui ad venerat, et alii peregrini, ut iterum non cessaremus laborare pro jam dicta pace.' In the other, from King Leo of Armenia complaining of the treatment he has received, printed in O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Lucca, 1747), I, 218–219, s.a. 1205: '... ibique simul ambobus Cardinalibus, Rege . . . illustri [King Amaury II of Jerusalem] comitissa Flandriae . . . et magistris Templi et Hospitalarii, et nobilibus peregrinis, qui aderant convenientibus communis deliberationi firmiter statutum est, sicut per litteras ipsorum cardinalium cognoveritis, ut quaecumque partem subterfugeret stare judicio ipsorum Cardinalium. . . .' This meeting, which Marie took a leading part in organizing, is discussed in R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), II, 708; the letters are also registered in his *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck, 1893), numbers 794 and 798, pp. 211 and 213.

⁷⁵ Alberic Trium Fontium, *MGH*, SS, xxiii, 884: '... ubi cum esset in Acra princeps Antiochie ad eam venit, et ei vice mariti sui tanquam imperatrici Constantinopolitane homagium fecit.'

⁷⁶ J. L. LaMonte, 'To what extent was the Byzantine Empire the suzerain of the Latin Crusading States,' *Byzantium*, VII (1932), 254: 'If we can credit the statement of Alberic de Tres Fontains [*sic!*] the recognition of Imperial suzerainty even survived the fourth crusade and was renewed by Bohemond V to the wife of the Latin Emperor Baldwin of Namur-Flanders in 1204.' (Of course Baldwin was never of Namur, and there is no such thing as Namur-Flanders.)

⁷⁷ Migne, *MPL*, ccxvi, 792, Book xvi, no. 7; Potthast 4685; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 863, p. 232, dated 15–22 March, 1213, to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. 'Verum cum praedictum comitem [Count of Tripoli, a title also borne by Bohemond V of Antioch, who is here referred to] convenisset ut . . . nostram ad justitiam se offerret, respondit se Antiochiam ab imperatore Constantinopolitano tenere, nec sibi videri tutum aut justum ut de ipsa conventus in alterius quam ejusdem domini sui judicio responderet. Addidit etiam ipsum imperatorem hanc a nobis indulgentiam impetrasse ut deinceps comitem non cogeremus eumdem de Antiochia sub ecclesiastico judge litigare.' This pretext that Antioch was a fief of Constantinople, and that Constantinople had secured exemption from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Innocent goes on to qualify as nonsense: 'Illud quod praefatus comes Tripolitanus nos imperatori Constantinopolitano asserit induluisse, non dubites penitus esse falsum; et quod dicit se non teneri de Antiochia et principatu ejus ecclesiasticum subire judicum, reputes omnino frivolum et inane.' See also Röhricht, *Königreich*, p. 715, and note 2, where he accepts Alberic.

⁷⁸ Villehardouin, chapter 318, ed. Faral, II, 126; ed. de Wailly, p. 186; Philip Mouskes, *Chronique Rimée*, verses 20377–20378, Baldwin of Avesnes, *op. cit.*, p. 448; Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 884; Sigibert, *Continuatio Bergensis*, *MGH*, SS, VI, 438.

⁷⁹ C. Du Cange, *Histoire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français*, ed. Buchon [Paris 1896], I, 43, note 3. Jacques de Guyse, Book XIX, chapter 20, ed. Fortia, XII, 314; *MGH*, SS, XXX, 1, p. 244: 'Qui [Baldwin] in Santa Sophia fecit corpus solemniter inhumari.'

⁸⁰ L. Galesloot, 'Cinq chartes inédits de l'empereur de Constantinople,' *Compte rendu de la Commission Royale d'Histoire ou recueil de ses bulletins*, 4 série, III (1876), 139–154. Baldwin separately notified Innocent III, Philip Augustus and his son, later Louis VIII, the chancellor of Flanders and other Flemish dignitaries, and all those who might see the document, of the transfer. He calls himself 'fidelissimus in Christo imperator, a Deo coronatus, Romanie moderator et semper Augustus, Flandrie et Hanonie comes,' and each document is dated 'in palacio nostro de Blakerne,' the celebrated Blacherneae of the Byzantines. The fief in question had belonged to Robert de Sperlac, a Flemish noble, who resigned it into Baldwin's hands, whereupon Baldwin conferred it upon Walter of Courtrai, 'dilecto et fidei clero nostro, et heredibus et pro heredibus suis in perpetuum.' See below, note 82.

⁸¹ C. Duvivier, *Actes, Nouvelle Série*, p. 351, no. 192: '... Noveritis quod, a tempore coronationis nostre . . . sigillum nostrum antiquum, quod litteris istis appendet viribus carere decrevimus; et si quid a tempore jam dicto fuerit aliquid inde sigillatum, quod non credimus, omnino falsum irritum judicamus et vacuum.'

⁸² Wauters, *Table*, III, p. 242; A. Miraeus, *Opera Diplomatica et Historica* (2d. ed., Louvain, 1723), II, 1207; see also Wauters, VII, 1, p. 447, where other measures are taken by Baldwin for this church, and p. 449, where Innocent III himself, in February 1206, intervened to see that Baldwin's promises were carried out. In 1209 we find Philip of Namur establishing a new prebend in the church, in execu-

tion of instructions given by Baldwin. Wauters, VII, 1, p. 465. On 6 April 1210 Innocent confirmed the church's 'redevance en avoine' given by Baldwin. *Ibid.*, p. 470; also in 1210, Philip founded four more canon's prebends, *ibid.*, pp. 472–473. All these and other documents are published in full in C. Mussely and E. Molitor, *Cartulaire de l'ancienne église collégiale de Notre Dame de Courtrai* (Ghent, 1880) of which numbers 21, 22, 23, and 24 (pp. 22–27) are dated from Constantinople. No. 21 is still another account of the transfer of the fief from Robert de Sperlac to Walter of Courtrai (see above, note 80), addressed to Baldwin's uncle Gerard, *prevôt* of Bruges, William of St Omer, Gilbert de Lille, and his other *baillis* of Flanders. It gives a fuller and more interesting account of the ceremony at Constantinople by which the transfer was effected than do any of the others. Moreover, the witnesses are divided into two groups: 'homines mei de Flandria' (knights whose names are unknown in the later history of the Latin Empire, and who presumably never held land there but returned to the west), and 'homines nostri de Romania,' including Canon de Béthune, Geoffrey Marshal of Champagne (Villehardouin), Milo de Brabant, and Manassier de Lille, all distinguished in the crusade and in the later history of the Latin Empire.

⁸³ For the background of relations between the papacy, the Vlach-Bulgarian state, and the Latin Empire see my article 'The "Second Bulgarian Empire": Its Origin and History to 1204,' *SPECULUM*, xxiv (1949), 167–206. Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chapters 360–361, ed. de Wailly (Paris, 1872), pp. 212–214; ed. Faral (Paris, 1939), II, 168–170: '... l'empereres Baudoins fu pris vis. ...' Nicetas, ed. Bonn, 814: 'ὁ δὲ Βαλδουΐνος χειροθεατὴ καὶ σωρόπλαστης τοῦ Μυστραί τάγματα, κάκεύθεν εἰς Τέρνοβον κομισθεὶς εἰργτῇ παραδίδοται καὶ δέσμῳ τῶν τραχήλων ὑψοταταῖ.' Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 106: '... que on ne sait onques que il devint. ...' *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), Société de l'histoire de France, p. 384: '... li Blac et li Comain ... occisent tous ceus de le compagnie l'empereur et lui avec. ...' Innocent's letters, Migne, *PL*, ccxv, col. 705–706, Book VIII, nos. 129, 130; Potthast 2569–2570; A. Theiner, *Vetora Monuments Slavorum Meridionalium* (Rome, 1863), I, p. 42, no. 64; E. de Hurmuzaki and N. Densusianu, *Documente privitive la Istoria Românilor* (Bucharest 1887), I, p. 54, no. 38.

⁸⁴ Villehardouin, chapters 439–441, ed. de Wailly, 262–264; ed. Faral, II, 252–256. Henry's letter conveniently in G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, zweite Abtheilung, *Diplomataria et Acta* (Vienna, 1856), XIII, p. 37, no. 166. This letter reports on the difficulties initially raised by the Venetians to Henry's coronation.

⁸⁵ Nicetas, 847 f. For a picture of the tower at Tirnovo, still called 'Baldwin's tower,' see K. Shkor pil, 'Plan na starata Bûlgarska Stolitsa Veliko-Tûrnovo,' *Izvestiya na Bûlgarskoto Archeologichesko Druzhestvo*, I (1910), 138.

⁸⁶ Migne, *PL*, ccxlv, col. 148, no. 108: '... dictum autem imperatorem ad consilium suum et mandatum summi pontificis liberare non poterat, quia debitum carnis exsolverat cum carcere tenetur.'

⁸⁷ *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903), I, 22. For Krum and Nicephorus see Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), I, 491. Cf also Herodotus IV, 65.

⁸⁸ Alberic, *op. cit.*, *MGH*, SS, XXIII, 885.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, same page. P. d'Oultremain, *Constantinopolis Belgica* (Tournai, 1643), takes over Alberic's version; but Archbishop John of Mitylene and the monk Albert now appear as members of a commission sent out to Bulgaria by Jeanne to investigate her father's death after she had hanged the false Baldwin in 1225. This alleged commission's chief source proves to be the Burgundian lady innkeeper, who tells the inquirers (pp. 368–372) the story of Baldwin's death as it appears in Alberic. D'Oultremain, however, includes what purport to be actual conversations between Baldwin and Ioanitsa's wife. He is at great pains to authenticate his story, and denounces all who say either that Baldwin was killed in battle or that he escaped. His version seems to reflect the effort of the Flemish court to clear Jeanne of any suspicion of parricide.

⁹⁰ Conon de Béthune, hero of the Crusade, twice *bailli* of the Latin Empire during interregna, and distinguished poet. Cf. Villehardouin and Henri de Valenciennes *passim*; A. Wallensköld, *Chansons de Conon de Béthune* (Helsingfors, 1891), with fuller biographical introduction than the later edition (Paris, 1924). See note 82 above. See also documents in Tafel and Thomas, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁹¹ Ernoul, *op. cit.*, pp. 389–390.

⁹² There is a somewhat naive and romantic work in her defense, the early work of the distinguished historian E. Le Glay, *Histoire de Jeanne de Constantinople, Comtesse de Flandre et de Hainaut* (Lille, 1841). See now Luykx, *Johanna*, for a full and on the whole workmanlike biography, which was not available during the preparation of this article. Luykx is, however, lamentably ignorant of affairs in the East and of the standard sources and secondary authorities for the Latin Empire. Thus, he makes the ludicrous mistake (pp. 69–70, 222–223, and elsewhere) of interpreting Ioannitsa's French nickname 'Jean li Blac' (John the Vlach) to mean John the Black, and actually calls him 'Jan de Zwarde.' He ignores not only the Greek sources but even the *Gesta Innocentii*.

⁹³ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 22; II (*Preuves*), 4, no. II: 'Et nos juvabit contra omnes homines . . . preterquam contra Balduinum comitem, fratrem ejus, imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, si forte rediret in comitatu Flandriae.'

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 23.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 29.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 30; text II, 7.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 25 ff. Duvivier calls Philip of Namur 'un mauvais gardien, un tuteur malhonnête et infidèle,' although he admits the danger of passing a moral judgment. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 201, however, remarks: 'La conduite de Philippe de Namur lui a été reprochée comme un crime par tous les historiens Belges et il est certain qu'elle eût pour les Pays-Bas ses conséquences désastreuses. Elle s'explique pourtant très naturellement par les conjonctures du moment et par les idées de l'époque. L'eût-il voulu, le régent n'avait aucun moyen de résister à la volonté du roi de France . . . Il agit tout simplement en prince féodal, enfermé dans le cercle étroit de ses intérêts dynastiques et territoriaux, incapable de prévoir l'avenir et de s'élever à une conception politique supérieure, moins encore à une conception nationale.' Cf. Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 71–78.

⁹⁸ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 31–32.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 32–34; II, 8–11, original text of agreement between Philip Augustus and Enguerrand de Coucy.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 33 and note 2. Mouskes, verses 20779–20780 (ed. de Reiffenberg, II, 320; *MGH*, SS, xxvi, 747). Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 78–83.

¹⁰¹ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 35.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, I, 36–37. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *MGH*, SS, xxiii, 896, following Caesarius of Heisterbach, says that Philip asked to be dragged through the streets like a dog: ' . . . quis quidam dicebant quod neptes suas vendiderat, super isto facto plurimum dolebat. Huic comiti Philippo antequam moreretur tantam in infirmitate suo contritionem Dominus contulit — quia laqueum collo suo iniiceret rogaretque confessores suos, ut se traherent in platea, dicens: Sicut canis vixi, dignum est ut sicut canis moriar.' For an examination of Philip's charters see Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 83–91.

¹⁰³ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 36–37; II, 17–18: ' . . . hac interposita condicione quod sororem meam Yolendem comitissam Antisiodorensem, de jure suo salvando in terra Namurensi . . . bene securam facient satisdicti comes et comitissa.'

¹⁰⁴ Pinchart, *Namur*, pp. 153 ff. An act of 1216 mentions the donation of Namur to the younger Philip, which took place between June and November 1216. A. Miraeus, *Opera Diplomatica et Historica* (2d. ed., Louvain, 1723), I, 300: 'Ego Jolensis, comitissa Antisidorensis et Marchionissa Namurensis notum facio universis praesentibus et futuris quo cum terram meam Namurensem, cum integritate feudi dedissem Philippo filio meo in proprietate. . . .' Registered in Wauters, *Table*, III, 460.

¹⁰⁵ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 35–36; II, 14–15, text: 'Noverint universi . . . quod Ferrandus comes Flandriae et Johana comitissa . . . nobis . . . quittant in perpetuum villas Sancti Audomari et Arie . . . et alia feoda et domania que carissimus dominus et genitor noster tenuit ratione maritagi matris nostre, sicut carta comitis Balduini patris dicta Johanne comitisse, quondam imperatoris Constantinopolitani, facta Perone testatur.' For the foregoing, see Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 92–97.

¹⁰⁶ The discontent of the great Flemish nobles with the Portuguese marriage and its attendant increase in the influence of France in Flemish affairs is probably accurately reflected in the fourteenth-century romance of Baldwin. There, the author makes the 'lord of Tournai' turn scornfully on Jeanne, and say: ' "Dame, . . . vous nous avez laydement servis: car vostre mari est serf de roy de France et s'en vanta le roy en nostre presence a Paris. . . . Or est ainsi que nul serf ne peult tenir plain pié de terre que son siegneur n'aist, si lui plaist. . . . Dame, prenes vostre serf, qu'il soit maudit de Dieu et

vous en alles en Portugal où sont les serves gens: car jamais serf n'aura sur les Flamans aucune mestrise et veuillies bien sçavoir que si Ferrant est encore XV jours par desçā, nous lui ferons coupper la teste'.' *Le Livre de Baudoyen Conte de Flandre*, ed. C. P. Serrure and A. Voisin (Brussels, 1836), pp. 65–66.

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed account of Flemish foreign policy during this period, see Pabst, 'Die äussere Politik der Grafschaft Flandern unter Ferrand von Portugal,' *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, Académie Royale de Belgique, LXXX (1911), 51–214; see also Cartellieri, IV (Berlin, 1921 and 1922), 237 ff., 276 ff., 303 ff., 349, and 363–398, for an excellent treatment.

¹⁰⁸ With the more important aspects of this famous battle, one of the most crucial of the Middle Ages, we have nothing to do here. It may suffice to refer to A. Hadengue, *Bouvines, Victoire Célèbre* (Paris, 1935) with an introduction by General Weygand, and to A. Cartellieri, *Die Schlacht bei Bouvines im Rahmen der europäischen Politik* (Leipzig, 1914), and *Philip August König von Frankreich*, IV, 433–502, which supply full bibliographies. For the foregoing cf. Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 98–126. For the consequences of Bouvines see G. Doudelez, 'Les résultats de la bataille de Bouvines et l'exécution du Traité de Melun par le Flandre,' *Revue des Questions Historiques*, CXXVIII (1937), January, pp. 7–27, March, pp. 22–62.

¹⁰⁹ E. Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II* (Leipzig, 1889), I, 402, suggests that the future Louis VIII hoped, by keeping Ferrand in prison, to ensure Jeanne's childlessness, and so to create for himself a legitimate claim to Flanders as the son of Baldwin's elder sister Elizabeth. Other scholars have suggested that Jeanne was insincere and purposely ineffectual in her efforts to produce Ferrand's release because she was the mistress of the pro-French Flemish lord, Arnoul d'Audenarde, who had been captured at Bouvines but immediately released. The only support in the sources for this specific allegation is apparently the statement of the *Annales Stadenses*, *MGH*, SS, XVI, 358, that she was said to be 'too intimate' ('cui comitissa dicebatur familiaritatem nimiam exhibere') with Arnoul. Certainly there are abundant references to favors which she rendered him; she obtained, for example, an exemption for his castle from the agreement she made with Louis VIII in June 1225 at Bapaume by the terms of which she promised to destroy all her other frontier defenses (Wauters, *Table*, III, 639). During the episode of the false Baldwin, she relied heavily upon Arnoul, who remained loyal to her, despite his initial conviction that the claimant was genuine. He presided over the court of peers of Flanders which finally condemned the impostor. (See below, notes 132 — where Mouskes says Arnoul was 'moult ses amis' 136, and 163.) Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 153 ff.

¹¹⁰ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 65; Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 129 ff.

¹¹¹ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, chapter II, especially 50–52, 57–59, 62–63; II, 18–19, where Jeanne and Ferrand empower a commission of nobles to decide 'quod Dominus Bossardus de Avennis habere debeat sive in Flandria sive in Hanonia, pro hereditate vel excancis uxoris sue. . . .' Here Jeanne (3 April 1214) admits that Margaret is Bourchard's wife, which she was to deny within the next few months. For what follows see also Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 199–211.

¹¹² Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 38 ff., 66 ff.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 68–71; bulls of Innocent and Honorius printed II, 23 and 25.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 75–76.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 74–75, 81–83.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 84, note 2. Mouskes, verses 23301 f.: 'Li rois d'Acre et li emperere / Prièrent pour lui, com de frère.' The 'rois d'Acre' was John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, later Emperor of Constantinople.

¹¹⁷ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 73–74; 74, note 1. Mouskes, verses 23221–4 and 23233–4: 'Tant qu'il en prist apriés l jor / Robiers d'Auçoirre en I estour / Qui puis ot et tint comme sire / de Costantinoble l'empire / . . . Mestre Robiers fu délivres / Qu'il n'i douna ne mars ne livres. . . .'

¹¹⁸ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 86 ff.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 87–89; II, 35, letter of Honorius III ordering an inquiry into the marriage.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 90, and note 2.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 91 ff. Mouskes says of Margaret (verses 23290 ff.): 'Si prist Guillaume de Dampiere; / Mais el en fu partot blasmée, / Quar Boucarts l'avoit moult amée.'

¹²² The episode of the false Baldwin naturally aroused much interest among contemporary observers, and the sources are numerous and full, although contradictory and mostly biased one way or the

other. By far the fullest contemporary account is the rhymed chronicle of Philip Mouskes, markedly hostile to the impostor, which may well reflect the official position of the court. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, Baudouin of Ninové, the Anchin continuation of Sigebert, Renier of Liège, William of Ardres, and the fourth continuation of the *Chronica Regia* of Cologne are all first-rank sources, whose short accounts differ in many details, but none of which believes that injustice was done the impostor in the end. Albert of Stade, the Franciscan, is doubtful as to the impostor's genuineness; the chronicler of St Martin of Tours appears convinced that the false Baldwin was really the missing emperor, and presents his account in a way hostile to Jeanne. These sources are apparently independent of each other. All are to be found in the *MGH, SS* as cited below. Of less value, and mostly derivative, but occasionally interesting for details, are the *Annales Florentienses*, the Anonymous (or the Menéstrel) of Reims, the *Additamentum* to the second continuation of Robert of Auxerre, Baldwin of Avesnes, the Annals of St Medard of Soissons, and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, all cited below from the editions in the *MGH, SS*. Not cited because they add nothing of value are the Chronicle of the Minorite of Erfurt (*MGH, SS*, xxiv, 197), and the *Annales Blandinenses* (*MGH, SS*, v, 30). In a different category are the English sources, the Annals of Southwark and Matthew Paris (the Annals of Dunstable appear to follow continental sources), which are a mixture of fantasy and reflections of English official policy. They accept without question the genuineness of the false Baldwin, and denounce Jeanne as a parricide. I have also used, though sparingly, the fourteenth-century Franciscan Jacques de Guyse; he is known to preserve much material from earlier sources now lost, but pushes the members of his order into the center of the stage more than would seem warranted by the accounts of the contemporary sources. In the citation of sources in the notes which follow, I have starred those passages or words that shed light on the social character of the movement in favor of the false Baldwin: it seems to have begun as a plot among a small group of nobles, but to have developed into a major revolt of the lower classes.

There is also a large secondary literature, much of which is purely romantic, and some of which is cast in dramatic or fictional form, e.g., J. de Saint Génois, *Le Faux Baudouin* (2 vols., Brussels, 1840), which I have not seen. A. Cahour, *Baudouin de Constantinople: Chronique de Belgique et de France en 1225* (Paris, 1850) is still the only full-length scholarly study of the affair, and is in some respects surprisingly good, though it includes much irrelevant and misleading material from late sources. The author sides with Jeanne. He overemphasizes the role of the Franciscans, because he depends so heavily on Jacques de Guyse. E. Le Glay, *Histoire de Jeanne de Constantinople* (Lille, 1841), pp. 79–96, and *Histoire des comtes de Flandre* (Lille, 1886), i, 352–362, is a somewhat uncritical partisan of Jeanne; the first work contains one or two original documents which are useful. L. de Rosny, *Notice du XIV^e ou XV^e siècle sur Bertrand de Rains* (Paris, n.d., but some time during the late 1830's) publishes the text of a late source, and declares his belief that it proves the imposture, though it is in fact of little value. J. de Merssemen, 'Examen critique de l'histoire de Jeanne de Constantinople publiée par M. Edouard Le Glay,' *Annales de la Société d'émulation pour l'histoire et les antiquités de la Flandre occidentale*, iii (Bruges, 1841), 411–425, criticizes Le Glay severely; and, in the last two parts of a five-part article, 'Étude historique sur Jeanne de Constantinople,' in the same number of the same periodical (pp. 15–54 and 329–396) concludes, after an ingenious but unconvincing argument, that there was no imposture: the false Baldwin was genuine, and Jeanne, beset by overweening ambition, hanged her father, and was later overcome by remorse. This position had also been taken by J. C. L. S. de Sismondi, *Histoire des Français* (Paris, 1823), vi, 560 ff., who relied only on sources opposed to Jeanne. His declaration of her guilt evoked two convincing replies from patriotic Belgian scholars, anxious to prove that the false Baldwin was an impostor, and, incidentally having the weight of the sources on their side: E. Gachet, 'Bertrand de Rains 1225,' and Lebon, 'Notice sur Baudouin et Jeanne de Constantinople,' both in the *Revue du Nord*, iv (Lille, 1835), 164–175 and 327–339, respectively. Unfortunately, Gachet's article is sparsely documented, and he has been accused of inventing the sources for some of his assertions. For example, he maintains (p. 169) that King Louis VIII did not believe that the false Baldwin deserved to be executed — an assertion which he does not document, and which has been doubted, but which is to be found in Alberic (see below, note 161). L. Warnkoenig, *Histoire de Flandre* (Brussels, 1835), i, 236–240, summarizes the story.

Much of this relatively early scholarship on the subject has been neglected by more recent students, who would have done well to pay attention to it. Despite their propensity for colorful and romantic

phraseology and nationalist bombast, these early investigators on both sides of the question for the most part stuck closely to the sources, although they frequently did not discriminate sufficiently between early and reliable and late, fanciful, or biased accounts. Of the materials so far cited, however, the only work at all defensible by modern standards is Cahour's.

K. de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre* (Bruges, 1874), I, 236–241, gives an account of the chief events, with no references to sources and with no interpretation. E. Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II* (Leipzig, 1889), I, 401–409, astonishingly enough makes no use of Philip Mouskes, the chief source, and tells the story from the other sources in such a way as to give the impostor the benefit of every doubt. He errs (p. 404) in saying that Jeanne and Margaret were present at the inquisition at Péronne (30 May 1225), and is willing to believe that the false Baldwin's inability to answer questions on that occasion was due to nervousness and willfulness. Winkelmann concludes that there is a distinct possibility that the impostor was genuine. C. Petit-Dutallis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII, 1187–1226* (Paris, 1894), pp. 396–399, gives an excellent short summary, concluding (p. 399 and note 1) that the problem is really insoluble and remarking on the difficulty of a 'question où les contemporains eux-mêmes avaient renoncé à voir clair.' G. Smets, *Henri I Duc de Brabant 1190–1235* (Brussels, 1908), pp. 177–181, also summarizes the story with a critical note on the sources (p. 177, note 4) in which he suggests that Philip Mouskes, although preserving the fullest account, 'ait un peu brodé.' Pabst, 'Die äussere Politik der Grafschaft Flandern,' *loc. cit.*, pp. 177–180, occupies himself only with those aspects of the affair concerning foreign policy, especially French-Flemish relations. G. Dept, *Les influences anglaise et française dans le comté de Flandre au début de XIII^e siècle* (Ghent and Paris, 1928), pp. 148–155, goes over the ground again, and remarks (p. 149, note 4): 'Cette histoire du Faux-Baudouin est encore à écrire . . . Il faut avant toute chose passer à une critique très serrée des sources. . . La meilleure source est incontestablement celle de Mousket.' Briefer comment may be found in Pirenne, *op. cit.*, pp. 355–356, and in F. L. Ganshof's chapter 'Vlaanderen en Brabant in den Tijd van de grootste Fransche Machtsuitbreking in de Nederland,' *Geschiedenis van Vlaanderen* (Amsterdam, 1937), II, 27. See also the articles in *Biographie Nationale, publiée par l'Académie Royale de Belgique*: K. de Lettenhove, 'Bertrand de Rays,' II (1868), col. 337–341; and A. Wauters, 'Jeanne, dite de Constantinople,' X (1888–1889), col. 447–452. See also G. Doudelez, *loc. cit.* (note 108 above), pp. 34–38. The article by L. Schmitt, 'Der falsche Balduin von Flandern,' *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, XLV (1893), 247–257, 363–372, and 482–495, unknown to the above-listed scholars, is in some ways the best study yet made. The matter of the false Baldwin is one on which even Usseglio founders. He refers (*op. cit.*, p. 258, continuation of p. 257, note 1) to Jeanne of Constantinople, Countess of Flanders, as Baldwin's son, John! See now a special chapter in Luykx, *Johanna*, pp. 212–239.

I have reserved to the end of this note a discussion of three seventeenth-century treatments of the episode. C. Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français*, ed. Buchon (Paris, 1826), I, 190–193, is brief, but, as usual, based on a critical approach to all the sources known to him. More important, however, chiefly because some modern scholars have used them as if they were sources, are the almost purely fanciful versions of the d'Oultremans. H. d'Oultreman, *Histoire de la ville et comté de Valenciennes* (Douai, 1639), despite the fact that he had access to documents on the trial of the false Baldwin later destroyed in the siege of Valenciennes in 1646 (see Lebon, *loc. cit.*, p. 338, note 7), gives credence to all sorts of romantic accretions to the legend of the false Baldwin. His son, the Jesuit P. d'Oultreman, *Constantinopolis Belgica* (Tournai, 1648), pp. 385–394, also has an altogether unreliable chapter on the incident. See note 89 above.

¹²³ This story is not told before Jacques de Guyse, *Annales*, ed. Fortia, XIV, 306 ff.; *MGH, SS*, XXX, 1, pp. 284 ff. I have much condensed it.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, ed. Fortia, XIV, 340; *MGH, SS*, XXX, 1, p. 290: 'Rumor magnus per totam patriam perinde convolavit, inde ab illo tunc incooperunt nobiles et clerici ermitoria fratrum frequentare, et quos idiotas et abjectos, simplices et pauperes et derelictos aestimabant, postmodum tanquam omne veneratione dignos, vero christicolas, fidei athletas . . . deinceps reputarunt.' See also Fortia, XIV, 408; *MGH, SS*, XXX, 1, p. 300: ' . . . unde plures duces, comites, barones, milites, et scutiferi sub habito eremitico mendicantes a multis recogniti sunt.'

¹²⁵ Mouskes, verses 24481 ff.: 'Qu'à Valenciennes ot l home / Qui moult d'avoir, n'en sai la some, / Douna, et d'arière et d'avant, / A mainte gent, par contravant, / Quant li quens Bauduins venroit / En Flandres et sire en seroit, / Qui Constantinoible ot jà prise.'

¹²⁶ Jacques de Guyse, ed. Fortia, xiv, 2 ff.; *MGH, SS, xxx, 1*, pp. 258 ff., reports the great grief in Flanders at the news of Baldwin's death in 1206, the growth of the rumor that he was still alive, and the use of Henry's letter by Philip of Namur to calm the agitation: 'Obitu igitur divulgato . . . in immensum omnes in lamentum et fletum luctum et dolorem prorupuerunt. . . . Paucis evolutis mensibus . . . volaverunt rumores per totam Flandriam quod Balduinus imperator vivebat et quod manus Saracenorum evaserat, et quod in brevi ad Flandriam aveniret. Unde multi sexus utriusque agitabantur; nescientes cui credere, ambiguī efficiebantur; in tantum excrevit illorum opinio ut rex Franciae et Philippus Namurcensis, Imperatoris frater, cogerentur comunitatibus Flandriae atque Hannoniae litteras eis ostendere de morte Balduini atque suorum, quas Henricus ejus frater, qui successerat sibi in imperio Constantinopolitano, ipsis transmisera, mortem dicti Balduini continentis.'

¹²⁷ Jacques de Guyse, ed. Fortia, xiv, 40 ff.; *MGH, SS, xxx, 1*, p. 300: 'Casu veniens in oppido Mauritaniae (Mortaigne), afficit miles quidam imbutus rumoribus generalibus, quod videlicet eremita noviter supervenientes erant de societate illorum nobilium qui cum domino Balduino imperatore recesserant. Suam applicuit phantasiam ad dictum eremitum, imposuit sibi quod vir nobilis erat. Ille vero negabat omnino affirmans se simplicem rudem, et ignotum peccatorem et pauperum fore. Miles vero oppositum cunctis affirmabat, et quanto plus eremita se excusavit, tanto acrius miles oppositionem affirmabat.'

¹²⁸ Mouskes, verses 24536 ff.: 'Tout droit al entrer d'un quaresme / . . . En l'an del incarnation / Mil et XXV et II cens, / . . . Droit entre Mortagne et Tournai . . . / Avint que el bos de Glançon . . . / Vint convierser uns pénéans / Auques pécière et mescréans, / Par l'avissance et par sanblant, / Mais il aloit les cuers emblant / De çaus ki l'aloient véoir / . . . Par parole et par contenance / Preudom sambloit estre à sanblance. . . .'

¹²⁹ Mouskes, verses 24607 ff.: 'Renoumée, c'on dist nouviele / Ki plus tot vole qu'arondiele, / Et as lointains et as voisins / Dist que c'iert li quens Bauduins. / Li quens de Namur i parla, / Mesire Boucars i ala, / S'i fu li kastelains-Radous. / Partout fu quens nommés de tos, / Mais il n'i vot respondre à rien, / Fors c'en l'apieloit Crestiien. / Pour ses péciés iert venus là, / . . . Ainc disoit bien que rois ne dus / Ne quens n'iert-il, n'onques ne fu. / Tant qu'à lui sont el bos venu / Cil de Valenciènes apriés, / Et moult estoit cascuns engrisés / Qu'il desist k'il estoit lor sire. / Mais il le notoit bien et sire, / Et disoient que Breton estoient / Ki Artu encore atendoient.' Jacques de Guyse, ed. Fortia, xv, 410; *MGH, SS, xxx, 1*, p. 300: 'Latuit fere ista opinio per integrum annum antequam diffunderetur. Multiplicabatur siquidem latenter in cordes multorum, quod ille magnus extiterat miles, et frequentebatur a multis *tam nobilibus quam ignobilibus. Acceserunt ad eum Hannonienses multi . . . similiter a Flandrensisbus frequentebatur. . . . Tandem affuerunt qui petierunt dicentes: "Scimus et experimentaliter perpendimus vos fore nobilem, nec denegare potestis." . . . Et dum sibi multos proponerent nobiles et ignobiles et immotus persitisset, tandem proposuerunt et imposuerunt quod ipse erat Balduinus, Flandriae comes. Tunc ipse et colorem gestus et modum transmutavit, jurejurando et anathematizando . . . quod non erat.'

¹³⁰ Mouskes, verses 24634 ff.: 'Ensi fu jusqu'al blanc diwès [white Sunday, the last before Easter] / De Valenciènes i revinrent / Grans gens, et à conte le tinrent. / A Valenciènes l'ont mené, / et il leur a dit et grāé, / Pour çou qu'il aloit goulousant / Tel signourie, en doulousant / Qu'il estoit quens. Lor si ot joie / Si grant, que dire n'el poroie. / A fonteniele fu bagniés / Lavés, tondus et roégnés / Et acesmē l'ont comme conte. / . . . "Signor, fait il, à tierme court / Venra Mahiu de Wallaincort / Et si venra Grehès de Trit, . . . / Et autre assés dont or me tais." / Lors s'i ot joie. Sans délays / Cil de Reumont et de Kiévreng' (follows a list of nobles who came to see the false Baldwin, including Bouchard d'Avesnes). For the efforts made to gain the support of the lower classes, see verses 24741 ff.: '*Povre gent, telier et foulon / Estoient si privet coulon. / Et li mellour et li plus gros / En oreint partot mauvais los. / Et disoient la povre gent / Qu'il en oreint or et argent, / Et k'il le conte traïsoient, / Et emperéour l'apieloient.' Alberic, *MGH, SS, xxiii*, p. 915: ' . . . ecce in cena Domini huius anni (Thursday, 27 March) quidam pseudopropheta, qui videbatur quasi penitens et heremita . . . a quibusdam persuasus, imo quasi compulsus, Valentinas venit, *Theoderico abbati Sancti Iohannis de Valencianis et abbati Sancti Vedasti Atrebatesi et quibusdam burgensibus et militibus maxime nobilibus et religiosis se manifestavit, cicatrices lateris, manuum et pedum et capitis ostendit, ita quod illis qui primo comitis Balduini familiares extiterant per multa intersigna imperatorem Balduinum se esse persuasit.' The words 'a quibusdam persuasus imo quasi compulsus,' if put together with

the story told by Jacques de Guyse, above, note 129, are the best evidence that the whole affair was a plot. Baldwin of Ninové, *Chronicon*, *MGH*, SS, xxv, p. 541, says of the false Baldwin: ‘...fretus consilio et auxilio burgensium *Valencensium et quorundam nobilium Haynonie....’ Chronicle of St Martin of Tours, *MGH*, SS, xxvi, p. 470: ‘Erat autem sermone facundus, dictis facetus, armis strenuus, donis largissimus et plus quam dici debeat in militari negotio circumspectus. Quem videntes, quam plurimi multaque signa comitis Balduni quasi in eo deprehendentur, multa etiam gesta et dicta praefati comitis necnon et intersigna ab eo audientes et ea veraciter cognoscentes, eum quasi dominum receperunt....’ Achin continuation of Sigebert, *MGH*, SS, vi, p. 487: ‘Hoc anno in quadragesima venit quidam ignotus, et tamquam heremita habitavit in foresta de Glanchon iuxta Mortaigne; et tandem revelavit quibusdam, quod ipse erat Balduinus, comes Flandrie et Hainoie et imperator Constantinopolitanus. Quo auditio *quidam nobiles crediderunt verbis ipsius, duxerunt eum Valenchenas cum honore, et eum ibi ornatum, sicut decebat imperatorem et comitem duxerunt per Flandriam.’ Chronicle of William of Ardres, *MGH*, SS, xxiv, p. 765: ‘Anno domini 1225 quidam in terra Hanonie nove fraudis inventor apparuit, qui, dicens se esse Balduinum quondam comitem Flandriae, postea imperatorem Constantinopolitanum et regem Tessalonice (Baldwin was never King of Thessalonica; the first to hold this title was Boniface of Montferrat) cum hoc quibusdam simulationis signis et indiciis instanter assereret, quam *plures plebeie manus et quidam nobiles necnon et viros religiosos suis assertionibus fidem compulit habere.’ Annals of Renier of Liège, *MGH*, SS, xvi, 679: ‘Quidam pseudoheremita ... fingens et dicens se esse comitem Balduinum qui quondam comes Flandrie et Hainoie, postea imperator Constantinopolitanus a Iohane le Blac captus et occisus creditur, in pasca cum sumptuoso apparatu Valentinis tanquam dominus suscipitur....’ Annals of Albert of Stade, *MGH*, SS, xvi, 358: ‘Venit quidam in Flandriam, qui se asseruit esse comitem eiusdem provinciae Baldewinum, qui ante paucos annos cum peregrinis Constantinopolim profectus, ad imperiale culmen ibidem fuerat coronatus. Qui quis simillimus comiti Baldewino fuit, vel potius quia ipse fuit Flamingi receperunt eum de civitate, multis eum muneribus honorantes. Cicatrices in corpore habuit, quas habuerat Baldewinus, eandemque formam corporis nisi quod anteriori forma quasi ad dimidium pedem brevior habebatur, quod sui fautores senio ascripserunt. Situs villarum et civitatum non bene cognoscere videbatur, et in lingua Gallica, quam egregie antea noverat, aliquantulum oberrabat. Nic mirum, quia inter Graecos et Saracenos, qui eum captivaverant, si ipse fuit, diu commorans, nobilitatem Gallici ydiomatis oblivioni poterat tradidisse. Sed Baldwinus comes, imperator Constantinopolitanus, a Conrado episcopo Halberstadense, qui postea Cistercensem ordinem intravit, et a quibusdam aliis, qui tunc Constantinopoli fuerunt, cum Baldewinus imperator Grecorum contra Saracenos conflictum habuit, dicebatur verissime interfectus....’¹³¹ Multi barones pro eo senserunt, et plurimi dissenserunt.’ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis Cont.* IV, ed. G. Waitz, *SRG* (Hanover, 1880), p. 255: ‘Eodem anno, quidam heremitic habitu induitus a Flandrenibus et Hanaugiensibus propter similitudinem vultus putatus est fuisse comes ipsorum Balduinus, qui ante multos annos Constantinopolitanum adeptus imperium in Grecia perierat, sicut docet historia, et ab ipsis ad honorem comicie rapitur.’ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, Liber xxx, ch. 127, *MGH*, SS, xxiv, 837: ‘Multi favent ei de Flandria, *nobiles et ignobiles.’ The Minstrel of Reims, though a late and biased source, is worth quoting also, for his reminiscence of the nobles’ plot: *MGH*, SS, xxvi, 541: ‘Puis avint une merveilleuse aventure en Flandres, que aucun grant seigneur de Flandres traîrièrent grant traison par envie envers la contesse Johanne de Flandres; et pourchacièrent un vieillard et le mirent en un habitacle comme renclus ... et là fu un grant temps. Et li faisoient entendant, que il le feroient conte de Flandre.... il feroient entendant au peuple qu'il estoit li cuens Baudouins....’ ‘Et iestes eschapeiz de la prison Vatage [of course Baldwin was never in a prison of Vatage — John Dukas Vatatzes who did not succeed to the throne in Nicaea until 1222; this shows the lateness and unreliability of this account] et venistes en ceste forest pour faire vostre penitence.’ Et li ensiegnement comment il responderoit a ceus qui li demanderoient de son affaire.’

¹³¹ Mouskes, verses 24671 ff.: ‘Et dissoit k'il ert escapés / De prison ù fu atrapés, / Et tant ot esté mesprisiés, / C'on li ot les ortaux brisiés, / ... Et dist qu'il ert VII fois vendus / Et alouwés et despendus.’ Albert of Stade, *Annales*, *MGH*, SS, xvi, 358: ‘Iste autem se retulit mortis periculum evassisse et a Saracenis postea captivatum. Tandem se asseruit absolutum, et quod post absolutionem ad papam venerit, confessus, quia inter infideles infideliter vixerit, et ideo papa sibi septennem poenitentiam inuinxerit, affirmans, eandem poenitentiam tunc expletam.’

¹³² Mouskes, verses 24660 ff.: ‘La contesse comme sa fille / A noumée, et s’i envoia. / Ernous d’Audenarde estoit là / Viers la contesse l’a tramis / Quar il estoit moult ses amis / . . . Et mesire Ernous l’a créu . . . / Que c’iert li quens en verités.’ Albert of Stade says that Jeanne herself saw the hermit, but this seems most improbable at this stage. *MGH, SS, xvi*, 358: ‘Venit primo Valentiam et comitissa Flandriae, quae filia eius debuit, ibidem ad eum accessit, eoque viso dubitavit, utrum patrem eum cognosceret nec ne, et ab eo recessit.

¹³³ Mouskes, verses 24749 ff.: Jacques de Guyse, ed. *Fortia*, xiv, 336; *MGH, SS, xxx*, 1, p. 290.

¹³⁴ Mouskes, verses 24757 ff.: ‘Et mestre Watiers de Courtrai / L’ala véoir, di fi le sai. / Ses clers avoit été lonctans, / Mais del connoistre fu doutans. / Et Bauduins, ki ses qens fu, / Le vit, si ne l’a connéu. / [for Walter of Courtrai see above, note 80] Et mainte ki jusques en la fin / Furent al conte Bauduin / Et si privet familiier / Clerc, siergant, vilain, escuier, / Et dames vielles et jolies, / Qui furent aveec lui nories; / Mais tot li virent si encoistre / Que ne la parent reconnoistre, / Et *li bobiert et li vilain / Disent que c’iert li quens à plain. / Et, ki bien voroit dire voir, / Il ne faisoient pas savoir / C’on doit amer sor toute rien / Son droit signour, tant di-jou bien. / Et cil n’iert pas si connéus / Qu’il deust iestre recéus.’ Compare also Baldwin of Avesnes, *MGH, SS, xxv*, 455: ‘La comtesse Jehane . . . i envoia pluisours chevaliers et autres gens qui bien le deussent connoistre com ci qu avoient esté de l’hostel et de la maisné l’empereur Baudouin. Auchins en i avoit qui cuiderent certainement que che fust il, et pluisour qui disoient le contraire.’ Cf. Jacques de Guyse, ed. *Fortia*, xiv, 336; *MGH, SS, xxx*, 1, p. 290.

¹³⁵ Jacques de Guyse, ed. *Fortia*, xiv, 378, *MGH, SS, xxx*, 1, p. 290.

¹³⁶ Mouskes, verses 24699 ff.: ‘Puis manda-elle à tous pour bien / C’on cel home ne crést rien. / Mon signour Ernoul anoiā / Qui fu décius, s’el renoia, / Quai ne en bras ne en faiture / N’iert-il pas quens, n’en estature.’ Details of the warfare, verses 24790 ff., where Jeanne in her rage is likened to a wounded bear (24812) ‘com ourse biésée’, and the castles she burned are listed. Mouskes maintains (24803 ff.) that she would have been happier than anyone else, had her father really come home. Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 916: ‘. . . in hac dissensione maxima pars terre destructa est et multa facta sunt mala, dum alii partem istius, alii partem comitisse defenderent.’ Annals of Renier of Liège, *MGH, SS, xvi*, 679: ‘Inde contenciones et lites, incendia et rapine, et homicidia et inimicicie mortales suscitantur.’ Annals of St Medard of Soissons, *MGH, SS, xxvi*, 521: ‘. . . resistentes et contradicentes tam ipsos quam terra illorum tam ferro quam igne vastando.’

¹³⁷ Anonymous of Reims, *MGH, SS, xxvi*, 542: ‘. . . et ot si pou d’espace de fuit, que il la convint meter sur un soumier et fuir en voies à Mons en Hainaut et là fu elle à garison.’

¹³⁸ Chronicle of St Martin of Tours, *MGH, SS, xxvi*, 470: ‘. . . filiamque comitis Baldoini, Flandrie comitissam, quam diu exosam habuerant, ab omni fere comitatu Flandrie protinus eiecerunt. . . . Tunc Flandrie comitissa iam comitatu quasi perduto desolata, regem Ludovicum adiit, multum deprecans, multa spondens, ut ei suum restitueret comitatum.’ Chronicle of William of Ardres, *MGH, SS, xxiv*, 764: ‘. . . et Iohane comitisse iam a comitatu fere destituta et aliorum nobilium, qui ei adhærebat querimonia. . . .’

¹³⁹ Published in Le Glay, *Jeanne*, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–170, and Rymer, *Foedera*, 1, 177. ‘Audivimus quod . . . a captivitate liberati in terram vestram venistis; ubi confluentes ad vos homines vestri vos in dominium receperunt, ut decebat. Laetati sumus gaudio magno, optantes et volentes ut eadem foederis obligatio qua confoederati fuisse noscuntur antecessores vestri nobiscum, mutuo vinculo foederatos, quod et vos ex parte vestra velitis. . . .’

¹⁴⁰ Mouskes, verses 24844 ff.: ‘Si r’ot Baudouin et Jehan, / Les II fius Boucart, je sai bien, / Par Gillebert de Sotengien. / Cousins et neveus les clama, / Et, par sanblant, moult les ama; / Et Boucars l’iert venus siervir, / Pour ses enfans r’avoir et vir.’ See Duvivier, *Querelle*, 1, 93–94.

¹⁴¹ Mouskes, verses 24947 ff.: ‘Le duc de Louveng ot mandé / Et s’al Waleran amené [Duke of Limbourg]; Annals of Renier of Liège, *op. cit.*, p. 679; ‘Dux Lovaniensis ei favet, et publice et privatim foveat.’ Annals of Albert of Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 358: ‘Dux Brabantiae doluit [at the hermit’s exposure as an impostor]. Ille enim cum eo venerat, nec permittebatur intrare [to the inquiry at Péronne] quia eum comitem esse Balduinum certo certius asserebat.’

¹⁴² Registered in C. Petit-Dutailis, *op. cit.*, Catalogue des Actes de Louis VIII, Appendix VI, p. 483, number 248. Printed conveniently in *Gesta Ludovici VIII Francorum Regis*, Bouquet, *Recueil*, xvii, 308: ‘Ego Johanna . . . omnibus notum facio quod juravi . . . Ludovico . . . quod expensas et

costa quae faciet in guerra quam habeo contra homines meos qui adhaerent illi qui se facit comitem Balduinum . . . reddam ei sicut conventiones subsequentes declarant. . . .¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Mouskes, verses 24911 ff.: ‘Et li rois. . . . / pour véoir li giu, / Fist la contesse de Bel-giu, / S’antan, aler à cel iermite, / Et moult bielement li endite . . . / Et frère et conte l’apiela / Et reubes et guiaus en prist. / Mais de frère rien n’i aprist; / Ne connoistre ne ravisir / N’el pot, tant séuist deviser. . . . / Mais fos estoit de contenance / Et en parler et en sanblance. / La dame de Bel-giu . . . / Triuwes i prist par convenant / Que, sauf alant et sauf venant, / Trairoit al roi, sen droit signor / Et de lui recevroit s’ounour / C’iert ses oncles et il ses nièrs / . . . A quinsaine fu li jors mis / A Piéronne par leur amis.’ Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 915: ‘. . . per regem Ludovicum apud Peronam Veromandie tertio Kalendas Iunii evocatus est ad colloquium . . .’ Achin continuation of Sigebert, *MGH, SS*, vi, 437: ‘Ludovicus . . . diem ei apud Peronam assignavit, ut cognosceret eum, qui dicebat se esse avunculum regis . . . et ut faceret ei debitum homagium de comitatu Flandrensi, si esset comes Flandriae, veniendo et redeundo secure.’ Chronicle of William of Ardres, *op. cit.*, p. 764: ‘. . . Ludovicus . . . citavit hunc ausum, talia mandans, ut ei apud Peronam die certa occurreret, volens quisnam esset certius edoceri.’ Annals of Renier of Liège, *op. cit.*, p. 579: ‘Ludovicus . . . ad discutiendum tantae temeritatis insolenciam episcopo [of Liège] et baronibus Flandriae at Hainau et falso imperatori parlamentum indicit apud Peronam Viromandie, 8 Kalendas Iunii. Statuto loco cum rege convenienti de Francia, de Flandria, de Hainau, archiepiscopi, episcopi, et barones cum plebibus.’¹⁴⁴ Annals of Albert of Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 358: ‘Rex tandem Franciae volens examinare virum, ipsum Peronam venire facit, siquidem avunculus eius esse debuit.’ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis Cont. IV*, *op. cit.*, p. 255: ‘. . . a rege Francia Ludovico apud Peronam castellum Viromandie examinatur. . . .’

¹⁴⁴ Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 915: ‘. . . duobus fere mensibus regnavit. . . . coronam in die pentecostis tulit, decem novos milites creavit, novas cartas sigillavit et feoda divisit. . . .’ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis Cont. IV*, *op. cit.*, p. 255: ‘Qui per duos menses magnam partem terre occupans. . . .’

¹⁴⁵ Mouskes, verses 24949 ff.: ‘Et d’empéreour et de conte / Ot fait saiile à fause monte.’ Annals of Albert of Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 358: ‘Sed ipse se imperatorem Constantinopolitanum et comitem Flandriae appellavit, habens sigillum eodem titulo innotatum.’ Cf. Cahour, *op. cit.*, p. 183. No acts of the false Baldwin are listed in Wauters, *Table*, III and VII, or in Bormans-Halkin, *Supplément*, XI; and apparently none survives. It is of considerable interest that part of the original popular belief that Baldwin had not died arose from skepticism as to the genuineness of the seal used by the Latin Emperor Henry on his letter to the King of France and the Count Philip of Namur, announcing the death. Jacques de Guyse, ed. Fortia, XIV, 4; *MGH, SS*, XXX, 1, p. 254: ‘Sed litteras audientes et sigilla litterarum videntes, multi eorum dicebant hujus litteras fore subrepticias et confictas.’ This suspicion may well have arisen because of insufficient familiarity with the new Constantinopolitan seals which Baldwin had adopted, abandoning his old seals as Count of Flanders and Hainaut. See above, notes 16 and 81. For the seals of the Latin Emperors see now G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l’orient latin* (Paris, 1943), pp. 165 ff.

¹⁴⁶ Mouskes, 24823 ff. and 25319: ‘Crois fist porter devant sa face, / Pour çou c’on d’ounor li face / Et banière d’emperéour / Et de conte par grant fiéroux.’ ‘Et viestoient dras d’escrulates.’ Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 915: ‘. . . crucem ante se ferri quasi imperator fecit. . . .’ William of Ardres, *MGH, SS*, XXIV, p. 754: ‘Qui in tanta presumptione elatus est audaciam, ut vexillis preeuntibus trine dignitatis (see note 130 above: Count of Flanders, Emperor of Constantinople, King of Thessalonica) se dominum mentiretur.’ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis, Cont. IV*, p. 255: ‘. . . ornatu imperiali purpuratus, precedente se cruce, sicut mos est imperatoribus Constantinopolim. . . .’

¹⁴⁷ Mouskes, verses 24851 ff.: ‘Or vint en Flandres li paumiers / Qui n’en fu nie coustumiers. / Si Dieux fust en tière venus, / Ne fust-il pas mious recéus / D’abés, de moines et de clers, / . . . Rices présens li aportoient. . . .’ 24860 and 24909–24910 deal with Tournai; see also Cahour, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Baldwin of Ninové, *MGH, SS*, XXV, p. 541: ‘cum exercitu et armis perambulavit Haynoniam et Flandriam, et pervenit Gandavorum (Ghent), ubi honorifice receptus, et per totam Flandriam, le tantibus omnibus et quasi festum agentibus, circuibat, existimantibus universis se verum dominum et patrem patrie recepisse.’ Achin continuation of Sigebert, *MGH, SS*, vi, 437: ‘. . . eum . . . duxerunt per Flandriam; et multi Flandrenses fecerunt ei homagium sicut comiti, et tandem intravit Insulam (Lille) cum maximo comitatu et apparatu.’ Chronicle of William of Ardres, *op. cit.*, p. 764: ‘Unde factum est ut ipsum pene tota Flandria et Hanonia suum dominum certatim acclamarent, et ei cum

magnō laudis preconio in obviam euntes, sue ditioni se suaque votis omnibus subdiderunt.'

¹⁴⁸ Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 915: '... qui (Louis VIII) dixit ei in prima salutatione: *Domine si estis avunculus meus, ut dicatis, bene veneritis.*' Mouskes, verses 24960–24961: 'Et li rois là moult doucement / A raisniet; ...' Anonymous of Reims, *op. cit.*, p. 542: 'Quant li rois l'entendi, si issu hors de sa chambre et li vint a l'encontre et li dist: "Sire, bien soieez vous venuz, se vous iestes mes oncles li cuens Baudouins, qui devez estre empereres de Constantinople et rois de Salenique et cuens de Flandres et de Hainaut." "Biau nies," dist il "vous aiez bonne aventure de Dieu et de sa douce mere! Vraiment suisje ce et tout ce deveroie je estre, se on me faisoient droit. Mais ma fille me veut deseritier, ne me veust connoistre a pere. Si vous proi, biaus nies, que vous me veuillez aidier mon droit a gardeir".'

¹⁴⁹ Mouskes, verses 24961 ff.: '... se li demanda / U c'iert que sa femme espousa, / Et il ne l'en sot dire voir. / Puis li demanda, par savoir, / U li rois Felipes fait l'ot / Cevalier, et dire n'el sot. / Et puis li demanda, sans plait, / U il li ot homage fait; / De ces III riens ne sot-il une, / Et s'est une cose commune, / Ne point ne l'estevoit crémir; / Ainc disoit k'il voloit dormir / Et diner, et puis revenroit / Et sa demande li diroit. / Li rois li dist: "Vous dormirés / Dedens ma cambre, et disnerés." / Quar il ne vot q'allors allast. / Pour gou qu' autres ni li nommast.' Alberic, *op. cit.*, pp. 915–916: 'Itaque super quibusdam interrogatus et examinatus, quasi mente alienatus seu indignatus respondere noluit, minimo non potuit, inducias tantummodo usque post suam dormitionem requirendo et suorum consilium.' Baldwin of Ninové, *op. cit.*, p. 541: 'Tandem vero vocatus ad colloquium a Ludovico rege Francie apud Peronam, et ad interrogata, ut dicitur, male respondens, ab eodem rege reprobatus est.' Chronicle of St Martin of Tours, *op. cit.*, p. 470: '... a rege et ab aliis de multis rebus inquiritur, sed ... respondere coram omnibus designatur.' Achin continuation of Sigebert, *MGH, SS*, vi, 437: 'Tandem veniens per horam, et audacter apparens coram rege Ludovico et consilio eius, in palacio ipsius regis, multis interrogantibus, examinatus est, sed certitudinem nullam respondit. Unde pluribus argumentis est convictus, quod dolore ageret et per omnia mentiretur, et ita recessit cum pudore. . . .' Chronicle of William of Ardres, *op. cit.*, pp. 764–765: 'Quo cum pervenisset et super quibusdam questionibus regis satis notis obstupesceret. . . .' Annals of Renier of Liége, *op. cit.*, p. 679: 'Ibi multipharie multisque modis requisitus comes putativus Balduinus de sua proprietate nichil certi, nichil probabile potuit assignare.' Annals of Albert of Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 358: 'Et inter cetera dum ab eo quaereret ubi characterem militiae assumpsisset vel ubi uxorem duxisset, nescivit regem expedire. Sed sui fautores dixerunt quod terrore mortis anxius nescierit responderem.' *Chronica Regia Coloniensis, Cont. IV*, *op. cit.*, p. 255 '... ubi detecta eius fallacia a rege. . . .'

¹⁵⁰ Mouskes, verses 24984 ff., 25099 ff. (not quoted below), 25254 ff.: 'Atant li abés de l'Aumosne / Fu huciés, si l'a connéu, / . . . Qu'il l'ot en la foriest d'Argonne / Véut pénant, s'en ot la gonne . . . / Et le vesques d'Orliens ausi / L'a bien reconnéut ensi, / Qu'il s'avoit fait conte de Blois, / Par son barat et par genglois. / Le vesques de Biauvais atant / L'a reconnéut maintenant, / Quar il l'orent en leur prison.' 'S'ot à non Biertrans de Rais; / Et s'ot à non Biertrans li Clos. / Pour ses dis et pour ses boins cos, / N'ot tel gilleur jusqu'à Bordiele. / Ses père ot non Pière Cordiele; / S'iert om Monsignor Clarembaut / De Capes, ki moult set et vaut. / Et cil Clarembaus moult l'aimoit, / Pour gou que bons gillièr estoit; / Qu'il ert souvent com penéans / Par hiermitages abitans, / Et là prist-il une froideure / Qui fu trençans et aspre et dure, / Si perdi les ortaus des piés, / Qu'il disait c'on li ot brissiés.'

¹⁵¹ Mouskes, verses 25004 ff.: 'Et li rois l'a lues congéé, / Si l'a de sa tière bani.' Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 916: 'Unde rex eundem cum neque a nepotibus [perhaps means Louis VIII himself among others; can hardly mean the young d'Avesnes], neque ab episcopo Leodiensi [Liége] Hugone cognosceretur, a regno sub interminatione compulit exire.' The attitude of the bishop of Liége, Hugh Pierrepont, suzerain of the county of Hainaut, was naturally important. He would have nothing to do with the false Baldwin, remaining loyal to Jeanne. Cf. Annals of Renier of Liége, *op. cit.*, p. 679: '... set a comitissa, quam filiam suam dicebat, et domino Leodiensi episcopo, quem se per episcopum promovisse iactabat, nullatenus adnoscitur, et a multis baronibus ei contradicuntur.' See also Cahour, *op. cit.*, p. 224, for a late tradition about the bishop's favorite soothsayer, a Cistercian monk. For the bishop see below, note 156.

¹⁵² Mouskes, verses 25008 and 25015 ff.: 'A Valenciennes vint par nuit.' 'Mais Valencenois s'ont turkié; / Sont leur iermite rehucié / Et autre fois rasséuré / Mais à enuis l'ont enduré. / Le *rice bourgeois qui le sorent, / Prendre le vorent, si ne parent, / Quar la menue gens s'escrie. / A St Jehan en

l'abéie / L'ont mis et les enfans Boucart / . . . Ne pot Boucarts ses fius r'avoir.' Achin continuation of Sigebert, *op. cit.*, p. 487: 'Eodem autem die, quo licentiatus est a rege, tam de die quam nocte Valencenas venit, unde furtim et latenter affugavit.' William of Ardres, *op. cit.*, p. 765: . . . cum magno dedecore Valencenis excipitur; *vulgi tamen adeptus benivolentiam et ipsius protectus auxilio, ibidem per dies aliquot moram fecit.' Albert of Stade, *op. cit.*: 'Tum ab omnibus est desertus. . . . Rediit iterum Valentiam, paucis eum comitantibus.'

¹⁵³ Mouskes, verses 25012 f.: 'Li rois s'en ala viers Paris. / Si a moult de la gille ris.'

¹⁵⁴ Mouskes, verses 25026 ff., 25051 ff., 25086 ff.: 'Despozé furent li juré; / Sire fisent jurés noviaus / Ce fu outrages et reviaus. / Et si ont commugne jurée, / Ne sau comment ele ert durée; / Et si ont bien lors murs houndés, / Et de nouvel fais et fondés. / *Les rices ont pris et raiens; / Ce ne fut pas raisons ne biens.' [This comment shows Mouskes' own position in the controversy.] ' . . . Et la contesse a pris conseil / D'aus aségier fist apparel / Ses provost Watier de Foriest; / . . . Quinzaine demora ensi; . . . ' Dementrues si ont à défois / Valencenois mis lor païs; / Prendent vaces, pors et brebis / Garni se sont, si ot hustin / Souvent al vespre et al matin, / Et gent ocise et prisons prise, / Si fu la vile de grant pris / Tous ensi attendant la bée, / Ont la tière entour aus reubée.' Chronicle of St Martin of Tours, *op. cit.*, p. 471: 'Ipse vero apud Valentianas rediens, a multis suorum deseritur. Et post infra dictum castrum a quibusdam militibus capitur et tenetur, *sed a plebe protinus liberatur. Fit ubique per Flandriam hostilis vastatio. Nam comitissa cum armorum multitudine villas peregrat et predatur, civesque infinitis nummorum exactioribus aggravat, et nobiles, qui contra eam fuerant, exulatur.'

¹⁵⁵ Mouskes, verses 25058 ff.: 'Mais li hiermites s'en issi / Par nuit, sans perde et sans ahan' / O lui l'abet de St Jehan / . . . Vers Coulougne s'est adrécies.' Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 916: 'Hic igitur cum multis de terra exiens ad paulatim de die in diem omnes preter duos aut tres a se dimittens, Coloniā venit. . . .' Baldwin of Ninové, *op. cit.*, p. 541: ' . . . et paulatim a suit derelictus, fugam iniit. . . .' Renier of Liège, *op. cit.*, p. 679: 'Inde cum legitimo conducto regressus Valencenis, deinde cum duobus conversis Villariensis Iohanne et Balduino in habitu mercatoria progressus usque Spiram, non comparuit.'

¹⁵⁶ Albert of Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 358: 'Postea venit Coloniā ad Engelbertum archiepiscopum, auxilium rogaturus. Sed Leodiensis episcopus, qui hominis scit differentiam, videlicet utrum comes esset nec ne, graviter eum et saepius suis litteris infestaverit, truncanum eum et ribaldum appellans. . . . Rogavit ergo archiepiscopum ut Leodiensem vocaret. Vocatus venit, missam de concilio celebravit. Ante perceptionem corporis et sanguinis Domini accessit ad eum archiepiscopus, a viro provocatus, et sic dixit: *Adiuro te, frater episcope, per ministerium corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi, quod percepturus es in continentia, si veritatem dixeris ad salvationem, si mendacium ad damnationem, ut dicas michi, quis ille sit quem tu dicis truncannum et ribaldum in Flandria advenisse, et qui se ipsum comitem nominat et Baldevinum.* Episcopus stupefactus respondit: *Comes Flandriae Baldevinus est.* Tunc archiepiscopus viro consuluit, ut Romam iret, querimoniam ad papam deferret, promittens ei, quod si in pace rediret eum procul dubio adiuvareret. Proficiscitur, multorum testimonia praelatorum Flandriae secum defrens et baronum.'

¹⁵⁷ Mouskes, verses 25071 ff.: 'Et quant on avant le conta, / Li faus ermites ki douta, / Pour l'arcevesque se tapi, / Quar il n'ot bourdon ne espi; / A son abé dist simplement / Que il iroit à parlement. / Les clés des coffres li douna, / Mais avant cop tous les vuida, / Qu'il vot aler outre le Rin . . . / De sa gent qu'il ot asanblée / S'est parti la nuit à emblée / Et quant li abbés vuis trova / Les cofres, à fol se prouva / Or i paru sa boine fois.'

¹⁵⁸ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis, Cont. IV*, *op. cit.*, p. 255: ' . . . parte tamen suorum sibi adherente, proficiscitur versus Coloniā, dicens se auxilium querere ab Engilberto archiepiscopo, qui tunc regni Teutonici gubernacula tenebat. Ubi se furtim substrahens a suorum consorcio solivagus fugit, archiepiscopo numquam viso.'

¹⁵⁹ Mouskes, verses 25243 ff.: 'Entretant vint une noviele, / A la contesse forment biele, / Qui pris estoit le baretère, / Li faus cuens, li faus empereure. / Mesire Erars de Cassenai / L'avoit retenut par assai, / A Rouges-mons en I ostel. . . .' Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 916: ' . . . et per Teuthoniam transiens, uno solo clero comite contentus, quasi Romam iturus, in Burgundiam Bisuntinensi dioecesi militibus occurrens, per Clarenbaldum de Cappis capitur et adductus apud castrum de Cachenay custodie mancipatur.' The words 'quasi Roman iturus' seem to lend verisimilitude to the statement of Albert of

Stade that Engelbert told the hermit to go to Rome and appeal. Chronicle of St Martin of Tours, *op. cit.*, p. 471: 'Tunc ille qui se Baldoineum Flandrie comitem asserebat, sub specie mercatoris per Burgundiam fugiens a milite quodam captus. . . .' Renier of Liége, *op. cit.*, p. 679: 'Postmodum a domino Clarembaldo de . . . (lacuna) . . . comprehensus.' *Chronica Regis Coloniensis, Cont. IV*, *op. cit.* p. 255: 'Postmodum in Burgundia agnitus et detentus. . . .' Annals of St Medard of Soissons: 'Qui postea in Campania, unde oriundus erat, per manus Erardi militis domini de Chaistenai captus et iterum in Flandriam reductus. . . .'

¹⁶⁰ Mouskes, verses 25137 ff.: 'Et la contesse, ki quidoit / Ses hommes ratraire à son droit, / Des Valencenois docement / Fist commencer I parlement. / S'ont li Valencenois eslius / XII hommes, trestous à lor kius, / Et si ont juré k'il tenroient / Cou que cil XII leur diroient. / *Cevaliers IIII et VIII bourgois / I tramisent à biaus conrois. / A Hainon-Kesnoit asamblèrent / Et d'un et del assés parlerènt. / Cil de Valenciennes, à ciertes, / Et leur damages et leur pertes / A la contesse demandèrent, / Et en apriès se devisèrent, / Que leur *kemugne fust estable / Qu'il orent prisen del déable. . . . Mais la contesse et ses consaus / Respondi tot briément à aus / Qu'à sa mierci entirement / Seroient, u jà autrement / N'auraient pais à li nul jour, / Ne concordance ne amour; / Qu'il avoient Flandres honnie / Et tout Hainnau par leur folie. / Mais Valencenois disent bien / Ce ne feroient-il pour rien, / Quar il auroient leur signor / Tout près a leur besoing grignor. / Atant s'en partent d'anbes pars. / Si fu li parlement espars. / . . . En Valenciennes s'en rentrèrent, / Et pur desfendre s'aprestèrent. . . . La contesse ot par tot mandée / Sa gent, et pour aus aségier; / . . . *Li vilains en reprover dist; / Tant grata chièvre que mal gist. / Del faus tenans qu'il atendoient. . . . / N'avoient confort ne mesage: / . . . Et tout si com cou fust havos, / Prendoit et reuboit le pais / De caus que sa dame ot hais. / . . . Si avint que fait fu ensi / Que descaue [barefoot] vinrent à mierci / Li VII^{xx} houme [Council of 70] et li jure / . . . Pour cou que sa pités les sauve; / Et si fu la pais devisée / Et otrié et confermée.' Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 916: 'Interim comitissa Flandrie, auxiliis copiose aggregatus, Valencianas et alia castra seu villas munitas, in quibus ille regnaverat, ad deditioinem coegit et redemptiōnem.' For the finances of Jeanne see Doudelez, *loc. cit.* (note 108 above), pp. 37 ff.

¹⁶¹ Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 916: 'Dēhinc. . . captivus de voluntate regis traditur comitisse, ipso rege dicente, quod pro omnibus que fecerat non eum reum mortis est iudicabat.' Mouskes, verses 25273 ff.: 'Quant ariestés fu li truans, / La contesse en fu trop joāns; / Et puis fist tant c'on li livra / Celui ki sa gent envira.' For a picturesque but unreliable account of the capture and trial, see Anonymous of Reims, *op. cit.*, pp. 542–543.

¹⁶² Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 916: 'Tandem cum aliquamdiu reservatus est, ut aliiquid per confessionem audirent, ab ore eius detecta est machinatio eius.' Baldwin of Ninové, *op. cit.*, p. 541: ' . . . Iohanne comitisse presentatur, a qua per aliquot tempus detentus in vinculis, et coram omnibus comitem Balduinum se non esse confessus. . . .' Chronicle of St Martin of Tours, *op. cit.*, p. 471: 'Cumque Flandrie comitissa, detento in carcere dicto comite Baldoine, recuperare Flandrie comitatum cordaque Flandrenium minime potuisset. . . illum nec confessum de crimine nec convictum. . . Ipse vero manens in eodem proposito se esse Balduinum comitem Flandrie seque iniuste detentum a filia semper dixit.' Cf. Annals of St Medard of Soissons, *op. cit.*

¹⁶³ Mouskes, verses 25281 ff.: 'S'el fist sour I ronci troter, / Haut escourcié pour le croter, / Pour moustrar les piés sans ortaus / . . . Amenés fu jusqes à Lille, / Loiiés, sans nule autre mierci, / Les piés par desous le ronci, / Et s'ot descouverte la tieste, / Quant plus plenière fu la fieste, / Et fu mis en I pellori, / Si qu'el virent si alori / Et par les mains et par le col; / A guise de faus et de fol, / S'ot d'apriès lui une barboire, / Com diable cornu et noire; (a mask, perhaps placed by his side) / Et s'ot II ciens pendus encoste, / . . . Apriés si fu just amenés / Et par la vile pourmenés, / Tot ausement com on fait l'ours, / . . . Et tant là ù on le menoit / Disoit que ménestreus estoit. / Tant que par le command del roi / Fu jugiés pour son fol desroi. / S'a li jugements despondu, / C'on l'a traînet et pendu.' Alberic, *op. cit.*, p. 916, indicates that the death sentence was in part a protective measure: 'Ne subito per violentiam raperetur ab iis, qui primo fuerant in parte eius, per Arnulfum de Audenarde et per pares Flandrie maiores mortis reus iudicatur, opprobriis, iniuriis deridetur, affligitur et per castella et vicos circumductus ad ultinam prope Insulam [Lille] suspenditur. Laqueatus fuit in furcis eminentissimus, multis per circuitum armatis et observantibus per ebdomadam deputatis custodibus.' Chronicle of St Martin of Tours, *op. cit.*, p. 471: ' . . . eum per maiores villas Flandrie fecit in quadriga distrahi et in patibulo quod pilorum dicitur cum duobus canibus hinc inde pendentibus hunc

suspendi. Postremum vero . . . illum . . . in patibulo quod gibetum dicitur apud Insulam Flandriae mori fecit . . . Et sic populis lacrimantibus, circa Kal. Octobris in dicto patibulo spiritum exhalavit.' Achin continuation of Sigebert, *op. cit.*, p. 437: ' . . . ad dictam comitissam adductus apud Insulam; ubi de consilio baronum suorum iudicatus est et dampnatus, quod cum equis traheretur extra villam, et suspenderetur, et ita vitam infelicer consummavit.' William of Ardres, *op. cit.*, p. 765: 'Tandem suggestione domini Arnoldi de Oudenarde ille miserrimus apud Insulas suspensus est, dignum sue malignitatis premium consecutus.' Renier of Liége, *op. cit.*, p. 679: ' . . . et comitissae transmissus, et par castella et *vocis circumdatu, ad ultimum prope Insulam patibulo suspensus est.' Albert of Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 358: 'Sed studio comitissae et Arnoldi de Aldenard, cui comitissa dicebatur familiaritatem nimiam exhibere, viae undique occupantur, traditur, capit, et apud Insulam civitatem Flandriae patibuli suspendio cruciatur.' *Chronica Regia Coloniensis, Cont. IV*, *op. cit.*, p. 255: ' . . . in Flandriam reductus apud Risle [Lille] castellum Flandriae patibulo elevatus laqueo vitam finit. . . .' The *Annales Florentines, MGH, SS, xvi*, 627, add this fanciful detail: ' . . . qui cum suspenderetur, inventus est super eum liber tam mire scientie ut a paucis possit intelligi.' The Annals of St Medard of Soissons, which is not among the better sources, reports a most doubtful occurrence, not mentioned elsewhere: ' . . . et per villas et castella . . . ductus, cognitus est a multis, et pater et mater eius et fratres et alii parentes eius. Ipse siquidem publice confitebatur singulis quia ipse esset Bertrannus de Raaz.' It is difficult to suppose that Bertrand's parents and family would have been in Flanders, since he was supposed to come from Champagne. This is obviously an officially-inspired version.

¹⁶⁴ Albert of Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 358: 'Abbas Sancti Iohannis in Valentia sepelivit mortuum in claustro suo. Sed iterum comitissa eum suspendi praecepit in patibulum.'

¹⁶⁵ Mouskes does not mention a confession, but he obviously believed the hermit to be an impostor and his followers almost insane. Or, at least, this is the way he chose to portray them. Cf. verses 25106 ff.: 'Si pot tant de gent encanter. . . / Se çou fust li quens Baudouins, / Dieu éüst fait pour lui miracle / . . . Et s'il fu truans ne léciere, / Trop et de haut cuer, par St Père, / Qui ducée, contés, empire / Vot gaégnér à tel mestire. / Et les sages fist comme fos / Croire ses dis et ses boins cos. / Caus de St-Jehan l'abéie / Fist-il muser à la folie. / Ses grenons [whiskers] rère li faisoient, / Pour saintuaires les guardoient / Et cil de Binc, sans nul desdaing, / Burent plus d'une mui de son baing.' In verses 25201 ff., the popular delusion is compared again to that about King Arthur: 'A Valenciennes l'atent-on, / Ausi comme funt li Breton / Artu, qui jà ne revenra. / Trestout ensi leur avenra / Valencenois sont devenu / Breton ensi est avenu. / Mais Breton atendent folie. / Quar Artus ne revenra mie. / Cil de Valenciennes ausi, / Comme fol, atendent ensi / Quar se Dieux vint de mort à vie, / Çou ne fera lor sire mie, / Li quens Bauduins, ki mors est; / Quar il ne puet, n'à Dieu ne plest.' Alberic's final judgment is as follows: *op. cit.*, p. 916: 'Et de multorum cordibus cogitationes revelantur, aliis factum hoc approbantibus, aliis improbantibus. . . in tantum vero persuasio hec prevaluit et adhuc prevalet in cordibus multitudinis, quod nullo modo sedari quorundam cogitationes potierint, quin ipse fuerit imperator Balduinus. Sed si frater Symon de Alna vir religiosus et timens Deum qui erat contra eum, aliquam de illo veritatem cognovit quomodo eam celare potuit? Dicit ergo episcopus Semigallie, dominus Balduinus de Alna, quod frater Symon veraciter dixit, sibi tanquam revelatum fuisse, eum absque dubio deceptorem fuisse, sed et ipse aliquando confessus fuit se esse Bertrannum de Rais.' Contrast the Chronicle of St Martin of Tours, *op. cit.*, p. 471: 'Sed sicut *a maiori parte magnatum et populi dictum est, super hoc crimen patricidii hec [Jeanne] incurrit. Nam quamvis alii eum mechum esse dicenter, alii illum gorgurum de Mez vocarent alii eum Bertrandum de Rai nominarunt, hoc totum favore factum est comitisse. Nam nullus eorum fide dignus inventus est, qui illum alibi se cognovisse recoleret vel vidisse.' Renier of Liége, *op. cit.*, p. 679: 'Aliquando vero confessus vel convictus fuerat se vocari et esse Bertram de Rais.' The anti-Jeanne Albert of Stade simply says, *op. cit.*, p. 358: 'Utrum comes Baldwinus fuerit nec ne, Flamingi certunt, et adhuc sub iudice lis est.' *Chronica Regia Coloniensis Cont. IV*, *op. cit.*, p. 255: ' . . . *magna parte plebis eciam post mortem ipsum fuisse verum comitem contendente.' Annals of Dunstable, *MGH, SS, xxvii*, 406: 'Populares tamen usque hodie credunt, ipsum verum comitem fuisse Baldwinum et per invidiam filie fuisse occisum; unde multa miracula in locis sue passionis postmodum acciderunt.'

¹⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 408–409.

¹⁶⁷ See verses of Mouskes, cited above, note 165. A fifteenth-century Flemish chronicle (J. J. De Smet, *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, Collection de Chroniques Belges Inédites [Brussels, 1837], 1, pp.

139–140), after a fanciful account of the Crusade and Baldwin's reign, recounts the story that he was purchased from captivity among the Saracens by German merchants, and secretly brought to 'Teutoniam,' where Ferrand, Jeanne's husband, (who, it will be remembered, was actually in prison in France at the time) executed him secretly by night. This chronicle is reprinted in part by Tafel and Thomas, I, 293 ff., and it is cited regularly by Gerland (*Geschichte*) as a serious historical source, which he calls *Balduinus Constantinopolitanus*, as if it were *by* a Baldwin, instead of *about* one. It is of no historical value for this period.

¹⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 355–356. See the starred passages in all the materials quoted in the notes above.

¹⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 151 and references in note 2. William of Ardres, *op. cit.*, p. 765: 'Fames hoc anno quamplures opprimit et affligit.'

¹⁷⁰ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, p. 94; Mouskes, verses 28168 ff. See Duvivier, *Querelle*, II, p. 144 for a text of a later complaint made by Jean d'Avesnes to St Louis.

¹⁷¹ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, pp. 101 ff.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, *passim*. Duvivier's book is a model of its kind, and it is difficult to see how, failing the discovery of new documents, it could be improved upon. Pirenne calls it 'l'excellent ouvrage.' *Op. cit.*, p. 232, note 1.

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MORTGAGE AND REDEMPTION OF AN EMPEROR'S SON: CASTILE AND THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

BY ROBERT LEE WOLFF

BEGINNING with Du Cange and Gibbon, several of the authors who have touched upon the final years of the Latin Empire of Constantinople have noticed in passing an episode which perhaps more than any other seems to dramatize the poverty of the last Latin Emperor, Baldwin II (1237–1261): the mortgage of the person of his only son, Philip de Courtenay, heir to the imperial throne, to some Venetian merchants as security for a loan, and Philip's subsequent redemption from them.¹ Yet no student of the period seems to have examined all the sources for the affair, which, in addition to Baldwin, Philip, and the Venetians, involved St Louis and the kings of Castile and Aragon. Moreover, those scholars who have written most about it have made serious errors in dealing with it. It is the first purpose of this paper to re-examine the incident, with the aid of a document at least partly new. With this as a starting-point, it is then proposed to reconsider the chronology and the diplomacy especially of the years between 1258 and 1267. It is hoped in particular that new light will be shed upon the relations between Spain and Latin Constantinople in this period; these relations now assume an importance which seems not to have received appropriate recognition from historians.

THE TESTIMONY OF MARINO SANUDO TORSELLO

Our three non-documentary sources for the mortgage of Philip all come from the pen of Marino Sanudo Torsello, distinguished fourteenth-century Venetian propagandist for the Crusade, who was related to the ruling family of the Duchy of the Archipelago. These three sources are Sanudo's *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, his major propaganda work on the Crusade, his *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, the late Italian version of a lost Latin original work dealing mostly with the history of Greece proper, and — most important by far — a so-called “fragment.” This I have recently re-edited with the aid of a previously unexamined manuscript, and shown to have been written as a supplement to Villehardouin. It is therefore to be regarded as complete in itself, and not as a fragment of any larger work.²

¹ C. Du F. Du Cange, *Histoire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs Français*, ed. J. A. Buchon (Paris, 1826), I, 339, 416 ff.; Gibbon, ed. Bury, VI, 436; K. Hopf, *Griechenland im Mittelalter*, in *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. J. S. Ersch u. J. G. Gruber, LXXXV (Leipzig, 1867), p. 256 (hereafter cited as *Griechenland*); W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 261, 272, 404; E. Dade, *Versuche zur Wiedererrichtung der lateinischen Herrschaft in Konstantinopel* (Jena, 1938), pp. 12–13; J. Longnon, *L'Empire Latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), p. 186.

² R. L. Wolff, “Hopf's so-called ‘Fragmentum’ of Marino Sanudo Torsello,” *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York: Jewish Social Studies, Publication V, 1953), 149–159. When I edited this “Fragment” I was unaware that the eighteenth-century authority on Alfonso X of Castile, the Marqués de Mondejar (below, note 6) had recognized that the “Fragment” was actually a supplement to Villehardouin (see below, note 27).

It will be useful to quote all three of Sanudo's accounts. In the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* he says: “[The Greek and Bulgarian enemies of Baldwin II] so grievously and so long afflicted him that he was forced to mortgage (*obligare*) his son, Philip by name, to some citizens (*burgensibus*) of Constantinople, in exchange for a certain sum of money: and these citizens, in order to keep him in safer custody, sent the said little boy (*puerulum*) to Venice.”³ In the *Istoria*, writing of a period after Philip's release, Sanudo says: “This Philip had been a hostage (*era stato obstaso*) in Venice for a sum of money which his father had had from those of Cà Ferro.”⁴ In the so-called “fragment,” really a supplement to Villehardouin, Sanudo says: “. . . his only son Philip he gave as a surety (*pro pignore*) to some citizens of Constantinople, Venetians of the Cà Ferro, in exchange for a certain sum of money. This Philip was sent to Venice, and made a long stay in Venice (*diu in Venetiis moram contrahens*), up to a certain time after the loss of Constantinople.” Sanudo then discusses the flight of the Emperor Baldwin II from Constantinople after it had been recaptured by the Greeks (25 July 1261), a journey which took Baldwin in Venetian ships in turn to Negropont (Euboea), to Athens, and to southern Italy, where he was welcomed by Manfred, and finally over land to France. Sanudo then proceeds:

The lady Empress his wife had gone ahead to seek the aid of kings, princes, and barons and others of the faithful; among others indeed of James King of Aragon and also of Alfonso his son-in-law, King of Castile, asking help for the recovery of her son, the aforementioned Philip, and she received it especially from the King of Castile, with whom she was negotiating a marriage alliance (*tractabat parentelam*): that is he wished to give his daughter to her son Philip, as a means of recovering the Empire of Romania. . . . The Lord Doge and commune of Venice were also examining all ways and means for the recovery of the city of Constantinople and of the Empire. They sent to the . . . Pope and to other lords . . . and also to Alfonso, the aforesaid King of Castile. The ambassador was Marco Giustiniani of the quarter of S. Pantaleone, a most honorable man, and he stayed a long time in Castile, but was unable to fulfill his mission (*non habuit complementum*). Finally Emperor Baldwin accepted for his son Philip the daughter of King Charles the Magnificent, first King of Sicily and Jerusalem, who had already got this realm from the hands of Manfred, natural son of the Emperor Frederick. With Charles the Venetians finally allied themselves.⁵

This passage is in effect a summary of the diplomacy involving the Latin Empire from its fall in July 1261 until the conclusion, on 27 May 1267, of the Treaty of Viterbo between the Emperor Baldwin II and Charles of Anjou, which provided for the marriage between their children. With regard to Philip de Courtenay Sanudo tells us specifically that he was held in Venice even after the fall of Constantinople. His mother, the Empress, Baldwin's wife, of whose trip to Spain we hear, was Marie de Brienne, daughter of John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem (1208–1225) and later Latin Emperor of Constantinople (1229–1237) as regent for Baldwin II, by arrangement with the Constantinopolitan baronage. In 1224 John had married as his third wife Berenguela (Berenguela)

³ “Secreta Fidelium Crucis,” ed. Bongars, *Gesta Dei Per Francos* (Hanover, 1611), II, 73.

⁴ “Istoria del Regno di Romania,” ed. C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 115 f.

⁵ “Fragmentum,” ed. Hopf, *ibid.*, pp. 171 ff.; ed. Wolff, *loc. cit.*, pp. 151 ff.

of Castile. This Berenguela was the daughter of Alfonso IX and his divorced wife Berenguela. She was the sister of St Ferdinand, King of Castile, the niece of Blanche of Castile, mother of St Louis, and the aunt of Alfonso X. Thus her daughter by John, the Empress Marie de Brienne, was a first cousin of Alfonso X, whom she is represented by Sanudo as visiting. In addition to their daughter, the Empress Marie, John and Berenguela also had three sons, whom we shall encounter.⁶

⁶ On John of Brienne see, in addition to the earlier monographic literature and to the accounts in all standard works on the Crusades and on the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, L. Bréhier, "Jean de Brienne," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, x (1938), 698–709; L. Böhm, *Johann von Brienne, König von Jerusalem, Kaiser von Konstantinopel* (Heidelberg, 1938), which must be used with caution; R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio*, ii (1944), 218–237, and my forthcoming book on the Latin Empire. John seems to have been no less than seventy-six years old at the time of his marriage to Berenguela in 1224, and eighty-nine at his death in 1237. The official notification (dated May 1224) by Archbishop Roderigo of Toledo, Primate of Spain, that he had blessed the marriage between "John King of Jerusalem and the lady Berengaria, sister of Lord Ferdinand, the illustrious King of Castile in the church of Burgos" has been published with a photograph of the original document by L. Huidobro y Serna, "Descendencia de El Cid.—Juan de Brienne rey de Jerusalén y Emperador de Constantinopla," *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos*, xx (1941), 537–540. This is a clear identification of John's wife as sister of Ferdinand, and therefore as daughter of Alfonso IX and his divorced wife Berenguela. See also L. Vilar y Pascual, *Diccionario Histórico Genealógico y Heráldico de las Familias Ilustres de la Monarquía Española*, (Madrid, 1859), i, 241. F. Fernández de Bethencourt, *Historia Genealógica y Heráldica de la Monarquía Española* despite its ten volumes, does not include the genealogies of the royal house itself at this period. For the treaty of 1229 by which John of Brienne was made Emperor of Constantinople, and by which the marriage between Baldwin II and Marie was arranged see G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ii (Vienna, 1856), 265 ff., in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, xiv, hereafter T.-Th.; L. Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX* three volumes (Paris, 1899–1910), no. 290; for the agreement in draft form, which was later modified see R. Predelli, "Il liber communis detto anche Plegiorum," *Archivio Veneto*, ii (1872), supplement, pp. 185 ff. Baldwin II had been born late in 1217; his mother, the Empress Yolande de Courtenay, was pregnant with him when she sailed from Brindisi to Constantinople in April 1217: see *Chronique Latine de Guilelmo de Nangiaco*, ed. H. Géraud (Paris, 1843), i, 144, note 2, hereafter William of Nangis; *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, ii, 291; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), p. 392. Baldwin II was therefore between eleven and twelve in 1229, when his marriage to Marie de Brienne was arranged, and nineteen when his father-in-law, the Regent-Emperor John of Brienne, died in 1237. Marie could not have been as much as five in 1229. She and Baldwin were married, says Ernoul (*op. cit.*, p. 372) "a little after" John of Brienne arrived in Constantinople in August 1231; but because of Marie's extreme youth at this date (about seven at most), we are perhaps justified in dating the marriage as late as 1235 or 1236, when she might have been ten or eleven years old. We have no birth-date for their son, Philip de Courtenay, but one of the last entries in the rhymed chronicle of Philip Mouskes (ed. de Reiffenberg [Brussels, 1838], ii, 689, line 31189) refers to him as "moult petit" in 1243, and Sanudo calls him "puerulus" at the time when he was taken to Venice by the brothers Ferro, a date we cannot fix with certainty. He was probably born about 1240, which would make him well under eighteen in 1258. A tradition is reported by Mondejar (Gaspar Ibañez de Segovia, Marqués de Mondejar, *Memorias Históricas del Rei D. Alonso el Sabio i Observaciones a su Chronica* [ed. F. Cerda y Rico, Madrid, 1777], pp. 621–522) that John of Brienne had by Berenguela, in addition to Marie and her three brothers, a daughter Berenguela, and that it was to her that Baldwin II was first engaged; but that she died, and he therefore married her younger sister Marie. This appears to be based on late and unreliable sources, and even if true is of no particular importance for us.

Sanudo tells us that it was Alfonso X who gave Marie the money she needed to ransom and liberate her son Philip, and that the marriage negotiations and the related Venetian political and military negotiations fell through, although he does not say why. In spite of this positive identification of Alfonso as the benefactor of the mortgaged Philip, and in spite of the positive dating of Philip's release as "after the capture of Constantinople," Karl Hopf, in his standard history of mediaeval Greece, and Walter Norden in his highly regarded *Papsitum und Byzanz* both flatly state that it was St Louis who set Philip free, and that he did so in June 1259. Hopf and Norden do not comment on the discrepancy between this assertion of theirs and the information furnished by Sanudo, whose text both knew, Hopf as its editor. As authority both Hopf and Norden cite a document which is still unpublished, *Pacta Ferrariae* 54v.⁷ Before we can proceed further, we shall have to publish and examine this document.

THE TESTIMONY OF *Pacta Ferrariae* 54v.

The *Pacta Ferrariae*, a volume in the *Archivio di Stato* at Venice, contains not only the treaties between Venice and Ferrara, which have already been printed, but an unexplained and unexpected insert of twelve folia (54r–65v) of a smaller size, most of which have not.⁸ The leaves of the *Pacta* proper are approximately 41×30 cm. in size, those of the twelve-folio insert roughly uniform at 34½×25 cm. The leaves of the insert are all written in the same late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century hand, in brown ink on yellowed and frayed vellum, torn in places, and stained apparently by chemicals applied by some earlier reader in an effort to make out the more difficult passages. This insert contains a series of documents mostly dealing with Venetian affairs in the Levant, which I hope in the future to publish with commentary. The document which Hopf and Norden saw and cited appears, as they indicate, on folio 54v, of which it occupies about two thirds, a space of 22×25 cm. In publishing it I should like here gratefully to acknowledge the many kindnesses of Signor R. Morozzo della Rocca, of the staff of the *Archivio di Stato*.

Venice: Archivio di Stato, *Pacta Ferrariae* 54v

Nos Iohannes Ferro et Angelus Ferro fratres cives Veneti notum fieri volumus universis presentem paginam inspecturis quod vir nobilis Dominus^a Leonardus / Babilonius de Venecia nobis nomine vestro mutuavit et dedit libras mille Turonenses obtentu litterarum serenissimi domini Ludovici Dei gratia Illustris Regis / Francie suo sigillo cereo pendente sigillatarum quarum tenor inferius continetur unde contenti et manifesti sumus ab eo receperisse et in nobis habere nominatim pro expensis illustris viri Domini Phylippi filii serenissimi / domini Balduini Imperatoris Constantinopolitani faciendis de quibus solutionem recipere et habere debent nobiles Viri Çaninus et Amianus Babilonius filii eiusdem Leonardi / (vel aliter eorum sive alias eius nuncius patris apud templum)^b (quam pecu-

^a Words written in above line.

^b Words written perpendicularly in right margin.

⁷ Hopf, *Griechenland*, p. 256; Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 272 and note 3.

⁸ B. Ghetti, *I Patti tra Venezia e Ferrara dall' 1191 al 1313* (Rome, 1907), p. 33. Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 759–760 prints one of the unpublished documents from these folia, but not the one which concerns us here.

niam deliberavimus et dedimus nobili et discreto domino Iohanni de Brebanie pro predictis expensis^a de mandato dicti domini regis secundum quod in praefati domini regis litteris continetur et in huius rei firmitatem et evidenciam plenioram presentem paginam / fecimus nostris sigillis pendentibus communiri (datam Venecie anno domini incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo nono indictione secunda die nono intrante mense Iunie).^a Tenor litterarum predictarum iamdicti domini Regis de quibus facta est superius mencio talis est: /

Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex, Universis presentes litteras inspecturis Salutem. Notum facimus quod quicunque mercator aut quelibet alia persona pro / nobis mutuo tradiderit Iohanni Ferro et Angelo Ferro civibus Venetie vel eorum alteri mille libras Turonenses pro expensis Karissimi consanguinei nostri / Phylippi filii illustris imperatoris Constantinopolitani nos illi aut certo mandato suo presentes litteras una cum litteris dicti Phylippi filii aut Iohannis / de Brebanie militis patentibus super hoc confectis deferenti predictas mille libras infra quindenam post susceptionem presentium sine difficultate faciemus persolvi. / Parisiis apud tenplum actum apud Meldunam anno domini MCC quinquagesimo octavo mense ianuarii.

Excellent et Magnifico Domino Ludovico dei gratia Regi francorum illustri Phylippus filius serenissimi domini Balduini dei gratia Constantinopolitani^a imperatoris (fidelissimi in Christo)^c imperatoris (a deo coronati Romanie / moderatoris semper augusti)^c eius consanguineus et devotus Salutem et prosperis omni tempore successibus feliciter habundare. Super eo quod Regalis vestra serenitas / ad deliberationem vestram efficaci et liberali provisione providit tanto maiores grates et gratias dominationi vestre refferimus subiectivas quanto id ultra quam / dici posset gratius et acceptabilius reputamus cordi nostro tantum donum tam immensum et placabile servicium firmantes dum vixerimus digna memoria / retinendum. Ecce quidem visis magnitudinis vestre litteris de contrahendo mutuo de mille libris Turonensibus pro necessariis expensis inquisitum fuit quis dictam / pecuniam mutuaret sed cum ad presens essent extra Veneciam maxime mercatores qui talibus intendere dognoscuntur non poterat commode dictum mutuum inveniri et recepisset nos / cum tarditate nisi comparuisse vir nobilis Leonardus Babilonius civis Venetie qui vestre dominationis honore pecuniam ipsam mutuavit nobilibus viris / Iohanni Ferro et Angelo Ferro eius fratri liberaliter et libenter (qui nobiles Iohannes et Angelus Ferro pecuniam eandem consignaverunt et dederunt nobili viro Iohanni de Brebanto militi pro predictis nostris expensis).^a Unde cum idem nobilis statuerit quod pecunia eadem filiis suis Iohanni et Amiano Babilonio^a vel alteri eorum sol- / vatur et detur dominationem vestram duximus attentius exorandam quatinus placeat vestre prudencie sic statuere et mandare quod eisdem filiis suis vel alteri / eorum (litteras maiestatis vestre atque presentes nostras litteras defferenti^c vel litteras eiusdem Iohannis de Brebanie defferenti)^a predicta solucio fieri debeat iuxta vestre dominacionis edictum ita quod idem tanto servisse domino gaudeant ceteri qui per exemplum delectentur vestre / magnitudini libencius deserive. In huius namque rei evidenciam plenioram sigillum nostrum pendens fecimus hiis litteris nostris apponi. Datum Venecie die decimo / intrante mense iunii, indictione secunda.

Item eidem domino Regi Iohannes Brebanie miles et serviens specialis se ipsum ad eius obsequium totaliter preparatum. Dominacioni vestre cupio / fore notum quod me Veneciam / applicante studiosus extiti circa negotium deliberationis domini Phylippi filii serenissimi domini Balduini Imperatoris / Constantinopolitani fideliter prosequendum, et inquisivi de contrahendo mutuo mille librarum Turonensium pro expensis eiusdem domini Phylippi, iuxta vestre dominacionis edic- / tum mutuum . . . ^d quidam mercatores qui talibus intendere dognoscuntur erant maxime foris Venecie in presenti et recepisset nos / cum tarditate nisi ut supra.

^c Words lightly crossed out.

^d Lacuna of perhaps one word.

This, it is apparent, is really a copy of four separate documents concerning the same transaction. In the first in order, dated at Venice 2 June 1259, Giovanni and Angelo Ferro acknowledge the receipt of 1,000 *livres tournois*, advanced to them by Leonardo Babilonio, in accordance with a letter from St Louis, for the expenses of Philip, son of the Emperor Baldwin. The Ferro brothers have turned the money over to Jean de Brabant (or le Brabans) who is to pay these expenses, and the money is to be repaid by St Louis to the sons of Leonardo Babilonio, Giannino and Amiano, or to either one of them, or to another messenger of their father.

The second document is a copy of St Louis' original draft order, dated at Melun 8 January 1258, notifying any merchant or other person who will advance 1,000 *livres tournois* to the Ferro brothers for the expenses of his "dear relative"⁹ Philip that St Louis will cause him or his representative to be repaid within two weeks after presentation of a letter of acknowledgment of the money (a receipt) from Philip or Jean de Brabant.

The third document, dated 10 June (1259), is Philip's letter of acknowledgment to St Louis, thanking him most warmly, and explaining that when the draft had arrived, the merchants who handled such matters had been out of Venice, and that, if Leonardo Babilonio had not come forward and advanced the money to the Ferro brothers (who in turn had given it to Jean de Brabant), the money would have been received very late. Philip asks that St Louis make repayment to Babilonio's sons, as desired.

The fourth and last document is Jean de Brabant's certification to St Louis that he had gone to Venice, had diligently worked on the problem of liberating Philip, and had sought the advance of 1,000 *livres tournois* for Philip's expenses, but that when he had tried to cash St Louis' draft, he had had difficulty because of the absence from Venice of the merchants who regularly advanced money on such instruments. His statement then continued in the same words as Philip's letter of receipt, and was presumably dated on the same day.

Thus the four documents together constitute a memorandum of the transaction, perhaps drawn up for the Babilonio family¹⁰: St Louis sent Jean de Brabant with the draft to Venice; Jean had difficulty in cashing it; Babilonio came forward and gave the money to the Ferro brothers, whom he doubtless wished to involve in the transaction as fellow-Venetians, in order to strengthen his assurance of repayment. The Ferro brothers in turn gave the money to Jean; Babilonio stipulated that he would like the money repaid to his sons, who presumably

⁹ By the Castilian connection St Louis was a first cousin twice removed of Philip de Courtenay; but in addition they had a common great-great grandfather in the person of King Louis VI of France, and were therefore fourth cousins. The term "consanguineus" was very loosely used in this period, Edward II on one occasion in 1308 even using it to refer to one of Manfred's illegitimate sons, who, if related to him at all, which is doubtful, was a distant relative indeed. See J. Böhmer, "König Manfred's Söhne," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, iv (1883), 1 ff.

¹⁰ Among the published documents I find no references to these three members of the Babilonio family. See, however, R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, *Documenti del Commercio Veneziano*, i (Turin, 1940), in *Documenti e studi per la storia del commercio e del diritto commerciale italiano*, xix, 484, no. 441, of 1198, where a Marino Babilonio appears as witness.

intended to travel to France; and finally the Ferro brothers, Philip de Courtenay, and Jean de Brabant all certified that the money had actually been advanced, in accordance with the procedure outlined by St Louis for anybody who might advance the money and then seek to collect it from him.

It should be noted here that a version of the second and third portions of our four-part document from the *Pacta Ferrariae* exists in a later manuscript in the Marciana, from which it was printed by Romanin in his *Storia documentata di Venezia*, and later by Belgrano. This two-part document escaped Hopf's and Norden's notice. Dade mentions it, but wrongly conjectures that it is identical with the *Pacta Ferrariae* version, whereas in fact it does not include the first and fourth portions.¹¹ So far as I know, these have never before been printed.

Indeed, now that we have the full text of the document which Hopf and Norden cite as the source for their statement that St Louis set Philip de Courtenay free in 1259, it becomes clear at once that nothing of the sort actually happened. St Louis advanced expense money to Philip in 1258–1259; he did not redeem him by paying off Baldwin's debt in full, as Hopf and Norden say, or even in part, as Dade conjectures. The brothers Ferro, to whom Baldwin owed his debt, clearly did not regard the 1,000 *livres tournois* from St Louis as representing the repayment of any part of that debt. They kept none of it, but turned all of it over to Jean de Brabant to be used for Philip's expenses. None of the parties even hints that Philip's enforced sojourn in Venice was nearing its end, or that the reason for it had been removed. Jean de Brabant's own words, indeed, show that, although St Louis was interested in setting Philip free, the question of liberating him was separate from the question of advancing him expense money.

As to the sum involved: the *livre tournois* was a money of account, whose intrinsic value has been estimated at 20.26382 pre-1914 gold francs, a figure which may be translated as the equivalent of about 6.60 current dollars. 1,000 *livres tournois* would thus be roughly \$6,600, but the purchasing power cannot be accurately estimated. In short, this was a generous advance for expenses, but hardly a sum of an order large enough to pay a debt for which the Emperor had been forced to mortgage his only son. The 1,000 *livres tournois* had nothing to do with Baldwin's debt or Philip's redemption.¹²

¹¹ S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia* (Venice, 1853), II, 454 no. xvi, from Marciana Cod. XXXVII, cl. XIV lat. Mentioned wrongly in the text, *ibid.*, p. 268 as a "loan to the Emperor." It was of course a gift to the Emperor's son. This double document was separated into its two parts and reprinted from Romanin by L. T. Belgrano, *Documenti inediti riguardanti le due crociate di San Lodovico IX* (Genoa, 1859), pp. 374 ff., as nos. III and IV of the Appendix. Dade's discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, is on the wrong track; he refers to the 1,000 *livres tournois* as a sum demanded by the Venetian merchants, but conjectures that this payment may not have represented the full amount owed them by Baldwin. Actually the document itself, when all four parts are examined, only two of which were known to Dade, gives no indication that St Louis' advance was intended to form any part of the debt for which Philip was being held as hostage. Neither Hopf nor Norden knows the Romanin or Belgrano publication of the two-part document, which is cited (from Romanin) by only one author other than Dade known to me. This is P. M. Perret, *Histoire des relations de la France avec Venise* (Paris, 1896), I, 8, where it is wrongly dated 8 January 1259 and wrongly described as a credit for Baldwin instead of a present for Philip.

¹² For an analysis of similar documents of St Louis, as printed by Belgrano, see A. Schaube, "Die

Thus the initial apparent discrepancy between our documentary and our non-documentary sources disappears, and we are left for the moment with the statement of Sanudo that Philip remained in the hands of his father's Venetian creditors "until some time after the loss of Constantinople," and that it was Alfonso who put up the money for his release. On the evidence of the *Pacta Ferrariae* document we may say that Philip's period of enforced residence in Venice had begun before 8 January 1258, the date of St Louis' draft; and we may conjecture that it was probably some considerable time before, since it is improbable that St Louis would have advanced the expense money before some request for it had been made of him, and communications did not travel quickly.

BALDWIN'S DEBTS AND LANDS

It may indeed be suggested, but only in a tentative fashion, that Philip had been in the hands of the Ferro brothers since before October 1248. In that month Baldwin II empowered his wife, the Empress Marie, who was about to leave Constantinople for a trip to the west to "engagier nostre terte de outre-mons et de France et de alloier" in order to raise 24,000 hyperpers of true weight borrowed from merchants at Constantinople, "parce que nos n'en poons autrement finir."¹³ The reasons for conjecturing that this may have been the debt owed to the Ferro brothers, for which Philip was pawned, are as follows:

- 1) The sum involved was very large, actually almost twice as much as the 13,134 hyperpers involved in the celebrated mortgage of the Crown of Thorns by the Constantinopolitan baronage to the Venetian Nicolo Quirino, and its subsequent redemption by St Louis, which took place in 1238–1239.¹⁴ The hyperper of the period has been evaluated on the basis of contemporary evidence as worth 11.8, 12, 13.4, 13.6, or 14.6 pre-1914 gold francs, or approximately 3.90–4.75 current dollars. 24,000 hyperpers might therefore range between \$93,300 and \$113,000 current dollars, with a pur-

Wechselbriefe König Ludwigs des Heiligen," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, lxx (1898), 603–621 and 739–748. The average annual expenses of the French crown between 1255 and 1259 were 113,785 *livres tournois* (p. 614); the average daily expense on a crusade was over 1,000 *livres tournois* (p. 617); St Louis' own ransom in Egypt was probably about 200,000 *livres tournois*. On the *livre* itself see de Marcheville, "Le rapport entre l'or et l'argent au temps de St Louis," *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique*, xiv (1890), 137–174; and the reply by L. Brancard *ibid.*, pp. 397–425. N. de Wailly in an appendix to his edition of Joinville (Paris, 1874), 459 ff. gives the equivalent figure in gold francs used in the text. See also his *Mémoire sur les variations de la livre tournois* (Paris, 1857), extract from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, xxI, 2. A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets* (Munich and Berlin, 1906), p. 813, gives 22.23 German Reichsmarks as the equivalent of the *livre tournois* at the time of St Louis. In this calculation and those which follow, the current dollar equivalents were kindly supplied by my friend and colleague, Professor Alexander Gerschenkron, whom I should like to thank here.

¹³ Text in Du Cange, *op. cit.*, I, 438, no. 13; and J. de Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, III (Paris, 1875), 50, no. 3727.

¹⁴ Texts in P. Riant, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1877), II, 119 ff., nos. 60 and 61; also T.-Th., II, 346 ff., no. 296; A. Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, II (Paris, 1866), 391 ff., nos. 2744, 2753; and G. Cornutus, "Historia susceptionis corone spinee," ed. Riant, *Exuviae*, I, 56 ff.

chasing power impossible to calculate, but immensely larger.¹⁵ Without using dollar equivalents, we may work the calculation another way: the hyperper was worth one-quarter mark, and the mark contained two and a half *livres tournois*. Thus a hyperper is the equivalent of five-eighths of a *livre tournois*, and the debt of 24,000 hyperpers would be the equivalent of 15,000 *livres tournois*, fifteen times the sum sent to Philip as a present by St Louis. Here is a sum of the order we are seeking: a sum for which Baldwin II (who, even after the loss of the Crown of Thorns, had valuable relics left to use as surety for smaller amounts)¹⁶ might be induced to mortgage his only child. This is the only such debt of which we know.

- 2) A date of 1248 for the beginning of Philip's forced sojourn in Venice would agree with two points in Sanudo's account: that Philip was *puerulus* when mortgaged (in 1248 he may have been about eight years old or younger), and that he stayed in Venice a long time (*diu . . . moram contrahens*), a phrase which is better suited to a period of roughly thirteen years than to a period of roughly three.
- 3) The debtors involved were "merchants of Constantinople," as were the Ferro brothers.

It may be asked why Marie did not do as Baldwin's document of 1248 empowered her to do: raise money on the western lands and obtain Philip's release well before 1259. It may be argued that her failure to do so militates against the thesis that this debt of 24,000 hyperpers was the one to the brothers Ferro for which her son was held. In answer it may be suggested that both St Louis and his mother Blanche of Castile were strongly opposed to any sale or transfer of

¹⁵ Several passages in nearly contemporary authors which evaluate the hyperper in terms of western currencies have been noticed by scholars. One is in Gunther of Pairis (Riant, *Exuviae*, I, 78), who says, as of the year 1204, that a hyperper is worth one quarter of a mark. This works out to 19.5 or 13.6 gold francs. A second is in Ralph of Coggeshall, who died in 1228 (*Chronicon Anglicanum*, Rolls Series [London, 1875], p. 150, passage reprinted in Riant, *Exuviae*, II, 237), who says that a hyperper is worth three sous of silver. This works out at 15.61 francs gold. For comment on these see Riant *Exuviae*, I, clxxv, note 5, and his separate edition of Gunther (*Guntheri . . . Parisiensis De Expugnatione urbis Constantinopolitane* [Geneva, 1875], p. 81); D. Zakythinos, "Crise monétaire et crise économique à Byzance du XIII^e au XV^e siècle," *L'Hellénisme Contemporain*, 2^e série, I (1947), 164 ff., especially 173 and 186, gives two further examples from 1228 (11.81 gold francs) and 1250 (12.049 gold francs). Following G. d'Avenel, *Histoire Économique . . . de tous les prix en général depuis l'an 1200* (Paris, 1894), I, 481, Zakythinos prefers 13.6 francs to 13.5 as an interpretation of Gunther's figure. There is a considerable literature on the hyperper, which was the Byzantine nomisma, previously the solidus, under a new name. Most of this earlier literature is cited by Zakythinos; but see now R. S. Lopez, "The Dollar of the Middle Ages," *Journal of Economic History*, xi (1951), 209–234. Two invaluable general articles are A. Andréadès, "De la monnaie et de la puissance d'achat des métaux précieux dans l'empire Byzantin," *Byzantion*, I (1924), 75–115; M. Bloch, "Le problème de l'or au moyen âge," *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, V (1934), 1–34, both with good further bibliography.

¹⁶ For example, at Damietta in 1249 Baldwin "gave" the head of St James to St Louis' brother Robert of Artois, doubtless in exchange for money. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum* (Paris, 1713), I, col. 1042. For the arm of St. John Baptist, mortgaged for 5,000 hyperpers in 1261, see below note 46.

Baldwin's western property. On one occasion in 1239 St Louis had prevented Baldwin from selling his ancestral estate of Courtenay to the Prince of Achaia, Geoffrey II Villehardouin.¹⁷ Also in 1239 St Louis himself loaned Baldwin 50,000 *livres parisis*, with Namur, Baldwin's other western possession, as security¹⁸ (the *livre parisis* was worth five-fourths of the *livre tournois*; so that this sum works out to 1,266,489 francs or more than 412,000 current dollars). In 1247 on still another occasion, Blanche of Castile herself had loaned Baldwin 20,000 *livres* more to prevent the sale of Namur.¹⁹ We do not know whether these were *livres tournois* or *livres parisis*.

On the one hand, then, we know of only one big debt "to some merchants" which the Emperor was anxious to pay, and which he felt he could pay only by selling his western lands. Such a debt might well be the one for which Philip had been pledged. On the other hand, we know that Blanche, with whom Empress Marie lived in the west, and on whom she depended, would in all probability not allow such a sale, which would account for Philip's "long stay" in Venice.

However well-founded, this must none the less remain conjecture. The only facts of which we can so far be certain are that Philip was in Venice well before 8 January 1258, and that he was still there on 10 June 1259. It can now be shown that his enforced residence in Venice had come to an end by 1 May 1261, not "a little while after" the capture of Constantinople, as Sanudo says, but a little while before.

THE DATE OF PHILIP'S RELEASE

This is demonstrated by a document, referred to by Du Cange but by no other student of the Latin Empire — perhaps because Du Cange's reference is inconveniently abbreviated. Found in the reliquary of St Julien at Beauvais and printed by Louvet, the seventeenth-century historian of that place, this document states that on 1 May 1261 (*Anno Domini 1261, Dominica in Octavis Paschae*) the body of St Julien was put into its present cover (*theca*), and those of Saints

¹⁷ Text in Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Courtenay* (Paris, 1661), pp. 74 ff., date 1239. "We are informed," writes Baldwin to St Louis, "that your Highness was astonished and found it wrong that we have given our land of Courtenay to the Prince of Achaia But we are still more surprised that you should have been astonished. For as your Majesty has learned by our letter and by our ambassadors, we were so oppressed with misery and poverty when this prince came to Constantinople that we did not know what would happen." He goes on to say that he was really very much pleased that St Louis had put a stop to the transfer; and he then conferred Courtenay on the Empress Marie for life. St Louis may have felt strongly about this particular estate because its first lord had been Peter, youngest son of Louis VI, King of France, St Louis' own great-great grandfather and Baldwin II's great-grandfather.

¹⁸ Spring, 1239. *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, ed. de Reiffenberg (Brussels, 1838), II, 663, verses 30453 ff.; Alberic Trium Fontium, *Chronicon*, in *MGH SS*, xxiii, 947.

¹⁹ *Chronique de Flandres et des Croisades*, ed. J.-J. de Smet, in *Collection de Chroniques Belges Inédites*, III (Brussels, 1856), 676: " 'Dame, dist li empereres, il me convient deniers, car je ne puis tenir l'empire sans grant coustenge; si me convient vendre le conte de Namur, qui me vint de mon hyretaige.' 'Et non Diu, dist le roine, je ne voll pas que vous le vendes.' 'Dame, que ferai-je dont?' 'Par ma foi, dist le roine, 'je vous presterai xx^m livres'"

Lucian and Maxianus into their coverings by the bishops of Beauvais and Senlis “praesentibus illustri Rege Francorum Ludovico et Theobaldo illustri Rege Navaruae, Campaniae et Briae Comite Palatino, ipsius Regis Francorum genero, Philippo etiam primogenito filiorum superstitem eiusdem Regis Francorum, ac Philippo Balduini illustris Imperatoris Constantinopolitani primogenito et Buticulario. . . .”²⁰

This is the only reference to Philip as *buticularius* known to me, and the office, which existed in the Latin Empire, is none the less a most unlikely one for the heir to the Empire to have held. It seems probable that one line of text from the original manuscript was dropped in error by Louvet, and that the name of the official with this title was omitted but the title *buticularius* retained as if applying to Philip. In all probability the name omitted was that of the *buticularius* of France, not of the Latin Empire; this boutelier was oddly enough Philip’s uncle, Jean d’Acre, Comte de Montfort, youngest of the three brothers of Marie de Brienne,²¹ who was, I suggest, the next witness on the list.

In any case, what is important for us is that this document puts Philip de Courtenay at Beauvais on 1 May 1261. By that date then, the debt to the Ferro brothers had been paid, and he had left Venice, where we know him to have been as late as 10 June 1259. Because Sanudo places the time of his release as “some time after” the fall of Constantinople, we may conjecture that it had actually taken place rather soon before 1 May, almost surely in 1261, the year of the capture of the city. Otherwise Sanudo, though he was writing considerably later (between 1328 and 1341) would presumably not have connected the two events so closely in time.

The bare possibility that Philip’s presence at Beauvais represents only some sort of temporary reprieve from the forced residence in Venice is reduced still further by another document of 6 July 1262, dated at Clermont-Ferrand. Philip now again appears as witness, this time to an important declaration drawn up by

²⁰ Text of document in Pierre Louvet, *Histoire et antiquitez du pais de Beauvaisis* (Beauvais: chez la vesve Valet pres S. Barthelemy, 1631), I, 415–416. Mention in Du Cange, *op. cit.*, I, 418 and note 2, where the reference is to “Louv. *Hist. de Beauvais*, l. 1.” The bibliography of the Louvet work is complicated; and the Harvard copy (Rouen, 1614) is of an early and probably incomplete version, which does not contain our document. I have used the Yale University copy, as cited above. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de St Louis*, ed. J. de Gaulle (Paris, 1848), IV, 232, refers to the episode, and in note 2 cites “Louvet I, 425, 426,” which perhaps corresponds to still another edition. See also the Abbé Delettre, *Histoire du diocèse de Beauvais* (Beauvais, 1843), II, 316, without a useful citation.

²¹ The omission of a line of text is further suggested by the order of signatures of witnesses to the next document to be cited (reference in next note). Here Philip appears as follows: “. . .Philippus filius imperatoris Constantinopolitani primogenitus, Alfonsus comes Augi, Francie camerarius, Johannes Francie buticularius . . .” If the Beauvais document had a similar list in a similar order, as is not improbable, it is easy to see how, between the words “primogenitus” and “buticularius” Louvet could have missed a line of manuscript, thus making it appear as if Philip were *buticularius* of the Empire, by omitting the name of his uncle, the *buticularius* of France. Alfonse, Comte d’Eu, the *camerarius*, was also Philip’s uncle, the eldest of Marie de Brienne’s three brothers. See below text and note 77.

King James of Aragon, at the instance of St Louis, who was under pressure from Pope Urban IV. Writing before the wedding of his daughter Isabelle to Philip, son and heir of St Louis, James undertook never to assist Manfred, heir to the Emperor Frederick II's southern Italian possessions and bitter enemy of the papacy, to whose daughter Constance James had already married his eldest son and heir Don Pedro.²² In the period between 1 May 1261 and 6 July 1262, Philip de Courtenay may, on the evidence of these two documents, be assumed to have been in the entourage of St Louis. The enforced residence in Venice was over.

**THE TESTIMONY OF THE SPANISH CHRONICLES:
ALFONSO X AND MARIE DE BRIENNE**

Having shown first that St Louis did not redeem Philip in 1259, and second that he had been redeemed and was free by 1 May 1261, we turn now to the Spanish sources for confirmation of Sanudo's statement that it was Alfonso of Castile who had given the necessary money to Philip's mother, the Empress Marie. In two of the (rather unsatisfactory) narrative sources for the reign of Alfonso X,²³ the so-called *Cuarta Crónica General*, a continuation of the work of Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, which had stopped with events of the year 1243, and the *Crónica del Rey Alfonso Decimo*, we find preserved the following story which they repeat in almost the same words.

²² All the documents relating to the Aragonese marriage of Manfred's daughter Constance are conveniently collected and published as an appendix to the excellent article of D. Girona, "Mullerament del Infant En Pere de Cathalunya ab Madona Constança de Sicilia," *Congrès d'Historia de la Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 1909), I, 232-299. Our document is no. XIII, pp. 272-273. Also printed in J. de Laborde, *Layettes*, IV, 42, no. 4775. It was this marriage which founded the Aragonese claim to Sicily.

²³ On the chronicles of this period, several of which remain unpublished, and on the texts here cited see the appropriate entries in B. Sanchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la Historia Española e Hispano-Americana*, 2d ed., I (Madrid, 1927) and *Apendice* (Madrid, 1946). A convenient discussion in E. S. Procter, "Materials for the Reign of Alfonso X of Castile," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, XIV (1931), 39-63. On the *Cuarta Crónica General* see B. Sanchez Alonso, "Las versiones en romance de las crónicas del Toledano," *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1925), I, 345-354. In addition to the two texts which contain our story, I have consulted the following narrative sources: Juan Gil de Zamora, "Biografías de San Fernando y de Alfonso el Sabio," ed. Fidel Fita, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, V (1885), 308-328, which records (p. 328) the loss of Constantinople to the Greeks, but does not mention Philip de Courtenay; Jofre de Loaisa, "Chronique des Rois de Castile," ed. A. Morel Fatio, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIX (1898), 325-378, which does not mention the ransom, but does, as we shall see, mention Alfonso's knighting of Philip; "Cronicon de Cardeña I y II" and "Anales Toledanos," *España Sagrada*, XXII (Madrid, 1767), 370-380 and 410-423, the second of which also has the knighting; together with the following Aragonese and Catalan sources: *Libre dels Feyts esdevenguts en la vida del molt alt señor Rey, en Jacme lo Conqueridor*, ed. M. Aquilo y Fuster (Barcelona, 1873); English version, *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon*, translated by John Forster, apparatus by Pascual de Gayangos, two volumes (London, 1883); Bernat d'Esclot, *Cronica del Rey En Pere e dels sus Antecessores Passats*, ed. J. A. Buchon, in *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1875), pp. 566 ff. English version (down to 1275) ed. F. L. Critchlow (Princeton, 1934); the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner is not useful for our purposes.

While Alfonso X was at Burgos in 1268 (or in 1269 for the marriage festivities of his son Ferdinand and Blanche, daughter of St Louis), say these texts, there arrived an empress of Constantinople, whose husband was being held captive in the land of the Sultan, and who was accompanied by thirty dueñas all dressed in black. The King of Castile did her much honor, and lodged her with his wife, who invited her to dine. The Empress refused, saying that she was unworthy to sit at the same table with the Queen because the Sultan had her husband in captivity. She had gone to the Pope, who had given her one third of the ransom money, and to the King of France, who had given her another third. Having heard of the nobility and generosity of Alfonso, she had come to ask him to ransom her husband. Thereupon the Queen sent for Alfonso, who heard the story, and tried to persuade the Empress to join them at table, but she still refused. He then asked why the Emperor's own countrymen had not ransomed him, and she answered that it was not customary, and that they thought they were being generous if they refrained from choosing another emperor. Then Alfonso took her hand, and seated her at the table, and said "Empress, I promise you that in twenty days from today I will give you the money to redeem the Emperor, your husband." To this she said "How is this, King, what are you saying? You do not know how much it is." And the King asked "How much?" Then she told him forty (or fifty) *quintales de plata*, but that the Pope and the King of France had each given a third. Thereupon Alfonso swore that within twenty days he would give her the entire sum, and she should return what the Pope and the King of France had given her. This she did, and told of Alfonso's generosity, which everybody praised. After the Emperor was released, he too spread the story, which became known everywhere, so that when the Emperor of Germany died, and that empire was left without an heir, all the nobles agreed to choose Alfonso.²⁴

This story obviously contains fanciful and legendary elements — indeed it was later pilfered direct from the chronicles by the sixteenth-century Spanish romancers²⁵ — but basically it is true. The Empress of Constantinople, Marie de Brienne, came to Castile to plead for money for her son Philip, not for her hus-

²⁴ [Cuarta Crónica General], hereafter CCG, *Crónica de España del Arzobispo Roderigo Ximénes de Rada, tradujada en Castellano y la continuo hasta su tiempo D. Gonzalo de la Hinojosa*, in Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, cvi (Madrid, 1893), 15–16. Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso Decimo, hereafter CRA, Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, ed. Cayetano Rosell I, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, lvi (Madrid, 1875), 12–13. The differences between the texts are minor: the CCG simply says an empress, without saying of Constantinople. In the CRA the Empress tells the Queen how much the ransom is before the King makes his offer to pay it, which weakens the Empress' astonishment at his grand gesture of offering to pay before he knows what the amount is. In the CRA the ransom is fifty quintales de plata instead of forty.

²⁵ See the poem by Lorenzo de Sepúlveda (fl. 1551) beginning "De la gran Constantinopla," in his *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la Crónica d'España* (Antwerp, 1551), pp. 200 verso ff., here cited from the facsimile reprint "from the copy in the library of Archer M. Huntington" (n.p., but New York, 1903). Also, in A. Duran, *Romancero General* (Madrid, 1851), II, 18 f., no. 939, in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, xvi. The debt to the CRA (but not to the CCG) is pointed out by A. E. Levey, *The Sources of the Ballads of Lorenzo de Sepúlveda* (Chicago, 1939), p. 4. See also Juan de la Cueva (ca. 1550–ca 1610), poem beginning "Celebrando estan las bodas," in *Coro Febeo de Romances Historiales* (Seville, 1588), pp. 97 verso ff.; and Duran, *op. cit.* II, 19, no. 940.

band Baldwin, and Philip was of course in Venetian, and not in Saracen hands.²⁶ It seems probable that Alfonso provided most if not all of the necessary money, but his grand gesture ordering the return of two thirds allegedly advanced by the Pope and the King of France may reasonably be viewed with skepticism as a chronicler's attempt to glorify his hero. Yet even this detail reflects a measure of historic truth, since we know of the traditional benevolent attitude of the papacy toward the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and have just witnessed St Louis helping Philip with expense money, and inquiring into the problem of setting him free. Perhaps one need not believe in the thirty dueñas all dressed in black, and the statement that Alfonso's generosity to an empress caused the Germans to elect him emperor is clearly myth: apart from its inherent unlikelihood, his election had taken place in 1257, and was based on his relationship to the house of Swabia.²⁷

²⁶ Our story was taken over by the two great historians of the late sixteenth century, Mariana and Zurita. J. A. Mariana, *Historiae de Rebus Hispaniae Libri XX*, in *Hispaniae Illustratae*, ed. A. Schott (Frankfort, 1603), II, 606, Book XIII, chapter xvi, fills in a detail: that the Emperor Baldwin and the (Latin) Patriarch Giustiniani had been expelled from Constantinople by Michael Palaeologus (as indeed they had been), and had been captured by the Sultan of Egypt (as they had not.) He eliminates all picturesque detail; the thirty dueñas disappear as does the vivid dialogue between the Empress and Alfonso. He adds that the Castilian lords were displeased at Alfonso's prodigality. He notes that "certain writers" disbelieve the story of the empress' visit and deny that Baldwin was ever captured by the Sultan, but concludes that, though possibly exaggerated, it is probably true. He assigns it to 1268. G. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon* (Zaragoza, 1610), I, 196–197, Book III, s.a. 1269, ch. lxxv, assigns it to 1269 and the period of the marriage festivities in Burgos, following *CRA*. He, too, notes that many scholars interested in the past doubt the tale because the emperor and empress are not named; but he too feels that it probably has a great resemblance to the truth, although doubtless embroidered. He then summarizes with considerable inaccuracy the history of the Greek and Latin Empires in the decades before 1261, and identifies the empress as Marie (he calls her Marta) de Brienne. He points to the fact "known by certain documents," (see below, note 77) that the three brothers of Marie were in Seville at the court of Alfonso in 1255. He then says that John of Brienne "to keep certain the help of Venice for the defense and conservation of the city of Constantinople, gave his son as hostage to the Venetians," and conjectures that it was he whom Alfonso rescued. He compares this generosity with that displayed by James I of Aragon to another "Empress of Constantinople," Constance, widow of John Dukas Vatatzes. Thus Zurita, except that he does not realize that it was Baldwin II and not John of Brienne who mortgaged a son to the Venetians, and so errs in having Marie seeking ransom for her brother rather than for her husband, has the story fairly straight. On Constance, illegitimate daughter of Frederick II by Bianca Lancia, and full sister of Manfred, see G. Schlumberger, "Le tombeau d'une impératrice Byzantine à Valence en Espagne," *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 57–87; J. Miret y Sans, "La princesa Griega Lascaris," *Revue Hispanique*, x (1903), 455–470, "Tres princesas griegas," *ibid.*, xv (1906), 668–716; and "Nuevos documentos de la tres princesas Griegas," *ibid.*, xix (1908), 112–134. C. Diehl, *Figures Byzantines* (Paris, 1908), II, 207–225; C. Marinescu, "Du nouveau sur Constance de Hohenstaufen," *Byzantion*, I (1924), 451–468; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, 3. Teil (Munich and Berlin, 1932), p. 43, no. 1916.

²⁷ Mondejar, *op. cit.* (note 6 above), pp. 236–237, and especially *Observaciones*, XXX–XXXVII, pp. 611–626, analyses the subject with genuine scholarship, correcting at length the errors of earlier Spanish secondary writers, which we need not examine here, presenting the results in his text and the line of argument in the *Observaciones*. The chief reason for Mondejar's success is that he follows a source whom he quotes and calls the "Noble Veneciano que escribió al suplemento de la historia de Gaufredu de Villaharduin i produce despues del Carlos Dufresne." This is of course nothing but Sanudo's "fragment," first printed by C. DuFresne DuCange in 1657 from the Paris manuscript of

The late date of 1268 or 1269 given by these Spanish chronicles for Marie's visit to Castile cannot, however, possibly be accepted. Since Philip was already free by 1 May 1261, she must have received the money from Alfonso before that date. Indeed the date 1268–1269 was questioned as long ago as 1777 by Mondejar, with whom the latest Spanish scholar to examine the subject, A. Ballesteros Beretta, is in agreement. Mondejar suggests late 1263 or early 1264, and Ballesteros Beretta (although he says he is following Mondejar) suggests 1262 or early 1263. But neither Mondejar nor Ballesteros Beretta used the Beauvais document, or for that matter the Clermont-Ferrand Aragonese document.²⁸ In

Villehardouin. Mondejar is, of course, right in calling this a supplement to Villehardouin. (See above, note 2.) Mondejar knew also the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*. He strips off the fictional trappings of the chronicle story, and properly identifies Marie as the empress in question and her son Philip as the captive for whom she came to seek aid. More recent historians have accepted this as historic fact. See, e.g., M. Colmeiro, *Reyes Cristianos desde Alonso VI hasta Alonso XI* (Madrid, 1891), in *Historia general de España*, I, 119, who uses the date 1268, accepts the story that Alfonso paid three times as much as he would have had to pay, gives no reference to a source beyond a mention of Mariana, and makes two non-demonstrable points: that Baldwin had borrowed money from the Venetians for the pursuit of his wars against Michael Palaeologus, and that the Castilian nobles complained of Alfonso's generosity as "inconsiderada prodigalidad." Colmeiro is followed by R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (New York, 1918), I, 110–111. A. Sanchez Perez, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid, n.d. but 1944), pp. 71 ff., puts the episode in 1269 at the time of the royal wedding. This episode is not mentioned by A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España y su Influencia en la Historia Universal*, 2d ed. (Barcelona and Buenos Aires, 1948), III, 1, pp. 21–63; hereafter cited as Ballesteros, *Historia*. On Alfonso's election as Holy Roman Emperor and the subsequent controversy with Richard of Cornwall, see A. y Pío Ballesteros, "Alfonso X de Castilla y la Corona de Alemania," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*, xxxiv (1916), 1–23, 187–219; xxxv (1916), 223–242; xxxix (1918), 142–162; xl (1919), 467–490, a constitutional study. Still valuable is A. Busson, *Die Doppelwahl des Jahres 1257* (Münster, 1866). Alfonso's mother Beatrice was the daughter of Philip of Swabia. As early as 1254 he claimed Swabia, and was supported by the Pope. He was actually elected Emperor because of his German family connections, but it was the Ghibelline Pisans who took the lead in the efforts on his behalf, followed by Marseilles. He was chosen on 1 April 1257, with the support of Pope Alexander IV and of St Louis, by the Archbishop of Trier, who also cast the votes of Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg, some ten weeks after the other electors had chosen Richard of Cornwall. Alfonso accepted the offer at Burgos on 21 August 1257. For the document giving the dates see O. Redlich, "Zur Wahl des römischen Königs Alfonso von Castilien," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* xvi (1895), 659–662. See also W. Herrmann, *Alfons X von Castilien als römische König* (Berlin, 1897); A. Ballesteros, *Alfonso X Emperador de Alemania* (Madrid, 1918), and *Historia*, III, 1, pp. 30 ff.; C. C. Bayley, *The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Toronto, 1949); and P. E. Schramm, "Das kastilische Königstum in der Zeit Alfonsos des Weisen (1252–1284)," *Festschrift Edmond E. Stengel* (Münster-Köln, 1952), pp. 385–413.

²⁸ A. Ballesteros Beretta, "Itinerario de Alfonso X, rey de Castilla," *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, cvii (1935), 394–397, also *ibid.*, cviii (1936), 39. Although Ballesteros Beretta says he is following Mondejar, he changes the date to 1262–1263, without saying why and without discussing Mondejar's argument (*Observación* xxxvii, pp. 624 ff.) which runs as follows: the Castilian marriage negotiations must have preceeded the treaty of Viterbo of May 1267, by which Philip became engaged to Beatrice of Anjou-Sicily; the princess whom Alfonso destined for Philip was his eldest daughter Berenguela, who had been engaged to the eldest son of St Louis (for this engagement see De Laborde, *Layettes*, III, 253 ff. no. 4192, 20 August 1255); but this prince died in 1259 at the age of six (Mondejar refers to William of Nangis; see the edition cited above, I, 221, s.a. 1259); and Mondejar thinks that Princess Berenguela would have been a little more than ten in 1264 (she was born in 1253; cf. Vilar y

addition to these, which rule out any date after 1261, we have Sanudo's pluperfect tense for the verb describing Marie's visit to the west — *praecesserat*: she had gone ahead to the west before Baldwin's departure from Constantinople in July 1261. In view of the length of time probably necessary to arrange the actual payment of the debt to the Venetians, it seems reasonable, *on the evidence already examined above*, to assign Marie's visit to Castile to a date well before 1 May 1261, perhaps 1260, but more probably 1259 or even 1258. On 10 June 1259, as we have seen from *Pacta Ferrariae* 54v, Philip was still in the hands of the Ferro brothers, but his mother may well have begun the negotiations with Alfonso even earlier. When one examines the sources to see what can be discovered about Marie's movements in this period, one finds striking confirmation for this suggestion.

ACTIVITIES OF MARIE DE BRIENNE 1247–1258

We know, indeed, that Marie had been in the west ever since mid-1249. She was still in Constantinople on 4 April 1247, during one of Baldwin's long absences from the capital, for we have a document which was drawn up there on that date "at the request of the empress."²⁹ On 8 October 1248, Baldwin, having returned to Constantinople, was preparing to send Marie on her voyage westward: it was then that he issued for her the charter we have already examined empowering her to mortgage his western lands in order to pay the huge debt of 24,000 hyperpers.³⁰ By this date, then, she had not yet left the east.

According to the *Chronique de Flandre et des Croisades*, Marie's visit to the west was arranged by Blanche of Castile, St Louis' mother and Marie's great-aunt, who had given Baldwin 20,000 *livres* in exchange for two promises: not to sell Namur, and to send Marie to visit her within a month after his return to Constantinople. Marie, says the chronicler, was most anxious to go (which is easily understandable in view of the dreadful anxiety she had experienced in the city during Baldwin's absence of almost five years, under severe military and economic pressures), and Baldwin ordered four armed ships prepared, and put his wife and her escort aboard.³¹

Pascual, *op. cit.*, p. 250). He therefore chooses 1264 as a reasonable date for Marie's visit and the betrothal negotiations. Yet there is no reason why Berenguela could not have become engaged to Philip at any time after the death of her first child fiancé in 1259. Moreover, we cannot even be absolutely sure that it was Berenguela rather than another daughter whom Alfonso X intended for Philip at this time. Therefore Mondejar's choice of 1264 is entirely arbitrary, and we are free to move Marie's visit to Castile back to a date well before 1 May 1261. Elsewhere (p. 625), Mondejar chooses the date late 1263 or early 1264, this time arguing that it would have taken Baldwin II until then to have joined Marie in France after the fall of Constantinople (but we have no evidence whatever that he did so before her Castilian visit), and on the alleged fact that she was in Namur in 1263 (according to Zurita, quoting the "anales de Flandes"), which seems entirely improbable, as we shall see, but which, even if it were true, would not rule out an earlier trip to Spain, since she could have gone back to Namur in 1262.

²⁹ E. Tisserant, "Le légation en orient du franciscain Dominique d'Aragon," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, xxiv (1924), 340.

³⁰ See above, note 13.

³¹ *Chronique de Flandre et des Croisades*, *op. cit.*, pp. 676–677

It is Joinville who gives us our next glimpse of Marie, in hard luck as usual. While St Louis and the Crusaders were still on Cyprus (they left for Egypt in May 1249), Marie's ship came into port at Baffe (Paphos), and her arrival was announced. When Joinville and Marie's kinsman, Érard de Brienne, got there to meet her, they found that a strong wind had caused the anchor-rope of the Empress' ship to part, and that the ship with all its cargo had been blown to Acre, leaving Marie with nothing but the clothes she stood up in and a cloak. Joinville and Érard escorted her to Limassol, where St Louis and the barons received her kindly; and the next day Joinville sent her some cloth to make a dress, some ermine to trim it, and some taffeta and sendal to line it. One of the king's knights told the king that Joinville's considerate action put them all to shame because they had not realized that the Empress was in need. Marie persuaded more than two hundred knights, including Joinville himself, to pledge themselves to go to help Baldwin at Constantinople after their own crusade should be over; but nothing ever came of this because when the time came St Louis felt he could not afford to foot the bills. As for Marie, she continued her journey, perhaps in another ship, together with her youngest brother Jean d'Acre, who later was to marry the Countess of Montfort,³² and to be *buticularius* of France.

At Negropont (Euboea), on 30 January 1249, probably very soon after leaving Cyprus, Marie acknowledged three loans: 550 *livres tournois* from Escot (Scotto), and 680 from Bon de Monz (Buondelmonte?), both Tuscans and citizens of Constantinople, and 200 *livres parisis* from Pierre de Rosny. All of these acknowledgments were addressed to Queen Blanche, who was asked to pay these creditors "from what you have there of ours, and of John's our brother." In May 1249, by which time all three creditors, perhaps travelling with Marie, had reached France, they were duly paid, and gave receipts to Blanche's treasurer.³³

The *Chronique de Flandres* says that Marie stayed with Blanche until Blanche died, after which, it reports, Marie went to live in her husband's county of Namur. Blanche died in late November or early December 1252;³⁴ we have no document or other mention of Marie between May 1249 and December 1252, except a letter of Pope Innocent IV of 7 November, 1252, in answer to a petition from Marie, instructing the bishops of Paris and Evreux to assist her against clerics and laymen who were "molesting" her and Baldwin, contrary to special papal privileges.³⁵ This is too vague a document to help us; but there seems no reason to doubt the *Chronique's* statement that Marie was in France with the dowager queen during these years.

Indeed, the *Chronique* statement seems especially reliable, because the rest of

³² J. de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874), pp. 76–78.

³³ J. de Laborde, *Layettes*, III, 54, 55, 69–70, nos. 3737, 3740, 3741, 3773, 3774, 3775; also Du Cange, *op. cit.*, in part, pp. 431–433, nos. xi and xii. For the *livre tournois* and the *livre parisis*, see above, note 12.

³⁴ *Chronique*, p. 677. For date of Blanche's death see Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de St. Louis*, ed. J. de Gaulle (Paris, 1849), III, 453.

³⁵ E. Berger, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, xx (Paris, 1884–1911), no. 6071; III, 127, 7 November 1252.

it — that soon after Blanche's death Marie went to the Low Countries — can be substantiated from surviving documents. On 24 June 1253 at Viesvil near Namur the Empress agreed to give her "dear faithful lord Fulk, hereditary castellan of Sanson, and his heirs forever," an annual rent of seven *livres* "louvegnois, à la taille d'Outre Muese" and thirty measures of oats in exchange for a mill.³⁶ On 26 July 1254, together with Charles of Anjou and the Countess Margaret of Flanders (a first cousin of her husband, the younger daughter of Emperor Baldwin I), Marie was one of those granted a truce by William of Holland, King of the Romans, in a local war in which they were all involved.³⁷ On 24 September 1256, the brothers d'Avesnes, sons of Margaret of Flanders by her first (repudiated) marriage, renounced in St Louis' presence all rights they might have in Namur, or in any other lands belonging to the Empress of Constantinople, and nullified their previous grant of Namur to Henry of Luxembourg. If Henry should not accede to this, the d'Avesnes promised not to help him but to help Marie and Baldwin maintain themselves against him.³⁸ Finally on 17 June 1258 at Bing, Marie informed the castellans, knights, and sergeants of Namur that she had placed all the castles, fortresses, and land of Namur in the hands of the King of France, who had asked her to turn them over to Margaret of Flanders. She therefore instructed them to take an oath of fidelity to Margaret, who just one week earlier had herself announced that she was taking over the castles.³⁹

All these documents except the first reflect the complicated and unfortunate history of Namur in these troubled years: Jean d'Avesnes, eldest son of Margaret of Flanders, who favored her children by her second marriage, the Dampierres, was lord of Hainaut, and as such suzerain of Namur. On the pretext that the Emperor Baldwin had not done homage to him for Namur, Jean d'Avesnes had attempted as early as 1248 to seize the county, calling in William of Holland, his brother-in-law, to help. After Innocent IV and Blanche of Castile had intervened on Baldwin's behalf, Jean d'Avesnes, on 20 July 1253, shortly after Marie's arrival in the Low Countries, gave the county to the heir of its former ruling house, Henry of Luxembourg. The truce granted by William of Holland, which we have cited, represents a stage in the subsequent conflict (Charles of Anjou was involved as claimant to Hainaut). The renunciation by the d'Avesnes in 1256 represents a temporary victory for Marie; William of Holland was dead, and St Louis, intervening, required d'Avesnes to repudiate his cession of the county to Henry of Luxembourg.⁴⁰

³⁶ Registered in *Table chronologique des chartes et diplomes imprimés concernant l'histoire de Belgique*, ed. A. Wauters (Brussels, 1876), v, 61, hereafter Wauters, *Table*; printed in full in *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut, et de Luxembourg*, ed. de Reiffenberg (Brussels, 1844), I, 144. For Baldwin's previous grant of the hereditary castellanship to Ful., see *ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁷ Registered in Bormans-Halkin, *Supplément* to Wauters, *Table*, xi, 2, p. 55; printed in full in C. Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre* (Brussels and Paris, 1894), II (*Preuves*), 379 ff. no. 224 (hereafter cited as Duvivier, *Querelle*).

³⁸ Registered in Bormans-Halkin, *Supplément* xi, 2, p. 77; printed in full, Duvivier, *Querelle*, II, 422 ff. no. 242.

³⁹ Marie's document registered in Wauters, *Table*, v, 182 and Bormans-Halkin *Supplément* XII 2, p. 101; printed in full, Duvivier, *Querelle*, II, 523, no. 291. Margaret's document of 10 June 1258 in De Laborde, *Layettes*, III, 417 ff., no. 4424.

⁴⁰ Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, *passim*.

In 1256, however, there broke out a new struggle in Namur, apparently precipitated in part by Marie's financial exactions. More important, however, was an incident in which Marie tried to hold responsible some Namur burgher families, whose wild young sons had killed her *bailli*, a knight whom she had sent to arrest them for a tavern riot. The burghers called in Henry of Luxembourg, to whom there was much local loyalty, and he was hailed as lord of Namur in the town on Christmas 1256. Marie's people (but not Marie) were shut up in the castle, the siege of which dragged on. On 13 July 1257, Richard of Cornwall, who had been chosen King of the Romans by three of the seven electors, passed through the Low Countries, and confirmed Henry of Luxembourg as Count of Namur. It seems at least possible that this may have been done in some measure because the Empress Marie was a cousin of Alfonso of Castile, Richard's rival for the German crown, although Alfonso had not, by July, yet accepted the offer made him by the majority of the electors. In any case, Marie recruited an army to attack the town and raise the siege of the castle; the d'Avesnes gave her only half-hearted support against Henry; she had to abandon the operation sometime in 1258; and on St Vincent's day (almost surely 21 January 1259), the castle of Namur capitulated to Henry of Luxembourg. Our last document from Marie's sojourn in the Low Countries, the cession of castles of 17 June 1258, already cited, represents a final though futile gesture on the part of the defeated empress to rally the loyalty of the Namurois to Margaret and St Louis, a last gesture before departure.⁴¹

⁴¹ The narrative sources for the developments in Namur between 1256 and January 1259 are *Chronique*, pp. 677 ff., which tells the story of the burghers' unruly sons; the fourteenth-century *Chronique de Jean de Hocsem*, ed. G. Kurth (Brussels, 1927), Commission Royale d'Histoire, Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire de Belgique, pp. 35 and 37, which speaks only of Marie's exactions; William of Nangis, I, 218–219, s.a. 1258; and the much less reliable *Iohannis Iperii Abbatis Chronicum Syltiense Sancti Bertini*, in E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, III (Paris, 1717), 736 ff., which wrongly places the events after the fall of Constantinople to the Greeks. The documents, except for Margaret's (see above note 39) are all published in Duvivier, *Querelle*, II. (Richard of Cornwall's confirmation is no. 275, pp. 472 ff.) Secondary accounts (none satisfactory) are A. Pinchart, "Mémoire en reponse à la question d'histoire: Narrer les événements qui . . . ont préparé la fusion des comtés de Namur et de Hainaut . . .," *Mémoires et Publications de la Société des Sciences des Arts et des Lettres du Hainaut*, VIII, 1 (1848), 161–166; J. Borgney and S. Bormans, *Cartulaire de la Commune de Namur*, I (Namur, 1876), lxx ff. Also Du Cange, *op. cit.*, I, 318 ff.; Le Nain de Tillemont, *op. cit.*, IV, 101, ff.; Duvivier, *Querelle*, I, 285 f., 316. The date of the fall of the castle is given by Hocsem (*op. cit.*, p. 37) as St Vincent's day (22 January) 1258, and this is accepted by his editor, Kurth. But (p. 35) Hocsem begins the siege at Christmas 1256, and says "in biennium obsidio est protracta." If the siege lasted two years from Christmas 1256, it cannot have been over in January 1258; and the date January 1259 is preferable (two years and one month). This has already been noticed by Tillemont in a note (*op. cit.*, VI, 284). Another possibility which seems not to have occurred to previous students is that St Vincent's day refers not to the great St Vincent but to Vincentius Aginnensis, whose day is 9 June (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* [Brussels, 1900–1901], II, 1246). A date of 9 June 1258 would theoretically be possible; this fits in with the dates of 10 and 17 June for Margaret's and Marie's announcements with regard to the castles; but even so it seems less probable than 22 January 1259.

After the fall of Constantinople and Baldwin's return to the west, he gave his son Philip de Courtenay on 16 October 1262 full authority to sell Namur and the castle of Sanson or Samson (Wauters, *Table*, V, 278); and on 16 March 1263 Philip sold all the family possessions in the Low Countries (Namur, Bouvignes, Galzuine, Vieuville, and Sanson) to Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, eldest

It is now clear that Marie was in the Low Countries between June 1253 and at least June 1258, and that shortly after the latter date she departed, perhaps not until after 22 January 1259, when the castle of Namur capitulated. By June 1258, as we know, when she turned over the castles to St Louis and Margaret, her son Philip had for some time been in the custody of the Ferro brothers. It follows that she may have gone to Castile to set about the negotiations for Philip's rescue at any time after June 1258 and before 1 May 1261, by which time her efforts had been crowned with success, and Philip was free at Beauvais. Thus what can be discovered about Marie's itinerary and activities during the years 1248–1258 fully supports the reasoning based on our other sources: all the evidence points to the period June 1258–1 May 1261 as the one for her visit to Castile and negotiations with Alfonso. And within this period, the earliest possible date would seem the most probable.

THE CASTILIAN MARRIAGE PROJECT: ITS PLACE IN CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY

So far as I have been able to discover, the Spanish sources do not refer to the project which Sanudo mentions of a marriage between Philip de Courtenay and a daughter of Alfonso X. Yet the plan for this marriage is known to us from another source besides Sanudo. On 31 March 1266, Pope Clement IV wrote Alfonso a long letter, at the end of which he turned, as follows, to the question of this very marriage, which was apparently still in prospect:

Further, because the canons of the Holy Fathers are so firmly based that it is not proper or fitting to depart from them in any way unless there are arguments of great utility or necessity, neither of which we have been able to discern, with regard to the marriage of your daughter and the son of our dear son in Christ B. Emperor of Constantinople, for which the grace of our dispensation was asked, be not distressed that we have denied it. We thought that it was not pleasing to God or suitable for you. For in the past a generous granting of dispensations in such questions has, under the hope of pardon, led many to incest: though rashly, they have regarded the dreadful crime the more lightly the more easily they could get a dispensation for it, either before or after marriage.⁴²

It is of course true that Philip de Courtenay and Alfonso's daughter were second cousins, but such marriages were often sanctioned by the papacy. One is led by Clement's own language, which stresses the absence of "magna utilitas" or "justa necessitas" in the arrangement, and flatly says of it "nec tibi . . . ex-

of Margaret's second family of sons, at a price of 20,000 *livres parisis* (Wauters, *Table*, v, 285–286; Bormans-Halkin, *Supplément* xi, 2, p. 157). See the text of Philip's official notification to the officials and population in S. Borman and E. Schoolmeester, *Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, ii (Brussels, 1895), 137 f., no. 584, which shows that he had St Louis' consent to the sale. On 24 July 1263 the Bishop of Liège as suzerain invested Gui (Wauters, *Table*, v, 297; Bormans-Halkin, *Supplément*, xi, 2, p. 163; Reiffenberg, *Monuments*, i, 150, no. 22). The documents concerning this transaction have not all been published; it is my hope to publish them shortly.

⁴² E. Jordan, *Les Registres du Clement IV, 1265–1268*, Fasc. iv (Paris, 1904), p. 376, no. 1036; text in full in E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), ii, col. 303, no. 258, Perugia 31 March 1266.

pedire," to conclude that reasons of state predominated in the Pope's mind, and that the canons were invoked as a secondary consideration or even as a pretext.

What these reasons of state were is strongly suggested⁴³ by another letter of Clement's from May or June 1266 addressed to Baldwin II himself: "If you now, as you maintain, rejoice on account of God and in God, the general joy of those who love God makes you once more praiseworthy in this regard, though once it was well known that you had contracted a bond of friendship with that plague-bearing enemy M., who is now laid low (*cum hoste pestifero M. nunc prostrato contraxeras amicitiam*) an alliance pleasing neither to God nor to man."⁴⁴ M. here is of course Manfred, who had been killed (*nunc prostrato*) at the battle of Benevento in February 1266, and with whom Baldwin II had been intimate at least as far back⁴⁵ as his first landing on western soil after the fall of Constantinople on 25 July 1261. It is not possible to date this landing precisely, but we have a document which shows that Baldwin was still in Athens in October 1261; so he must have come to Italy after that date.⁴⁶ Sanudo reports as follows Man-

⁴³ Dade, *op. cit.*, p. 25, mentions the projected marriage and suggests that it was Alfonso X whom the Pope and Charles of Anjou feared as an opponent. Although there was an old hostility between Alfonso and Charles as Count of Provence (see below, note 73), this does not seem as important as the other considerations set forth here.

⁴⁴ Jordan, *Registres*, Masc. iv, p. 383, no. 1075; text in Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, ii, col. 354 f., no. 312, Viterbo 17 May or 16 June 1366.

⁴⁵ A passage in the *Diurnali* or *Annali* of Matteo Spinelli da Giovenazzo reports that Baldwin II visited Bari on 9 August 1259 and was warmly received by Manfred; but the text is widely regarded as a sixteenth-century forgery, and its information on this point should almost certainly be viewed as a misdating of Baldwin's actual visit to Bari in 1261, about which we have positive knowledge. Text in G. del Re, *Cronisti e Scrittori Sincroni Napolitani, Storia della Monarchia* (Naples, 1866), ii (Svevi), 641; also ed. G. Vigo and G. Dura, (Naples, 1872). G. del Giudice, *La Famiglia del Re Manfredi* (Naples, 1880), pp. 21 ff. and *nota illustrativa* iii, pp. viii ff. at end of volume, argues in favor of the authenticity of the passage, but his arguments are rejected by Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 333, note 3. There is a large literature of controversy on the work of Spinelli, see B. Capasso, *Ancora i Diurnali di Matteo da Giovenazzo* (Florence, 1896) for references; Capasso rejects Matteo, the original attack on whom was made by Wilhelm Bernardi, most conveniently available in *Il Propugnatore*, ii, 1 (1869) 68–87, 253–273, 385–397; ii, 2 (1869) 28–56; for a defense see C. Minieri Riccio, *I Notamenti di Matteo Spinelli da Giovenazzo* (Naples, 1870) and later additions. See also B. Croce, "Angelo di Costanzo, supposto falsario dei 'Diurnali' dello Spinelli," *Aneddoti di varia letteratura* (Naples, 1942), i, 356–359. I have not been able to consult S. Daconto, "*Diurnali*" di Matteo Spinelli da Giovenazzo (Giovenazzo, 1950).

⁴⁶ Riant, *Exuviae*, ii, 144, no. 93, 145–149, nos. 95 and 96. Also registered in Wauters, *Table*, v, 255, and printed in full in L. D'Achéry, *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1723), iii, 642. These documents refer to the arm of St John the Baptist, covered with a gold cover and encased in a silver reliquary appraised at 300 hyperpers, which Baldwin had given as collateral for a loan of 5,000 hyperpers to Othon de Cicon, lord of Carystos on Euboea (Negropont). Since the Emperor could not redeem the relic by paying off his debt, he gave it to Othon, who in March 1263 sent it together with Baldwin's deed of gift, by the hands of two abbots of Cistercian houses in Greece, as a present to the Cistercian order, whose general chapter was so pleased that they permitted one of the messengers, the abbot of Daphni, near Athens, to attend thereafter only such meetings of the chapter as the abbots of Syria were required to attend. That Baldwin left Manfred and moved on to Venice and France during 1262 is indicated by a Bolognese chronicle, noted by Hopf (*Griechenland*, p. 261), now found in a new edition: *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. A. Sorbelli (Città del Castello, 1913), ii, 1, p. 159; Muratori, *RILL*, xviii, 1, part 2, s.a. 1262. The ignorant Bolognese

fred's warm reception of Baldwin: "This prince received him honorably, and both he and his men did him honor and gave him many great gifts."⁴⁷ But that other Venetian, Martino da Canale, is more detailed:

When King Manfred . . . knew of the arrival of the Emperor of Constantinople, he went to meet him and received him most cordially, and gave him joy and feasting . . . and gave him gold and silver plate and cloths of silk and beautiful destriers and palfreys and other horses for his suite, and many servants to serve them. And afterward he gave him much gold coin to spend, and promised him the aid of his own body, and of his barons and his men at his own expense, and afterward he gave the barons of (the Emperor) land much gold and property. "Sir Emperor," said King Manfred, "do you go to my lord the Pope as you suggest. He is not on good terms with me, as I know to be true. I wish, if you please, that you should tell him from me that if he will give me his grace and peace, or at least a truce, I will cross into Romania with you at my own expense, and will put you in possession of Constantinople; and when I return, if he will give me Apulia, I shall cross the sea with all my force, and will do all in my power to take Jerusalem. . . . And if my lord the Pope does not wish to do this, and you cross into Romania, I shall give you much assistance." To this the Emperor answered: "Great thanks, and know truly that I will certainly take the message to my lord the Pope. . . ." My lord the Emperor told the Pope. . . . Know ye my lords that the Pope did not answer his words either yes or anything.⁴⁸

This passage represents the realities of the diplomatic situation: Manfred was truly anxious for a reconciliation with the Pope; he was willing to go to Constantinople in exchange for a truce, and on a later crusade in exchange for papal recognition of his rights to his south Italian kingdom, but this of course was precisely what the papacy was determined not to grant. With the complications of Manfred's previous involvements in Greece and his marriage into the family of the Despots of Epirus, and with the negotiations for an understanding between him and Popes Urban IV and Clement IV we need not deal here. It is sufficient to note that all Manfred's advances failed to move the Popes from their hostility to him and their favor for Charles of Anjou. Papal policy was to culminate in Manfred's death at Benevento (26 February 1266), and in Charles' final triumph over Conradin at Tagliacozzo (23 August, 1268).⁴⁹ During the period between

author calls the Emperor Peter and says that he is the nephew of the King of France, but none the less provides us with a useful detail.

⁴⁷ "Fragment," ed. Hopf, p. 172, ed. Wolff, p. 152.

⁴⁸ "La Chronique des Veniciens de Maistre Martin da Canal," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VIII (1845), 485 ff. (hereafter cited as Canale).

⁴⁹ On Manfred's Greek connections see M. Dendias, 'Ελένη Αγγελίνα Δουκάτινα, Βασιλίσσα Σικελίας καὶ Νεαπόλεως, in 'Ηπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά'⁵⁰ (1926), 219–294, a monograph on Manfred's Epirote wife; also Del Giudice, *Famiglia*,⁵¹ to be supplemented by J. Ficker, "Erörterungen zur Reichsgeschichte des XIIIten Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, III (1882), 358–361 (no. iv); IV (1883), 1–5 (no. v). On Manfred and the Popes, K. Hampe, *Urban IV und Manfred (1261–1264)* (Heidelberg, 1905); A. Bergmann, *König Manfred von Sizilien, 1264–1266* (Heidelberg, 1909); E. Jordan, *Les Origines de la domination angévine en Italie* (Paris, 1909); K. Hampe, *Geschichte Konradins von Hohenstaufen*, 3d edition (Leipzig, 1942), with a good bibliographical appendix by H. Kämpf, covering publications between 1894 and 1942. On an important point of detail see F. Schneider, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Friedrichs II und Manfreds II. Manfreds Versöhnungspolitik," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, herausgegeben vom königlichen preussischen historischen Institut in Rom*, XV (1912), 17–52, and the effective reply

Baldwin II's arrival in Italy in late 1261 and the battle of Benevento, however, the Latin Emperor was an ardent proponent of peace between the papacy and Manfred, on whom he was relying heavily for aid in the recapture of Constantinople.

That Baldwin's attitude and his zeal on Manfred's behalf seriously displeased the popes, and helped alter their policy of favoring the re-establishment of the Latin Empire we know not only from Clement IV's letter written after Manfred's death and already quoted, which so coolly welcomes Baldwin back into papal confidence, while reproaching him for his association with that "plague-bearing enemy." We have in addition an earlier letter from Baldwin II to Manfred. Written from Paris on 2 July 1263, the letter was intercepted, opened, and read by Malatesta, Podestà of Rimini, who then sent it on to Pope Urban IV. Urban transmitted it on 28 July to his notary Albert, who was in France, and instructed him to communicate the contents to Charles of Anjou "so that he may protect himself and his enterprise from the aforesaid Emperor Baldwin, who seems by the contents of his letter to be a supporter of Manfred." St Louis was also to be informed, if Albert the notary saw fit.

In his letter to Manfred, which never reached its destination, the Emperor Baldwin reported that the Pope had complained to St Louis that all Manfred's apparent efforts at making peace with the papacy were fraudulent. These communications from the Pope, Baldwin found, had greatly swayed St Louis. Vehemently and repeatedly protesting his friendship for Manfred (*... nos qui honori et exaltationi vestrae intendimus toto mentis desiderio ... honorem et promotionem vestram diligimus et ex cordis intimo affectamus. . . .*), Baldwin warned him that the dangers which now hung over him (Charles of Anjou's projected expedition) were most serious. Urgently he counselled Manfred to send to France at once a reliable secret messenger, who would come to Baldwin and the Duke of Burgundy, with messages for St Louis and for the Queen of France, telling how sincere his efforts had been to make peace with the church. Baldwin repeats again and again that if Manfred should fail to make, his case with St Louis dreadful consequences might follow.⁵⁰

This letter makes it clear that Baldwin and Hugh IV, Duke of Burgundy (to whom Baldwin later promised 13,000 *livres tournois* and ceded the rights of the kingdom of Thessalonica and other lordships in the Latin Empire, in preparation for the projected expedition to recapture Constantinople)⁵¹ were trying to re-

of R. Davidsohn in the second part of a study in the same periodical: "Beiträge zur Geschichte Manfreds," XVII (1914-1924), 78-107. Good general sketch of Manfred in O. Cartellieri "König Manfred," *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, I (Palermo, 1910), 116-138. R. Morghen, *Il tramonto della potenza sveva in Italia, 1250-1266* (Rome and Milan, 1936), pp. 211 ff.

⁵⁰ Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, II, col. 23 ff., no. 10 (Urban to Albert) and 11 (Baldwin to Manfred).

⁵¹ Du Cange, *op. cit.*, I, 453-455, nos 21 (money grant) and 22 (land grant) of January 1266. From no. 22: "... donons et otroians au devant dist duc et a ses hoirs perpetuelement le Realme de Salenique . . . la baronie d'Ainnes (Aenos on the Aegean coast, east of Thessalonica) . . . Et ancora par desus ce une des autres plus grans baronies qui soit en l'empire, cele que il miés amerá." Cf. E.

strain St Louis from supporting Charles of Anjou's project against Manfred, and that Baldwin feared that the Pope's influence on behalf of Charles would prevail unless Manfred could speedily put in a word of his own with St Louis. Baldwin's mention of the Queen of France at this juncture is particularly interesting. Margaret of Provence, wife of St Louis, was bitterly hostile to Charles of Anjou, who, in addition to being her husband's brother, was her sister's husband. Charles, by his marriage to Beatrix, youngest of the four daughters of Count Ramon Berenguer IV (d. 1245), had acquired Provence, and with it the enmity of his sister-in-law, the Queen of France. She actually had her seven-year-old son Philip, later Philip III, swear secretly never to ally himself with his uncle Charles, and to remain under her tutelage until he was thirty. Urban IV had discovered this, and only three weeks before he sent Baldwin's intercepted letter addressed to Manfred back to Paris to Albert the notary, he had written to the young Philip (6 July 1263) tactfully absolving him from this oath to his mother.⁵² In all probability Baldwin II and the Duke of Burgundy, each doubtless acting in his own interests, belonged in Paris to what might be called Queen Margaret's party, opposed to Charles, and therefore friendly to Manfred.

During the years 1261–1266, then, we find Baldwin II ranged with Manfred, first as would-be peacemaker between Manfred and the papacy, and then as intriguant with the Queen of France and the Duke of Burgundy against Charles of Anjou and therefore against the papacy. In 1264, we know that Manfred conspired with Guercio, Podestà of the Genoese in Constantinople, to seize the city, but how far Baldwin was involved we cannot be sure.⁵³ In any case, Urban IV's letter to his notary makes it clear that he regarded Baldwin as an enemy of his and of Charles of Anjou, and as a dangerous influence on St. Louis. It is little wonder, therefore, if, during this period before Manfred's death, Urban IV and Clement IV allowed the traditional papal support for the Latin Empire to lapse.

It should of course be realized as well that as early as the late years of the pontificate of Innocent IV, the popes had begun to show a willingness to write off the Latin Empire, which had disappointed them on two main grounds: it had failed to prove itself an effective instrument for reuniting the Greek and Latin churches, and it had never served as an effective base for the launching of a crusade. It was Innocent IV who in 1254 had first hinted to the Greeks that, if negotiations for union could be brought to a successful conclusion, he would

Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne* (Dijon, 1894), v, 72, 258–259, nos. 3468 and 3469. Petit also points out (p. 45) the family connection between Hugh IV of Burgundy and Alfonso X of Castile. Duke Hugh IV had been in Greece in 1248; so Hopf, *Griechenland*, 274; Joinville, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁵² E. Boutric, "Marguerite de Provence," *Revue des Questions Historiques*, III (1867), 417–458, (text of Urban's letter in note to p. 422); R. Sternfeld, *Karl von Anjou, als Graf von Provence* (Berlin, 1888), *passim*. The papal registers contain numerous letters endeavoring to settle this quarrel. Indeed, Urban IV went so far as to make a reconciliation with Margaret a condition of Charles' coronation as King of Sicily, but without result.

⁵³ For the plot see *Annali Genovesi de Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. C. Imperiale, IV (Rome, 1926), 65 f., in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, XIV.

look the other way while they re-occupied their capital, and thereafter would himself restore the Greek Patriarch. Broken off by the deaths of Pope Innocent and Emperor John Dukas Vatatzes of Nicaea in 1254, the negotiations were resumed by Pope Alexander IV and Emperor Theodore II Lascaris in 1256, and, although they came to nothing, it is clear that the interest of the popes in the Latin Empire, their confidence in its power to survive, and their willingness to raise money and armies for its defense varied inversely with the strength of their hopes for the conclusion of a separate agreement directly with the Greeks.⁵⁴

During the spring and summer of 1262, after the fall of Constantinople, Urban II wrote to St Louis, to the Provincial of the Franciscans in France, and to numerous others, urging an immediate crusade for the recapture of Constantinople.⁵⁵ Yet at the same time, Michael VIII Palaeologus began to negotiate directly with the papacy, hoping to ward off just such a crusade. Partly because it seemed clear that Manfred would play a leading role in any new war against the Greeks, and because for Urban IV and Clement IV Manfred's possible success was unthinkable, Urban soon warmed toward Michael, and cooled toward Baldwin, now a friend of Manfred.

With the details of the papal negotiations with Michael Palaeologus, which have been carefully studied by others,⁵⁶ we need not concern ourselves. What is important for us here is to realize that the relationships just sketched form the background against which we must place Clement IV's letter to Alfonso of Castile, already quoted, refusing his dispensation to permit Alfonso's daughter to marry Philip de Courtenay. At the moment when the letter was written (31 March 1266) Baldwin was not *persona grata* with the papacy, and therefore the Castilian marriage scheme which had been launched by Marie on her visit to

⁵⁴ Berger 4749, 4750, 28 May 1249; Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 362 ff. for the period from May 1249 on. Since Norden wrote, the discovery of new letters of Alexander IV, summarizing the terms previously offered Vatatzes by Innocent IV and not preserved elsewhere, has added to our knowledge. P. Schillmann, "Zur byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV," *Römische Quartalschrift*, xxii (1908), Heft 4, pp. 108ff., letters from the manuscript formulary of Marino de Ebulo, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3975 and 3976, Cod. C 117 in the Archives of the chapter of St Peter. See especially p. 114: ". . . postquam Constantinopolitanam civitatem ad eiusdem imperatoris [Vatatzes] dominium devolvi casu quolibet contigisset, eum [Greek Patriarch] faceret [subject is the Pope] in antiqui patriarchatus sedem reduci . . ." C. Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d'Alexandre IV* (Paris, 1902), no. 1406; O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVII* (Lucca, 1747), II, 559 ff., s.a. 1256, sections 48–55. See V. Laurent, "Notes de chronographie et d'histoire Byzantine," *Échos d'Orient*, xxxvi (1937), 162–165; and "Le Pape Alexandre IV et l'empire de Nicée," *ibid.*, xxxiv (1935), 26–55. These points will be more fully elaborated in my book on the Latin Empire.

⁵⁵ J. Guiraud, *Les Registres d'Urbain IV* (Paris, 1901), nos. 131–138; Raynaldus, *Annales* (Lucca, 1748), III, 95 ff., s.a. 1262, sections 39–43.

⁵⁶ Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 ff., especially 399–433. See the criticisms of J. Haller, "Das Papsttum und Byzanz," *Historische Zeitschrift*, xcix (1907), 12–13, which is correct on one point of detail, but is so venomous and unfair in general as to suggest a personal animosity. Norden has misdated one papal letter to Michael VIII; so that is impossible to argue, as he does, that it was the discovery of Baldwin's friendship for Manfred which directly inspired Urban to negotiate with the Greeks; on the other hand Norden's general conclusions are sound. See also C. Chapman, *Michel Paléologue* (Paris, 1926), chapters vi and vii. The problem is being studied afresh by Dr Deno Geanakoplos, who is at work on a book on *Michael and the Latins*.

Castile between June 1258 and 1 May 1261 was laid aside. After the death of Manfred, however, Baldwin II had to make his peace with Clement IV, whom he visited in August 1266;⁵⁷ by October 1266 he was giving advice to the victorious Charles of Anjou; and on 27 May 1267, by the treaty of Viterbo, signed in the Pope's own chamber, he became the ally of Charles, whose daughter Beatrix was now betrothed to Philip de Courtenay.⁵⁸ They were married in Foggia on 15 October 1273, when Beatrix had become nubile.⁵⁹

With regard to the collapse of the plans for the Castilian marriage, it also seems likely that Alfonso X himself had lost his enthusiasm for it. As has been shown, it had been planned by him together with his cousin, the Empress Marie, before 1 May 1261. Since that date Baldwin II had not only lost Constantinople, but had become very closely associated with Manfred, to whom Alfonso, in his capacity as claimant to the western imperial throne, was markedly hostile. In 1260, for example, an embassy of Florentine Guelfs opposed to Manfred tendered their support to Alfonso; and again, on 20 September of that year, Alfonso wrote to his father-in-law, James of Aragon, urging him (vainly) to abandon all plans for the marriage arranged between James' son and heir Peter and Manfred's daughter Constance.⁶⁰ Alfonso's opposition to Manfred may well have extended in some degree to Baldwin II, Manfred's new ally after 1261, and so Clement IV's letter of 1266 refusing his dispensation for the wedding of Philip de Courtenay to a Castilian princess may actually have been written to help

⁵⁷ Jordan, *Registres*, no. 1107, p. 388, 2 August from Clement IV at Viterbo to the papal legate in Sicily, Ralph of Albano, telling him that he expects a visit from Baldwin on the following Thursday.

⁵⁸ For Baldwin as adviser to Charles, see below, text and note 80. Treaty of Viterbo printed in De Laborde, *Layettes*, IV, 220 ff., no. 5284; also Du Cange, *op. cit.*, I, 455 ff., no. 23; also G. del Giudice, *Codice Diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I e II d'Angiò* (Naples, 1869), II, 1, pp. 30 ff., no. 4 (hereafter cited as Del Giudice, *Codice*); also R. Filangieri, *I Registri della Cancelleria Angioina* (Naples, 1950–51), in *Testi i documenti di storia Napoletana pubblicati dall'Accademia Pontaniana*, I, 94 ff., no. 3 (hereafter cited as Filangieri, *Registri*). Its prologue recalls that Baldwin has not found the assistance he had hoped for at the courts of other monarchs, and that many negotiations had preceded the present agreement, with its important military and territorial provisions. In exchange for help, Charles was to have free and clear of the Latin Emperor's suzerainty the principality of Achaia, the Epirot lands that had formed the dowry of Manfred's Greek wife, Helen, all the islands of the Aegean except Lesbos, Samos, Kos (Ango), and Chios, and one third of the territory of the Latin Empire itself. Under certain conditions he was to receive the Kingdom of Thessalonica also. For the recently-discovered separate treaty between Charles and William of Achaia, concluded three days earlier, see J. Longnon, "Le rattachement de la principauté de Morée au royaume de Sicile en 1267," *Journal des Savants* (1942), 134 ff.

⁵⁹ For the documents concerning the wedding, see Del Giudice, *Codice*, III (Naples, 1902), 16 ff., in note 1 to p. 16; also C. Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplomatico* (Naples, 1878), I, 108, no. 124.

⁶⁰ For the Florentine embassy, see A. Ballesteros Beretta, "Itinerario de Alfonso X, Rey de Castilla," *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, CVII (1935), 38–39, hereafter cited as Ballesteros Beretta, *Itinerario*; for Alfonso's letter to James, see *Memorial Histórico Español*, I, 165, no. 80; also *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona d'Aragón*, ed. P. Bofarull y Mascaró (Barcelona, 1850), VI, 153 f., no. 36: "Et si vos desto non nos quisedes creer de consejo . . . et el casamiento . . . quisedes lever adelante, daqui nos desculpamos ende que de ninguna cosa non podriedes seer tan mal aconsejado, nin en que mas fiziesedes vuestro danno . . ." For the marriage see also above, text and note 22. See also F. Valls-Taberner, "Relacions Familiars i Politiques entre Jaume el Conqueridor i Anfos el Savi," *Bulletin Hispanique*, XXI (1919), 9–52.

Alfonso got out of an arrangement which no longer suited him. Though this cannot be demonstrated, what follows will clearly indicate that Alfonso's enthusiasm for the Latin Emperor's cause waned after Marie's visit.

ALFONSO X AND BALDWIN II: 1263

In Martino da Canale we find a more detailed account than in Sanudo of the Venetian negotiations in Rome, France, and Spain shortly after Baldwin had left Manfred (1262–1263). Canale tells us that the Venetian ambassador Marco Giustiniani, whom we have encountered in Castile in Sanudo's version, actually was with Baldwin II in all these places:

When the Doge had received the letter from the Emperor of Constantinople, he sent his messengers to the Pope. . . . When the two messengers of my lord Doge were before the Pope with the Emperor they greeted him . . . and said that if the Emperor would go to recover the Empire, the Doge would give ships to him, and all the others who would go . . . and the Pope promised the Cross and absolution. . . . Michele Dauro, who was one of the messengers returned home, and the other, who was named Messer Marco Giustiniani, went with the Emperor to the land of France. The Emperor asked aid of the King [St Louis], and he promised it, and Messer Marco Giustiniani promised on behalf of the Doge to give passage by ship at the expense of Venice to all those who wished to cross over. . . . From there they went to the King of Castile, and he promised to give them knights in plenty. Know, lords, that a good deal was promised and little received. [Alfonso] did not keep his word, and Messer Marco Giustiniani returned to Venice.⁶¹

From this we learn that Baldwin himself visited Castile with Giustiniani, a thing we should not have suspected from Sanudo's account. Andrea Dandolo's chronicle confirms this: "At Baldwin's request the Doge sent Michele Dauro and Marco Giustiniani as envoys to the Pope to get financial aid for the recovery of the Empire. When they could get nothing but words, Michele Dauro went home, but the other set out with Baldwin to Louis King of France and to the King of Castile. None the less he came back empty-handed."⁶² Possibly resentment among the Castilian nobles at Alfonso's over-generous gifts to Marie on her visit on behalf of Philip de Courtenay (1258–1261) might account for his failure, as reported by Canale and Dandolo, as well as by Sanudo, to give more help to Baldwin and Giustiniani when they in turn later appeared upon the scene. But we must suppose also that Alfonso already knew of Baldwin's developing friendship with Manfred, and that this too doubtless weighed in his decision not to give any further large-scale assistance to the mendicant Latin Emperor or to the Venetians, with whose Genoese enemies he had, moreover, intimate relations.^{62a} If this is so, Alfonso would presumably also have cooled toward the projected marriage alliance between his daughter and Philip de Courtenay; so that the papal refusal of a dispensation in 1266, far from being a disappointment, may actually have corresponded with Alfonso's own wishes.

⁶¹ Canale, p. 502.

⁶² *Andreae Danduli Chronicon*, in *Raccolta dei Storici Italiani ordinate da L. Muratori*, XII, 1, fasc. 4 (Bologna, 1941), 311 (hereafter cited as Dandolo).

^{62a} See R. S. Lopez, "Alfonso el Sabio y el Primer Almirante Genoves de Castilla," *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, XIV (1950), 5–16.

I do not find in the Castilian sources confirmation for Baldwin's visit to Alfonso, but the Aragonese documents preserve three clear indications, two still partly unpublished, that Baldwin was in Aragon in the first half of 1263, and that the King of Aragon, James the Conqueror, advanced him sums of money. On 15 April 1263, at Osca, James acknowledged a debt of 719 *solidi* to Martin Garces, "quos nunc acomodastis nobis in Oscha ad opus expense nostri et nobilis imperatoris Constantinopolis." On 11 May 1263 at Lerida James similarly acknowledged a debt to Benevisto da Porta, "Baiulus of Barcelona," of 1,000 "solidos jaccenses, quos nunc nobis in Ilerda ad opus Imperatoris Constantinopolis mutuastis . . .," indicating that Baldwin and James were together in Lerida on that date. Finally, on 28 August 1263 at Barcelona, James acknowledged to Martin de Vallebrera a debt of 760 *solidi*, "quos nobis mutuastis modo in Ilerda quando venimus ibi cum Emperator Constantinopolitan."⁶³ Of the three sums, only the second, of 1,000 *solidi*, seems to have been entirely used for Baldwin's expenses; the first was in part intended for these; and the last may not have been for Baldwin's use at all, although the mention of his name suggests that it may have been. This demonstration that Baldwin visited Aragon as well as Castile, and accepted gifts of money there fits well with Sanudo's intimation that James gave money to the cause of the Latin Empire, but not as much as Alfonso had given.

The "nunc" in the first two documents indicates that Baldwin was present in person; the "modo . . . quando venimus" in the third shows that he had left Aragon by 28 August 1263. This is strikingly confirmed by his letter from Paris of 2 July 1263 to Manfred, already noticed. At the very beginning of this letter, Baldwin refers to himself as "redeuntes de Hispania ad partes Franciae."⁶⁴

Partly because Norden has confused the matter by writing that Marie and Baldwin went to Spain together,⁶⁵ citing in support Sanudo (who actually says in effect, as we have seen, that Marie went there alone) and Canale (who actually mentions only Baldwin and Giustiniani but not Marie), it should be emphasized here that Baldwin's visit to Castile and Aragon in the spring of

⁶³ Documents of 15 April and 28 August 1263 cited in J. Miret i Sans, *Itinerari de Jaume I "El Conqueridor"* (Barcelona, 1918), pp. 336 and 343 respectively. Miret i Sans wrongly says, with regard to both documents, that the emperor referred to is Philip de Courtenay. He argues that in 1262 at Clermont Ferrand the news of the fall of Constantinople and the *destitucio* of Baldwin II was not known, and that therefore at that time Philip called himself only "son of the Emperor," but that by 15 April 1263 the news was known in the west and Philip therefore was called Emperor. Quite apart from this curious reasoning (why should the heir to an imperial throne have been called Emperor during his father's lifetime just because the loss of the empire had become publicly known?), this is totally fallacious. Philip never called himself anything but 'first born son of the Emperor' until after Baldwin's death. See below, note 68. Miret i Sans was not a student of the Latin Emperors' usage and history; so it apparently did not occur to him that these two documents refer not to Philip but to the only true emperor of 1263: Baldwin II himself. The document of 11 May 1263, apparently unknown to Miret i Sans, is published by E. G. Hurtebize, "Recull de Documents Inédits del Rey En Jaume I," *Congrés d'Historia de la Corona d'Aragó dedicat al Rey En Jaume I* (Barcelona, 1918), II, 1220, no. 55.

⁶⁴ Reference in note 50 above.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 404.

1263 was wholly separate from that of Marie made between 1258 and 1261.

Now that this has clearly emerged, it is possible to conjecture, although not to prove, that the Castilian marriage alliance was Marie's policy rather than Baldwin's: from her point of view, during her trip to Spain, it was natural to turn to her cousin Alfonso to secure the help the Latin Empire needed; while the policy of friendship with and dependence upon Manfred was Baldwin's rather than Marie's. We now know at least that Baldwin was not with Marie when she reached her agreement with Alfonso, and that Marie was not with Baldwin when he reached his with Manfred. The Empress' Castilian policy and the emperor's Hohenstaufen policy could not be pursued simultaneously. In part, larger European considerations prevented: papal hostility to Manfred, papal coolness to Alfonso, Alfonso's hostility to Manfred, the growing might of Charles of Anjou. Partly also it was the character of the protagonists which prevented: Baldwin ineffectual and object of scorn, with "nothing left him except the shadow of a great name," as a contemporary says,⁶⁶ Alfonso vacillating, overambitious, and inert, Charles of Anjou ruthless, skillful, and lucky. It was necessary that both Baldwin's Hohenstaufen policy and Marie's Castilian policy be abandoned, and that the power to recapture Constantinople be sought where power was: hence the Treaty of Viterbo of 1267, the alliance between Baldwin and Charles, and the marriage of 1273 between Philip and Beatrix.

THE MARRIAGE PROJECT AGAIN: 1281

Yet it is of considerable interest to note that the project to marry Philip de Courtenay to a daughter of Alfonso X was not forever abandoned even after his marriage to Beatrix of Anjou-Sicily, but was revived some eighteen years later. Beatrix died between 16 November and 13 December 1275⁶⁷ (Philip was by then titular Emperor, Baldwin II having died before January 1274⁶⁸), and

⁶⁶ *Annales S. Iustinae Patarinae*, in *MGH SS*, xix, 182: "... Balduinus, cui . . . remanserat tantum magni nominis umbra . . ." Cf. also *Chronique*, p. 676, on the impression Baldwin made upon Blanche of Castile: "... le trouva enfantin en ses paroles, si li desplut moult, car à empire tenir convient sage homme et vigreus."

⁶⁷ C. Minieri Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I d'Angiò* (Naples, 1857), p. 116, note 257, based on documents in the Angevin registers never published and now presumably destroyed in the fire set by the German army in September 1943. With regard to the documents from the Angevin archives I have used the words "never published and presumably destroyed" to mean that Filangieri, who is attempting to reconstruct the registers, has not yet reached the volume in question, and that no help is meanwhile obtained from any of the following: A. de Boüard, *Documents en français des archives angévines de Naples (règne de Charles I)*: *Les Mandements aux trésoriers* (Paris, 1933), and *Les Comptes des trésoriers* (Paris, 1935); *Gli Atti Perduti della Cancelleria Angioina trasuntati da Carlo de Lellis*, Parte 1, *Il Regno di Carlo I*, ed. B. Mazzoleni, two volumes (Rome, 1939, 1943), *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*; E. M. Jameson, "Documents from the Angevin Registers of Naples: Charles I," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xvii, New Series iv (1949), 87-180.

⁶⁸ Dandolo, p. 320. In January 1274, Charles of Anjou, acting on the complaint of Philip de Courtenay (new for the first time called Emperor; in all the wedding documents of 1273 he is called "son of the Emperor"), ordered the arrest of Milo of Galata, man of business of the "late Emperor Baldwin" for refusing to make an accounting of his receipts and expenditures. See Del Giudice, *Codice*, ii, 1, p. 41, document 6 in note 5 to p. 40. On 27 October 1274, Charles ordered a marble tomb to be

seven years later (1 August 1281) we have a letter from King Peter of Aragon to Alfonso X of Castile, reluctantly giving his consent to a new plan of Alfonso's to marry Philip de Courtenay to his daughter, Berenguela (and his son Sancho to a daughter of Charles of Anjou):

. . . with respect to the making of a marriage between the Infanta Doña Berenguela and Philip Emperor of Constantinople, even though the said marriage is strongly suspect for us on account of the relationships by which Philip is bound to our enemies and yours, yet, in view of the age and condition of your daughter, and because we rely besides upon your loyalty and sincerity never to allow the debt and affection which we have to each other to be injured in any respect because of this marriage, we give our agreement and consent to the same marriage (*eidem matrimonio praebemus nostrum consilium et assensum*).⁶⁹

It seems particularly important to cite this passage accurately, since Dade has read into it a meaning exactly opposite to the true one, saying wrongly that Peter of Aragon *refused* his consent to the marriage.⁷⁰ What actually prevented the marriage from taking place this time we do not know; but quite possibly Philip's own death on Christmas day 1283⁷¹ intervened before arrangements could be completed.

As a gloss to the quotation from Peter's letter to Alfonso, the following may be offered. Peter speaks of an enmity existing between Philip de Courtenay's relatives on the one hand and himself and Alfonso X on the other. The chief such relative was of course Charles of Anjou, who had conquered and killed Manfred, Peter's father-in-law, through whom Peter had acquired his claim to Sicily. Charles of Anjou was indeed Peter's greatest enemy, and by 1281 the Aragonese plan for an expedition against Angevin Sicily had already reached an advanced stage.⁷² Alfonso X too, it is true, had in years long past found himself at odds with Charles (the Count of Provence) over the city of Marseilles; and

made for Baldwin in the cathedral of Barletta (*ibid.*, p. 41, document 7 in note 5 to p. 40); text in full in C. Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplomatico* (Naples, 1878), I, 115, no. 185, who also prints the other documents concerning Baldwin referred to in Del Giudice's note. On 4 November 1274 Philip as Emperor confirmed the Treaty of Viterbo (Bouchet, *op. cit.*, *Preuves*, pp. 21–22).

⁶⁹ *Memorial Historico Español* (Madrid, 1851), II, 49, no. 191.

⁷⁰ Dade, *op. cit.*, p. 67. R. S. Lopez, *Genova Marinara nel Duecento*, Benedetto Zaccaria (Milan, n.d. but 1933), p. 91 expressed doubts as to this proposal but knew neither this document nor the fact that by this time Beatrice was dead and Philip free to re-marry. See also H. Wieruszowski, "Conjuraciones y alianzas políticas del rey Pedro de Aragón contra Carlos de Anjou antes de las Vísperas Sicilianos," *Boletín de la Academia de Historia*, cvII (1935), 565 (hereafter Wieruszowski, "Conjuraciones.")

⁷¹ Hopf, *Griechenland*, p. 263, citing Reg. Ang. no. 21 (1274 B), fo. 139, gives the date as 15 December; on p. 327, citing Reg. Ang. no. 49 (1284 B), fol. 52, and no. 48 (1284 C), fol. 33, he gives the date as 25 December. C. Minerij Riccio, *Genealogia*, p. 117, note 266, agrees with this last date and gives the same references. Original documents unpublished and now presumably destroyed.

⁷² O. Cartellieri, *Peter von Aragon und die sizilianische Vesper* (Heidelberg, 1940), *passim*; Wieruszowski, "Conjuraciones" and "Der Anteil Johanns von Procida an der Verschwörung gegen Karl von Anjou," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, v (Münster, 1935), 230–239, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, erste Reihe; hereafter cited as "Anteil." Among the documents from the Aragonese archives published for the first time by Miss Wieruszowski is one of 31 August 1279 ("Conjuraciones," p. 591, no. 5) in which Peter, writing in the guarded language that beffited one engaged in a conspiracy, refers to a mission of his official, Taberner, "pro quibusdam

thereafter Alfonso had been offered the original support for his imperial pretensions by the Ghibelline city of Pisa, sworn enemy of Charles and the Guelfs. Alfonso's treaty of 1256 with the Pisans had envisaged a Castilian conquest of Sicily from Manfred. But Alfonso's own inaction and the popes' display of favor for Charles of Anjou had brought about quite a different result. Though Alfonso and Charles intrigued against each other as late as 1271, as we shall see, by 1281 the hostility between them, to which Peter's letter refers, had disappeared, so much so indeed that Alfonso was now contemplating this double marriage arrangement with the Angevins.⁷³

On the other hand, the affection between himself and his brother-in-law, Alfonso, to which Peter of Aragon refers, was hardly as warm as one might gather from the letter. In 1278 Peter had welcomed his sister Violante, when she left her husband Alfonso and brought with her to Aragon her grandchildren, sons of the deceased heir to Castile, Ferdinand de la Cerda, by Blanche of France, daughter of St Louis and sister of Philip III. The claims of the "infantes de la Cerda" were being opposed by their uncle Sancho, whom Alfonso had agreed to support. Peter of Aragon gave sanctuary to the "infantes" and used them as pawns in his diplomatic dealings with both Castile and France. In 1280 Alfonso had entered into relations with Peter's mortal enemy, Charles, Prince of Salerno, son of Charles of Anjou, and later Charles II. Indeed it was only on 27 March 1281, a few months before the date of Peter's letter, that Peter and Alfonso had signed a treaty at Campillo, and normally relations between them had not been particularly good.⁷⁴ It may be conjectured that Peter's alleged reason for not opposing the marriage (the age of Berenguela, who was at least twenty-eight in 1281) was his true one.

OTHER POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN CASTILE AND THE LATIN EMPIRE

Castile had still other relationships with the Latin Empire of Constantinople. First, two reliable brief contemporary Castilian chronicles report that Philip de Courtenay was knighted by Alfonso X.⁷⁵ Although it seems impossible to date

negociis ad Curiam Romanam et ad dominum imperatorem." Miss Wieruszowski believes that the emperor referred to is Michael Palaeologus ("Conjuraciones," p. 562; "Anteil," p. 237.) Might it be that the reference is actually to Philip de Courtenay? The interest of Peter in approaching the son-in-law of his enemy, Charles of Anjou, is obvious. Philip was in Italy, and it would not have been difficult for Taberner to get into touch with him, while on a visit to Rome. Michael was far off in Constantinople. We have elsewhere a strong hint that Charles did not entirely trust Philip (below, note 86). We cannot answer the question positively; but the possibility should not be ruled out, especially in view of Peter's subsequent consent to the marriage of Philip and Berenguela.

⁷³ For the Marseilles affair, see Scheffer Boichorst, "Zur Geschichte Alfons X," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, ix (1888), 226-248; R. Sternfeld, *Karl*, pp. 123 ff.; for the appeal from Pisa see the works cited above in note 27 on Alfonso as Emperor; E. Jordan, *Origines*, pp. 180 ff.

⁷⁴ Cartellieri, *Peter* pp. 35 ff., 44 ff., 52 ff., 77 ff., where the letter is mentioned; Wieruszowski, "Conjuraciones," p. 568.

⁷⁵ Jofré de Loaisa, "Chronique des rois de Castile (1248-1305)," ed. A. Morel-Fatio, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, lxx (1898), 337-338; *Chronicon de Cardeña*, ii, in *España Sagrada*, xxiii (Madrid, 1767), 379.

this event precisely, the likelihood is strong that it took place during the first period when a marriage alliance between the families was contemplated: that is, before 1266 (when the Pope forbade the marriage) and perhaps before 1263 (when Baldwin failed in Spain).

Second, it is of some interest to pick up Zurita's reference to the presence in Seville "in 1255" of Marie de Brienne's three brothers, Alphonse, Comte d'Eu, Louis, Comte de Beaumont, and Jean, Comte de Montfort, brothers-in-law of Baldwin II and uncles of Philip de Courtenay, whom we have already encountered. This presence, says Zurita, is known "by certain documents."⁷⁶ Actually, all three of Marie's brothers regularly appear as witnesses on documents of Alfonso X from 3 November 1255 until 19 May 1270; thereafter the two younger brothers appear until 3 August 1274. The inference is strong that in Castile these three were among the most prominent courtiers of Alfonso, just as, when in France, they also were of St Louis. In Castile they sign themselves "vassals of the King" in the following nearly unvarying form: "Don Alfonso, hijo del Rey Johan Dacre [John of Acre, that is John of Brienne], Emperador de Constantinopla e de la Emperadriz Dona Berenguela, Conde Do, vassalo del Rey. . . . Don Luis, hijo del Emperador e de la Emperadriz sobredichos, Conde de Belmont, vassallo del Rey. . . . Don Juan, hijo del Emperador e de la Emperadriz sobre-dichos, Conde de Montfort, vassallo del Rey."⁷⁷

Finally, we should consider briefly the dramatic affair of Henry of Castile, an adventurous younger brother of Alfonso X, who had revolted unsuccessfully against him in the 1250's. Expelled from Castile, Henry fled first to James of

⁷⁶ Reference as above in note 26.

⁷⁷ Documents in *Memorial Histórico Español*, 1 (Madrid, 1851), 77–303, *passim*. We first hear of these three in 1235, when they were still very young (*aetatis puerulos*): since their parents had married in 1224, and since Marie was older than her three brothers, the eldest of the boys could not have been more than eight. In that year John of Brienne sent them to France with their brother-in-law Baldwin, "asking Louis the King of France, and his pious mother Blanche, whose great-nephews (*pronepóles*) they were, to deign to have and receive them as 'clientes,' and them St Louis afterwards honorably and graciously received and dearly loved, and he raised them very high" (William of Nangis, 1, 187–188). Joinville, as we have seen, refers to John, the youngest, as sailing with Marie from Cyprus to France in 1249. He married Jeanne de Chateaudun, widow of Jean de Montfort, in 1251, his first wife having been Marie de Coucy, widow of King Alexander II of Scotland (Joinville, p. 78 and note 2). Joinville also tells us that the eldest, Alphonse, Comte d'Eu, wrote to him after St Louis' crusade to ask him to fulfill his vow made in Cyprus to assist Constantinople. The *Chronique de Flandre* (p. 679) reports that during the war of Namur (1256–1259), among the lords recruited by Marie for her forces were "li quens d'Eu et li quens de Monfort," whom it does not identify, as we can, with her brothers. William of Nangis, 1, 219, says that all her brothers participated in the war. Yet even during the period of the war in Namur we find the brothers witnessing charters in Spain (23 March 1257, 19 October 1257, 5 February 1258, 10 April 1258, 13 September 1258). For the role of the eldest brother, Alphonse d'Eu, as *chambrier de France* and of the youngest, Jean de Montfort, as *boutelier (buticularius)* see P. Anselm, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, third edition (Paris, 1733), VIII, 518, 845, and VI, 134. The Comte d'Eu also appears in the Clermont-Ferrand Aragonese document of 1262 (above, note 22), as does the comte de Montfort. Alphonse died at Tunis on 25 August 1270; in 1275 Jean was sent to Spain by Philip III on a delicate diplomatic mission. See G. Daumet, *Mémoire sur les relations de la France et de la Castile, de 1255 à 1320* (Paris, n.d. but 1914), pp. 28 ff.

Aragon, but, because of the alliance between Alfonso and James, left Aragon by request, and visited next Henry III of England. On 25 July 1259 Henry III ordered the citizens of Bordeaux and Bayonne to give Henry of Castile ships to go to Africa, in exchange for an oath that no enterprise would be undertaken against Alfonso.⁷⁸ In Tunis, Henry of Castile made a large fortune in the service of the King. When Charles of Anjou invaded Italy and needed money, he sent to Henry asking for a loan. Henry put at Charles' disposal large sums which he had on deposit in Genoa, with the understanding that, if and when victory over Manfred should be won, Charles would reward him suitably.⁷⁹

On 27 October 1266 Charles of Anjou wrote Henry about negotiations which were in progress for a marriage for Henry, negotiations of which Henry clearly knew and approved. The lady in question is not named, but Charles says of her although we believe that the lady is sufficiently favorable to our wishes in the matter, none the less we do not think it useful or honorable to settle an affair like this without the assent of her father and without a proper marriage contract confirmed by both sides. Therefore, with all our might we are embracing your honor and your convenience — for we know you to be a strong partisan of our glory — and with the advice of our dear relative B. the illustrious Emperor of Constantinople and of certain councillors who hold you very dear, we propose to cause to be discussed with the father of the lady a marriage agreement which will be suitable for you, and which we and our other friends ought to accept.⁸⁰

The implication here is that Henry was eager for the marriage, with or without an appropriate agreement, but that Charles, with Baldwin's concurrence and perhaps on his advice, was trying to convince Henry of the necessity for delay.

The lady is identified by two letters from Pope Clement IV, dating from 5 January 1267. In one, the Pope reminded Charles of Anjou that he had already written him (this letter does not survive) urging him to bend every effort to complete arrangements for the marriage between the "daughter of the noble man Micalipius" and Henry, "because we believe that if this marriage were arranged it would be of the greatest benefit to our dearest son in Christ the illustrious Emperor of Constantinople and to our beloved child his noble son [Philip] and to the Roman Church and to the whole race of Christians." Clement urged again that Charles strive with all his might to put the marriage through. To Henry the Pope wrote that he should give up all thought of the realm of Sardinia which he had been eyeing, because he would have to fight the Pisans in order to obtain it. Clement assured Henry that he had just written again to Charles urging that the marriage arrangement be completed with the "daughter of Micalipius," and he gave the same reasons for favoring this as he had given to Charles, and in the same words.⁸¹

⁷⁸ *CRA*, pp. 7 ff.; Henry III's document in Rymer, *Foedera*, I, 49; for a document of 22 April 1260 in which James of Aragon, out of consideration for his alliance to Alfonso, refuses permission to one of his nobles to accompany Henry of Castile to Tunis, see *Memorial*, I, 158, no. 74.

⁷⁹ B. d'Esclot, *Crónica*, ed. Buchon, pp. 607 ff; see translation by F. L. Critchlow (Princeton, 1934), p. 167.

⁸⁰ Del Giudice, *Codice*, I, 193 ff., no. 56; Filangieri, *Registri*, I, 29, no. 15.

⁸¹ Jordan, *Registres*, p. 398, nos. 1164, 1165; Martène and Durand, *op. cit.*, II, col. 1, 437-438, nos. 422, 423; printed also by Del Giudice, *Codice*, I, 194 in notes.

The “daughter of Micalipius” was of course Helen, daughter of Michael of Epirus (called also sometimes Michalitius, sometimes Michalicius). She was Manfred’s widow, and had become Charles’ prisoner after Manfred’s death at Benevento. Thus we know that in October 1266 Charles of Anjou and Henry of Castile had agreed that Helen and Henry should marry, and that Charles and Baldwin (possibly disagreeing with Henry) thought or pretended to think that Michael’s consent should be obtained. Moreover it is clear that by January 1267 Charles had markedly cooled toward the project, so much so that the Pope had felt it necessary to write at least twice to urge him to pursue it. We know from other sources, indeed, that by then Charles had made other arrangements across the Adriatic. On 16 January 1267, only eleven days after Clement’s letter, Charles appointed Gazo Chinardo Captain-General of Corfu,⁸² and this despite a flat refusal of the Pope, dating from the previous 1 October, to allow Charles to assist Chinardo and his brothers.⁸³ They were the sons of Manfred’s admiral and governor of his trans-Adriatic lands, Philippo Chinardo, who had married Maria Sphrantzaina, sister-in-law of Michael II of Epirus, but had then been assassinated in 1266 by men sent by Michael, possibly with the connivance of Maria.⁸⁴ Presumably Charles’ choice of the younger Chinardo for the post in Corfu represented the triumph of an alternate policy, and ruled out further support for the marriage of Henry of Castile. What is important for us to realize here is that the proposed Epirote marriage for Henry had been envisioned as a step toward Baldwin’s recovery of Constantinople from the Greeks. Charles and Baldwin probably had hoped that, if Helen married Henry, her father, Michael of Epirus, might be drawn into a Latin coalition against Michael VIII Palaeologus as he had been when she had married Manfred eight years earlier.

The project came to nothing, doubtless because Charles felt no wish to encourage a rival for power in Greek lands, and Chinardo presented less of a threat. Henry of Castile was cheated of his Epirote wife, and by mid-May 1267 Clement IV is found writing to James of Aragon asking him to give Henry one of his daughters. Henry himself, who had come to Italy meanwhile, was chosen Roman Senator in June 1267 as a sort of consolation prize. So bitterly did Henry resent Charles’ failure either to pay his debts or to fulfill his promises, however, that he turned Ghibelline, drove the Pope from Rome, intrigued with Conradin, and, in the débâcle that followed Tagliacozzo, was captured by Charles. He was kept in prison for many years, and was liberated only by Charles II in 1293, when he went back to Spain.⁸⁵

⁸² Del Giudice, *Codice*, I, 278, no. 90; R. Sternfeld, *Ludwigs des Heiligen Kreuzzug nach Tunis 1270 und die Politik Karls I von Sizilien* (Berlin, 1896), in *Historische Studien veröffentlicht von E. Ebering*, Heft IV, p. 33, hereafter Sternfeld, *Kreuzzug*.

⁸³ Jordan, *Registres*, p. 392, no. 1181; Martène and Durand, *op. cit.*, II, col. 409, no. 382.

⁸⁴ Pachymeres, ed. Bonn, p. 508; del Giudice, *Famiglia*, pp. 92, 107 ff.; Sternfeld, *Kreuzzug*, p. 31; W. Cohn, “Die Geschichte der sizilischen Flotte unter der Regierung Konrads IV und Manfred,” *Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- und Seegeschichte*, IX (1920), 70–104; P. J. Alexander, “A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II,” *Byzantion*, XV (1940–1941), 199 f. For Gazo’s later career see F. Carabelli, *Carlo d’Angiò, nei rapporti politici e commerciali con Venezia e l’oriente* (Bari, 1911), Commissione Provinciale di Archeologia e Storia Patria, Documenti e monografie, X, *passim*.

⁸⁵ Clement’s letter on the Aragonese marriage, Jordan, *Registres*, p. 404, no. 1199; Martène and

It is tantalizing to discover that shortly after Henry had been immured in Charles' castle at Canosa (Apulia), Philip de Courtenay in June 1269 got special permission for one of his knights to speak with Henry. Despite the fact that Philip was his son-in-law elect, Charles ordered the castellan of Canosa to listen carefully to the entire interview with Henry of Castile, and not let anything escape him.⁸⁶ Charles also wrote to James of Aragon and Alfonso X, who had made representations to him about Henry's imprisonment, saying that even had Henry been his own brother or son, he would have imprisoned him, so grievous had his offenses been.⁸⁷

The episode of the projected marriage of Henry to Helen clearly belongs not to the story of diplomatic relations between Castile proper and the Latin Empire, but to that of the alliance between Charles of Anjou and Baldwin II. It is summarized here only because Henry was a Castilian prince, briefly but intimately involved in an abortive project to form a new anti-Byzantine coalition. Once Charles and Baldwin had signed the treaty of Viterbo in May 1267, there was no room for Henry in their plans. Interestingly enough, then, Henry's defection from Charles and support of Conradin (one of the most important and dramatic episodes of the last phase of the struggle for the Italian possessions of the Western Empire) may be attributed to his disappointment over being deprived of a promised wife, with whom would have gone a leading role in the projected reconquest of Constantinople.

Rebuffed in their effort to liberate Henry, Alfonso of Castile and James of Aragon intrigued against Charles in northern Italy, but he frustrated their efforts. Then, in all likelihood as a result of intervention by St Louis, Charles opened negotiations with Alfonso. We have a letter of 16 November 1269, in which Charles sent an embassy to Castile to confirm an agreement already reached, by which Alfonso would supply 300 knights, 200 men-at-arms, and 100 arbalestiers for the aid of Baldwin and Philip de Courtenay "in the Greek Empire." Charles was prepared to deposit in St Louis' hands the sums necessary to defray the expenses of these troops.⁸⁸ Nothing came of this effort, and the enmity

Durand, *op. cit.*, II, col. 468, no. 467. For the rest, see Saba Malaspina, *Rerum Sicularum Historia*, ed. G. del Re, in *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani* (Naples, 1868), II, 833 ff.; d'Esclot, *Crónica*, pp. 609 ff. Secondary accounts in R. Sternfeld, *Der Kardinal Johann Gaëtan Orsini* (Berlin, 1905), *passim* but especially pp. 93 ff.; Hampe, *Konradin*, *passim*, especially pp. 126 ff.; Del Giudice, *Famiglia*, pp. 95 ff. Del Giudice's monograph *Don Arrigo, Infante di Castiglia* (Naples, 1875) has not been accessible to me. See also Dade, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 f.; Dendias, *loc. cit.*, pp. 271 ff.; Sternfeld, *Kreuzzug*, pp. 32 ff.

⁸⁶ Del Giudice, *Codice*, II, 1, p. 285, no. 1; Filangieri, *Registri*, II, 104, no. 383. "... militem dicti Philippi ... mandamus quatenus te presente loqui cum ... Henrico permictas et cures quod non possit ... aliquid dicere aut facere publice vel occulte quod tu non videas et intelliges"

⁸⁷ Del Giudice, *Codice*, II, 1, p. 285 ff., no. 2; Filangieri, *Registri*, II, 138, no. 533, 13 July 1269. The embassy of James and Alfonso to Charles consisted of William de Roccafolio and two Spanish bishops. Safe conducts for its arrival and departure are found in Filangieri, *Registri*, II, 72, no. 254 (22 May); 111, no. 418 (14 July); 142, no. 545 (14 July); 291, no. 781 (18 July). Compare C. Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni fatti riguardanti Carlo I di Angiò dal 6 di Agosto 1252 al 30 di Decembre 1270, tratti dall' Archivio Angioini di Napoli* (Naples, 1874), pp. 50, 59, hereafter *Alcuni fatti*. For comment see Sternfeld, *Kreuzzug*, pp. 147 f.

⁸⁸ Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni fatti*, p. 81; Sternfeld, *Kreuzzug*, p. 187.

between Charles and Alfonso which reflected the essential conflict in their interests soon reigned again. After the Tunisian expedition of Charles and St Louis in 1270 — itself almost an infringement on a Spanish patent — the Annals of Piacenza report that Alfonso was so bitterly at odds with Charles that he was preparing to make a whole series of dynastic alliances with Charles' enemies, including one with Michael Palaeologus, to whose son he now proposed to give his daughter.⁸⁹ Thus whatever brief rapprochement may have taken place between Charles and Alfonso in 1269 seems quickly to have evaporated.⁹⁰ It is significant that Constantinople plays a central role in what we know of the rapprochement as in what we know of the renewal of enmity: when Alfonso is friendly to Charles, he is friendly to Baldwin's ambitions; when hostile to Charles, he is represented as considering an alliance with Michael Palaeologus.

CONCLUSIONS

The chief results of this investigation are as follows: at some time well before 1258, perhaps as early as 1248, Philip de Courtenay, heir to the Latin Empire, was mortgaged to the Ferro brothers, Venetian merchants of Constantinople. On 8 January 1258 St Louis sent Philip a gift of 1,000 *livres tournois* for his expenses, which was not intended as a payment of his father's debt, and which did not reach him until June 1259. Between June 1258 and 1 May 1261 his mother, the Empress Marie de Brienne, visited Castile, and received from her cousin Alfonso X the money she needed to redeem her son. By 1 May 1261 Philip was already at liberty. Marie and Alfonso planned to marry Philip into the house of Castile — a plan which had not been totally abandoned on 31 March 1266, but which founded then (until a temporary revival in 1281) on the rock of papal hostility and probable Castilian indifference, both presumably arising from Baldwin II's friend-

⁸⁹ Annales Placentini Gibellini, in *MGH SS*, xviii, 553, s.a. 1271: "Alteram vero filiam dare debet filio Palialogi imperatoris Grecorum inimico dicti regis Karoli propter quod dictus dominus rex Karolus cambium fecit cum domino Balduino condam imperatore Grecorum qui expulsus est per dictum Palialogum de Constantinopoli et vult dictus Karolus dictum imperium occupare." The other marriages Alfonso was allegedly planning were: a daughter to William of Montferrat and a son to William's daughter (cause of enmity to Charles: Alessandria and Ivrea); another daughter to Thomas of Savoy (cause of enmity to Charles: Turin); another to the son of the Duke of Bavaria (cause of enmity to Charles: Charles' execution of Conraddin); another daughter to the great Khan, the enemy of Charles' ally, the King of Hungary. This passage is noticed by G. Caro, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer 1257–1311* (Halle, 1895), I, 288; by C. Chapman, *Michel Paléologue* (Paris, 1926), p. 96, who misreads it, and by R. S. Lopez, *op. cit.*, note 70 above, p. 92, note 73. For the year 1270 see Sternfeld, *Kreuzzug, passim*; R. Lefèvre, "Fonti edite e inedite sulla spedizione crociata a Tunisia del 1270," *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Coloniale*, IV (Florence, 1937), 86–92. On the relationship between Alfonso and William of Montferrat, whose children did marry each other as planned, see A. Bozzola, "Guglielmo VII de Monferrato e Carlo d'Angiò," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* xxxvi (1911), 289–328 and 451–464; xxxvii (1912), 1–28; and 'Un capitano di guerra e signore subalpino, Guglielmo VII di Monferrato,' *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, 3a serie, xix (1922), 261–444. See also A. Zanelli, "Il giuramento di fedeltà di Buoso da Dovara ad Alfonso X di Castiglia," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5a serie, x (1892), 122–126.

⁹⁰ It is worth noting, however, that Ferrante, illegitimate son of King James of Aragon, entered Charles' service in April 1270. Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni fatti*, pp. 97, 104–105, 110; Sternfeld, *Kreuzzug*, p. 203.

ship with Manfred. In the first half of 1263, in company with the Venetian ambassador, Baldwin II himself visited Castile, where (probably for the same reason) he met with less good fortune than his wife had experienced. He also went to Aragon, where he received at least small advances from King James. At some time Alfonso knighted Philip de Courtenay; Marie de Brienne's three brothers were leading courtiers in Castile and in France; Alfonso's estranged younger brother Henry of Castile was at one moment in 1266 part of a scheme of Charles of Anjou and Clement IV to assist Baldwin to recover his Empire by marrying Manfred's widow, but Charles soon abandoned the project. Despite an apparent temporary reconciliation in 1268, when he planned to help Charles and Baldwin regain Constantinople, Alfonso remained essentially hostile to Charles.

When all these points are taken together, the implication is that the Latin Empire of Constantinople played a far more significant role in the diplomatic thinking of Alfonso X than seems yet to have been appreciated. In his campaign to gain recognition as Emperor in the west during the years 1258–1261, precisely those years to which we have now assigned the visit of Marie de Brienne, Alfonso by various means drew to his cause several great lords, among whom were at least two of the friends and allies of the Latin Emperor and Empress. Alfonso gave special privileges to his vassal Duke Hugh IV of Burgundy, who was soon to become an intimate associate of Baldwin II. Alfonso also gave 10,000 *livres* to Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, who now became his vassal, and who had already been the ally of the Empress Marie in the Low Countries. Others in Alfonso's orbit were the Dukes of Brabant, Luneburg, Brunswick, and Lower Lorraine, and Ezzelino da Romano.⁹¹ Does it strain our evidence too far to suggest that during these years Alfonso envisioned the Constantinopolitan alliance as one which would increase the international prestige of Castile, and which might therefore help him to realize his own imperial schemes? His reasons for changing his mind after mid-1261 have already been suggested: the fall of Constantinople, Baldwin's firm friendship for Manfred, domestic unrest, and lack of funds. But in the last years of the Latin Empire, it seems clear, Castilian policy for a short period included as one of its important aspects an intimate relationship with the Latin Empire. To those who would object that for a distant Spanish kingdom this was impractical, we reply with Mariana's famous words about Alfonso: "he gazed at the heavens and wondered at the stars, but meanwhile lost both land and realm."⁹² For Castile Alfonso's attempt to secure the western Empire was disastrous. Quite apart from the merit or practicality of the policy, however, aid to the Latin Empire of the east for a time was clearly part of it.

From the point of view of the Latin Empire, such aid was very welcome. The powers on whom the continued existence of the Empire had previously depended, had during the decades of the 1230's, 1240's, and 1250's become increasingly preoccupied elsewhere. The Hungarians, who at times had been helpful, were beset

⁹¹ Ballesteros, "Itinerario," *Boletín*, cvi (1935), 131, 136. For the text of Gui's oath, see Duvivier, *Querelle*, II, 529, no. 295.

⁹² See M. Asín Palacios, "El juicio del P. Mariana sobre Alfonso el Sabio," *Al-Andalus*, vii (1942), 479.

by the Mongol invasions and their aftermath, as were the Seljuks of Rum, who had been allies of the Latins against the Greeks of Nicaea. Papal eyes were focussed upon the struggle with the Hohenstaufen; and, as we have seen, at times the popes even contemplated the abandonment of all support to the Latin emperors, in exchange for a union between the Greek and Roman churches. The Venetians, partners with the emperors in the curious *legalis societas* at Constantinople, seem temporarily to have lost much of their interest, probably as a result of a decline in trade. Although they made a last effort to save the city⁹³ (perhaps out of concern for probable Genoese gains from the newly-formed alliance with Michael Palaeologus), they came too late with too little. So it was that Marie turned to her cousin Alfonso X, and that Castile emerged briefly as the protector of the Latin Empire.

POSTSCRIPT: BALDWIN II AND THE ORDER OF ST JAMES (1246)

Since the above was accepted for publication there has come to hand the extremely interesting recent article of Eloy Benito Ruano.⁹⁴ Ruano has published a series of five documents, which have been previously printed but which have passed unnoticed by historians of the Latin Empire, and which he now reprints from the originals in the Archivo Histórico Nacional. In the first, of 20 February 1246, writing from Lyon, Innocent IV tells the Master of the Order of St James of his great anxiety that military aid be provided for the Latin Empire. He reports that Baldwin and representatives of the Master have negotiated in his presence an agreement that the Master will go to the aid of the Empire for a period of two years, with three hundred knights, one hundred archers, and a thousand well-armed *servientes*, in exchange for the city of Visoi and the castle of Medes,⁹⁵ and a portion of the property which the knights may conquer; and that, after the two years have passed, the Master would keep as many as possible of the troops in the east. The Pope urges the Master to accept the agreement.

In the second, dated 11 May 1246 at Jaen, Alfonso then still Infante, to whose personal forces the knights of the Order of St James belong, at the request of the Pope and of "karissimi affinis nostri Balduini Imperatoris Constantinopolitani," gives the Master permission to go to the east himself. However, Alfonso limits to fifty the number of knights of the order who might accompany the Master, and limits the horses to one hundred, but allows him to recruit as many other men as might wish to go along.

The third document, dated August 1246 at Valladolid, is the actual contract

⁹³ See the document referred to in note 8 above.

⁹⁴ Eloy Benito Ruano, "Balduino II de Constantinopla y la Orden de Santiago," *Hispania*, xii (1952), 3-36.

⁹⁵ Visoi (*Βιζηνη*) is in Thrace, northeast of Arcadiopolis; it is mentioned by Villehardouin, and in several Venetian documents. Medes is Μήδεια, a suffragan bishopric of Heracleia and market town, also in Thrace on the coast of the Black Sea. Both were the personal property of the Latin Emperor. See now D. A. Zakythinos "Μέλεραι περὶ τῆς διοικητικῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχιακῆς διοικήσεως ἐν τῷ Βυζαντινῷ Κράτει," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδῶν*, xxii (1952), 169 ff., 180. See also J. Longnon, "L'Empereur Baudouin II et l'ordre de St. Jacques," *Byzantion*, xxii (1952 [Brussels, 1953]), 297-299.

drawn up between Baldwin II and the Master of the Order, Don Pelayo Pérez Correa. It is dated in the manner of imperial documents with the red ink reserved for the Emperor, and, as Ruano rightly points out, is proof of Baldwin's own presence in Spain in the summer of 1246. The Master undertakes to go in person to Constantinople, and to bring three hundred knights, of whom presumably fifty would be members of the Order (the manuscript is illegible, but Alfonso's limit doubtless was observed), with three hundred battle-horses and three hundred pack horses to carry arms, two hundred archers, one hundred mounted and one hundred on foot, and one thousand well-armed infantrymen. The term of two years service was to begin at the moment of arrival in Constantinople or whenever the Emperor ordered the forces into battle, if he should do so before the arrival. After the two years, the Order was to establish a permanent branch in Constantinople (*conventum*) in which it would maintain as many troops as possible. Whenever the Emperor or his son and heir should make war or set forth on a raid (*calvalcatum = chevauchée*), the Master or the local *commendator* and the members of the Order in Romania were to be bound to accompany him; if the Emperor or his son did not go in person, the Master might go if he wished. The Order would receive one fifth of whatever might be conquered on such an expedition. Baldwin, for his part, pledges himself to turn over to the Order the city of Visoi and the castle of Medes, free and clear, to the exclusion of all other lords, clerical and secular. In addition he promises forty thousand marks sterling, "good, new, and legal," at the rate of thirteen *solidi* and four *denarii* per mark. Further, he undertakes to give the Order houses in Constantinople, and suitable vineyards and lands in the region of the capital, to serve as a shelter for the wounded and sick and as a home for the Master and the future *commendator*. Moreover, the Order was to receive one fifth of all conquests, of whatever sort, which might be made after their arrival in the east, and one fourth of all conquests in which they actively participated, even if the lord or inhabitants of a city under siege by the members of the Order might prefer to surrender not to them but to the Emperor or his immediate followers. Church property was exempted from this provision: neither the Order nor anybody else was to take from the churches or churchmen any possession or privilege which belonged to them. The future *commendator* of the Order in Romania was to be appointed by the Master of the Order in Spain, and removed only by him at will, and all members in the Empire were to be subject to the Master as they were in other regions. They might freely make expeditions against the enemy, as they were accustomed to do in Spain, whenever and as often as it suited the interests of the Empire and the Order. They might retain all booty (*mobilia et semoventia*) taken on such expeditions; they and their families and their households were to be exempt from imperial levies of money; they might receive and keep property which might be given or willed to them; they were to receive one fifth of any property which the Emperor or his heir might obtain by truce or treaty; and the Emperor undertakes to obtain the adherence of all his barons to all these provisions.

In the fourth document, also dated at Valladolid in August 1246, and also dated with the imperial red ink, Baldwin reaffirms his promise that his barons will

accept all the terms of the understanding with Don Pelayo, and adds that if any of them refuse to keep it, and the Order shall suffer loss, he will make up the loss out of his own property.

In the fifth, dated 11 February 1247 at Lyon, Innocent IV explains to the Master of the Order that Baldwin had been unable to pay the Order's representatives the sum agreed upon in the contract (presumably the forty thousand marks sterling), but that he hoped to pay it the following August, at which date the Pope also would be in a position to make a contribution to the cause.

This is all the documentary material which is known to Ruano, and he conjectures very plausibly that the whole affair came to nothing because of Baldwin's poverty. These new documents thus record an otherwise unknown visit of Baldwin II to Spain in 1246, after his attendance at the Council of Lyon, and before a visit to Namur, of which we have evidence. We also know that in October 1248 he returned to Constantinople from his long trip to the west, which had lasted since 1243, and that not long afterward, in 1248, as we have seen, Marie de Brienne set out upon her own expedition to Europe.⁹⁶ We may now add to what has been said above the evidence provided by Ruano's documents as to this earlier instance of an understanding between Baldwin and Alfonso, and the wholly new information about the projected arrangement with the Order of St James. To accompany his publication, Ruano has written a historical commentary, but although he mentions the mortgage of Philip de Courtenay, and actually cites Sanudo from Du Cange's edition,⁹⁷ he has apparently missed Sanudo's reference to the rôle of Alfonso X, and has in any case made no effort to investigate those relationships between Spain and the Latin Empire which have been the subject of this article.

Interesting though they are, the negotiations of 1246 between Baldwin and Don Pelayo which Ruano has now made known came to nothing. We should, however, ask ourselves whether they are somehow to be related to the developments of twelve or thirteen years later, when Alfonso X, now King of Spain, was to redeem Baldwin's son, and to plan a dynastic marriage with the Latin imperial house. It is of course conceivable that Alfonso had regretted the collapse of the earlier arrangements of 1246 between Baldwin and the Order of St James, which he himself as Infante had endorsed. But the somewhat grudging nature of his sponsorship as Infante in 1246 — his stern limitation on the number of the knights who might go, and on the number of horses they might take, and his insistence that no precedent was involved (" . . . hanc gratiam, tantum ista vice et isto procinctu, facimus et volumus quod ista gratia ex hoc ulterius non extenditur") — makes it seem more probable that his later redemption of Philip de Courtenay and support for the Latin Empire was a wholly separate matter, and should rather be viewed as part of his large-scale effort after 1257 to gain recognition as Emperor in the west.

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⁹⁶ This western journey of the Emperor will be fully treated in my book on the Latin Empire. For Marie, above, text, and notes 18, 29 ff.

⁹⁷ Ruano, *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

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**POLITICS IN THE LATIN PATRIARCHATE
OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1204-1261**

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

CONTENTS

The Background and the Election of Thomas Morosini	227
Morosini, the Venetians, and the Pope	234
The Question of the Conventual Churches	244
Interregnum and Disputed Election, 1211–1215	246
Church Property: Efforts at a Settlement, 1204–1223	255
Pope and Patriarch, 1215–1229	274
The Politics of the Period 1204–1229: Summary and Conclusions	283
The Last Three Patriarchs, 1229–1261: An Epilogue	285
Appendix: Hitherto Unpublished Letters of Pope Honorius III	296

THE BACKGROUND AND THE ELECTION OF THOMAS MOROSINI *

WHEN the Venetians and the non-Venetian crusaders drew up an agreement in March, 1204, prior to the second capture of Constantinople, one of its important provisions read as follows:

The clergy who are of that party from which the Emperor shall not have been chosen shall have the power to ordain to the Church of St. Sophia, and to elect a Patriarch for the honor of God and of the Holy Roman Church and of the Empire.¹

The right to choose the future Patriarch thus became a political consolation-prize for the party which should prove unsuccessful in electing an Emperor. After the city had been captured, and the electors, six Venetians and six non-Venetians, had chosen Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut as Emperor (May 9, 1204), the Venetians, acting in accordance with the agreement, chose as Patriarch Thomas Morosini, a Venetian, a sub-deacon of the Pope.

* The following abbreviations are employed in the notes: AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*; Akropolites = *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1905); Alberic = Alberic Trium Fontium, *Chronica*, MGH SS XXIII; Auvray = L. Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910); Berger = E. Berger, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1884-1920); BHG = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Brussels, 1909); Bourel = C. Bourel de la Roncière, *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1902-1931); Gerland = E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel* (Homburg, v. d. Höhe, 1905); Heyd = W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, tr. Furcy Rainaud, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885); Horoy = *Honorii III Romani Pontificis Opera Omnia*, ed. [C. A.] Horoy, 4 vols. (Paris, 1878-1880); Janin, *Constantinople* = R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris, 1950); Janin, *Églises* = R. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Première partie, Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique*, III, *Les Églises et les Monastères* (Paris, 1953); Kretschmayr = H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, I and II (Gotha, 1905, 1920); MGH SS = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*; MPL = J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*; Nicetas = Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835) *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*; Potthast = A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1873); Pressutti = P. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888, 1895); REB = *Revue des Études Byzantines*; Santifaller = L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel* (Weimar, 1938); T.-Th. = G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856), *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, zweite Abtheilung, *Diplomataria et Acta*, XII-XIV; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* = A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1863); Wolff, Baldwin = R. L. Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople, His Life, Death, and Resurrection," *Speculum* XXVII (1952), 281-322; Wolff, Bulgars = R. L. Wolff, "The 'Second Bulgarian Empire,' Its Origin and History to 1204," *Speculum* XXIV (1949), 167-206; Wolff, Oath = R. L. Wolff, "A New Document from the Period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople; the Oath of the Venetian Podestà," *Mélanges Grégoire* IV (Brussels, 1953), 539-573; Wolff, Organization = R. L. Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261; Social and Administrative Consequence of the Latin Conquest," *Traditio* VI (1948), 33-60.

¹ T.-Th. I, p. 447, no. 119. As the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* (ed. C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* [Berlin, 1873], 92) puts it: ". . . Veneti occupaverunt ecclesiam beatae Sophiae, dicentes 'Imperium est vestrum, nos habebimus patriarchatum.'"

Morosini was not present in Constantinople, and was unaware of the honor which was being done him. The method of choice was that implied by the agreement: as losing party in the imperial election, the Venetians first named clerics to the cathedral church of St. Sophia; in accordance with western practice, the new all-Venetian cathedral chapter then elected the Venetian Morosini as their bishop; and, as Bishop of Constantinople, Morosini was Patriarch.

Of these uncanonical proceedings Innocent III remained for several months unaware. On November 13, 1204, he commanded all the prelates in the host at Constantinople to urge Emperor Baldwin and the other Latins to "make firm the realm of the Greeks in obedience to the Holy See."² And on December 7, he instructed the prelates to convolve a general assembly of the Latin clergy regardless of nationality, to elect a God-fearing and suitable *provisor*, whom the Pope or his legate would at some future time confirm.³ The precise rank and functions of this ecclesiastical *provisor* were not further elucidated, but it seems clear that Innocent had not yet decided whether the church of Constantinople was to have a Latin Patriarch.

By January 21, 1205, however, he had learned that a Latin Patriarch had already been appointed, and by what means. Paraphrasing the agreement under whose terms the Venetian-manned cathedral chapter had been chosen and had then elected a Patriarch, he vigorously denounced the election as uncanonical, although Morosini himself was unexceptionable:

. . . we and our brethren know the person elected to be of noble birth, honest, prudent, and sufficiently well-educated, but . . . no layman has the right to decide ecclesiastical questions, and the Patriarch of Constantinople neither can nor should be elected by a secular authority. Further, the Venetian clerics who term themselves 'elected canons' of Santa Sophia have no right to elect a bishop to that church, since they have not been installed [*instituti*] in it either by us or by our legate. Therefore we have taken pains to denounce the election in public consistory.⁴

The effectiveness of this protest and denunciation must have been greatly diluted, however, by the very next sentence of the Pope's letter, in which he confirmed the election, declaring that since Morosini himself had not been personally involved in the procedure, he could not be blamed. Innocent added that he was confirming Morosini because he wanted to please the Emperor, to exercise the papal right of ordaining bishops to the see of Constantinople, and to encourage the Venetians to render further services to

² *MPL CCXV*, col. 455, Bk. VII, no. 154; *Pothast* 2324; T.-Th. I, p. 518, no. 125.

³ *MPL CCXV*, col. 471, Bk. VII, no. 164; *Pothast* 2339; T.-Th. I, p. 519, no. 126.

⁴ *MPL CCXV*, col. 512, Bk. VII, no. 203; *Pothast* 2382; T.-Th. I, p. 524, no. 129. The legal considerations on which the denunciation rests are discussed by Santifaller, 115 ff.

the church.⁵ He further instructed the Emperor Baldwin and the Doge of the Venetians, Dandolo, to receive Morosini in friendly fashion, and to honor, defend, and revere him.⁶

Soon after, Innocent wrote to Morosini, renouncing the right to name future Patriarchs himself. They were to be chosen according to canonical procedure, and were to send to Rome for the *pallium*. The Pope assured Morosini that he had never intended to infringe upon the prerogatives of the cathedral chapter of St. Sophia, but had acted without prejudice to their future rights,⁷ and this he repeated in a letter to Dandolo's son, Reniero, in which he remarked that he had confirmed Morosini, "in order to please your father."⁸ But in May 1205, Innocent was to take a highly significant step to limit the power of the Venetian cathedral chapter of St. Sophia in patriarchal elections. This he did in a letter, whose original text is lost, and of which a short summary only is given in Innocent's Registers. A verbatim text, however, has survived hitherto unnoticed and unpublished in the Registers of Innocent's successor, Honorius III, and is printed for the first time, together with Honorius' confirmation, in the Appendix to this article. The Pope prescribed that, when the patriarchal throne of Constantinople should become vacant, the prelates of all the conventional churches in the city should meet in the church of St. Sophia, together with members of the cathedral chapter, and proceed to the election of a suitable person on whom all of them, or the *maior et sanior pars* would agree.⁹ There were thirty such churches in the city, and to permit their *praepositi* to participate in patriarchal elections was to deprive the cathedral chapter of its sole right to do so. For this reason the right to name *praepositi* to the conventional churches was, as we shall see, to become as important a source of power, and therefore of dissension, as the right to name canons to the cathedral chapter.

In spite of the Pope's repudiation of any intention to interfere with the powers of the cathedral chapter, it was his initial assertion of papal prerogative in patriarchal elections which set the precedent for the future. During the period of the Latin Empire, there were to be six Latin Patriarchs: Thomas Morosini (1204–1211), Gervasius of Heracleia (1215–1219), Matthaeus of Jesolo (1221–1226), Simon of Tyre (1229?–1233), Nicholas of Castro Arquato (1234–1251), and Pantaleone Giustiniani (1253–1261). Simon of

⁵ *MPL CCXV*, col. 517, Bk. VII, no. 204; Potthast 2383; T.-Th. I, p. 529, no. 131.

⁶ *MPL CCXV*, col. 577, Bk. VIII, no. 23; Potthast 2462; T.-Th. I, p. 544, no. 140.

⁷ *MPL CCXV*, col. 578, Bk. VIII, no. 25; Potthast 2464; T.-Th. I, p. 546, no. 142.

⁸ Potthast 2466; T.-Th. I, p. 538, no. 135. Not in Migne.

⁹ *MPL CCXV*, col. 629, Bk. VIII, no. 64; Potthast *2508; T.-Th. I, p. 558, no. 153; Pressutti 1174; text in Appendix, no. II.

Tyre and Pantaleone Giustiniani were appointed directly by the Pope, apparently without any previous election by the canons of St. Sophia. Another papal appointee (Jean Halgrin, 1226) declined the office. Gervasius and Mattheaeus were appointed by the Pope after disputed elections in Constantinople. Morosini, as we have seen, was confirmed by Innocent III after an uncanonical election. Only Nicholas of Castro Arquato may have been chosen without papal participation, but this is by no means certain.¹⁰ Thus in practice the popes were to have the major role in the choice of the Latin patriarchs.

Thomas Morosini (1204–1211) was a member of an old Venetian noble family, called in the *Chronicon Altinate* “Mauroceni,” and supposedly originally native to Mantua.¹¹ The only surviving first-hand description of him comes from the pen of his enemy, the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates, who saw him in Constantinople in the late summer of 1205, shortly after his arrival there, exhorting the Latin soldiery to go to the aid of the forces of the Emperor Baldwin, who was then besieging Adrianople. Thomas was clad, says Nicetas, in his native garments, which were so tight as to seem stitched or woven directly on to his body, although they left his chest free and comfortable. He was so closely shaven that he might have been using a depilatory; his cheeks were like a boy’s, entirely bare.¹² Elsewhere, Nicetas adds that Thomas was middle-aged, fatter than a pig, and that his chest, as well as his face and tonsured head, was hairless. He wore a ring on his finger and sometimes leather gloves, and his fellow-priests were like him in their clothes, their pursuits, and their tonsures.¹³

When uncanonically elected Patriarch by the newly-chosen cathedral chapter of St. Sophia, Morosini was only a sub-deacon. After Innocent had decided to confirm the choice, he himself consecrated Thomas a deacon on March 5, 1205, a priest on March 26, and a bishop on March 27. On March 30, the Pope conferred the archbishop’s *pallium* upon him, with instructions to wear it on holy days. At the same time and in the usual form, Innocent confirmed him in the possession of all church property and all the privileges of the church of Constantinople, and gave him the right to have the cross carried before him wherever he went, except in Rome itself or in a city

¹⁰ Santifaller, *op. cit.*, 20–42.

¹¹ *Chronicon Altinate*, MGH SS XIV, 29: “Mauroceni de Mantua venerunt”; M. Merores, “Die Venezianische Adel (Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte), I. Teil, Die Geschlechter,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XIX (1926) 193–237.

¹² Nicetas, 824.

¹³ In his treatise on the statues of Constantinople destroyed by the Crusaders, *ibid.*, 854–855.

where there was a papal representative.¹⁴ The same day, he bestowed upon him the following additional privileges: the right to absolve those of his subjects who had laid violent hands upon clerics, unless the offense was so outrageous that the offender should be sent to Rome to seek absolution; the right to absolve *falsarii*; and the right to anoint kings in the Empire of Constantinople if they should ask it and with the consent of the Emperor.¹⁵ On the Lord's day and on festival days he might promote suitable persons to be subdeacons; and he might appoint people of suitable birth and education to be canons of St. Sophia, because its chapter at the moment included few or no clerics who had been canonically installed.¹⁶ He was granted a special exemption to his oath as archbishop not to mortgage, alienate, or sell church property: contrary to the usual practice and on the advice of sound councillors, he might do any of these things, because of the uncertain state of the Empire.¹⁷ His subjects might freely appeal to him in cases which did not require an appeal to Rome, so long as he humbly referred to the Apostolic See all appeals directed to it.¹⁸ He was granted the right to continue for the present to keep the benefices he had hitherto held, and to collect the income from them; and, since he had need of a good group of advisers, the same privilege was extended to his fellow-clerics.¹⁹ Later he was granted the additional privilege of deciding in his own see all litigation involving sums of twenty marks or less; from his decisions in such cases there was to be no appeal to Rome.²⁰

Some of these privileges — such as the right to wear the *pallium* — were regularly granted to all archbishops; some — such as the right to anoint kings — were exceptional, and reflect the patriarchal character of Thomas' archbishopric; still others — such as the right to alienate church property and to keep the income from his benefices outside the Empire — were emergency measures.

Morosini's six years on the patriarchal throne are characterized by continual controversy and litigation. Even when one considers the explosive situation created in Constantinople by the continual jostling together of French knights, Venetian merchant-sailors, and Greek native population, and the multitude of rivalries — political, commercial, and ecclesiastical —

¹⁴ *Gesta Innocentii*, chapter 98, *MPL CCXIV*, col. CXLIII; correspondence, *MPL CCXV*, col. 574, Bk. VIII, no. 19; Potthast 2458; T.-Th. I, p. 539, no. 136.

¹⁵ *MPL CCXV*, col. 576, Bk. VIII, no. 20; Potthast 2459; T.-Th. I, p. 541, no. 137.

¹⁶ *MPL CCXV*, col. 577, Bk. VIII, no. 21, Potthast 2460; T.-Th. I, p. 543, no. 138.

¹⁷ *MPL CCXV*, col. 577, Bk. VIII, no. 22, Potthast 2461; T.-Th. I, p. 543, no. 139.

¹⁸ *MPL CCXV*, col. 577, Bk. VIII, no. 23, Potthast 2462; T.-Th. I, p. 544, no. 140.

¹⁹ *MPL CCXV*, col. 578, Bk. VIII, no. 24; Potthast 2463; T.-Th. I, p. 544, no. 141.

²⁰ *MPL CCXV*, col. 959, Bk. IX, no. 140; Potthast 2860; T.-Th. II, p. 19, no. 170.

which naturally arose as an aftermath of the conquest, one is compelled to conclude that Thomas Morosini himself was exceedingly passionate and quarrelsome. At various times he was at odds with the Pope, with the papal legates, with the Emperor, with the French clergy, and even with the Podestà of his own fellow-Venetians, to whom one might have expected him to look for secular support. In certain of these quarrels of Morosini's there were at stake fundamental issues of policy and principle. Many of these were not settled during his lifetime, and some remained unsettled throughout the period of the Empire and Patriarchate.

Morosini opposed Innocent III on the question of all-Venetian representation in the cathedral chapter of Constantinople and in the archbishoprics and bishoprics of Romania. He quarreled with the Emperor and the French clergy on the question of the right to appoint clerics to the conventional churches in the capital. Underlying both these controversies was the critical issue of correct procedure in the election of a patriarch. In addition, Morosini presided over the first settlement of the critically important controversy between clerics and laymen on the restitution of wrongfully sequestered church property, a question in which his interests were initially identical with those of the Pope and all the clergy of Constantinople of whatever nationality, and opposed to those of the Emperor, the barons, and the Venetians. This problem of church property, and the closely related question of ecclesiastical privileges, were to arise again after Morosini's death, and to pre-occupy his successors down to 1223.²¹ In all these questions, the papacy of course played a fundamental role.

²¹ In addition to these major affairs, Morosini quarreled with the Podestà of the Venetians over possession of the icon of the Hodegetria. (See R. L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: the Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* VI [1948], 319–328). He also quarreled with the Pisans, ostensibly over certain rights granted the prior of their church in Constantinople by Pope Alexander III: the right to confirm, to bless chalices, and to wear certain vestments. Although the Cardinal legate took the Pisans under his protection, Innocent III later reversed this decision, supported Morosini, and forbade the Pisans to use holy oil in confirming boys (G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll'Oriente e coi Turchi* [Florence, 1879], 81, 85; *MPL CCXV*, col. 1352, Bk. XI, no. 22; Potthast, 3319; R. Janin, "Les Sanctuaires des Colonies Latines à Constantinople," *REB* IV [1946] 171 ff. and *Églises*, 585 ff. on the Pisan churches in general.) Morosini also made an unsuccessful effort to obtain jurisdiction over the church of Cyprus; although the Pope in August 1206 consented to hear his case, and summoned the Archbishop of Nicosia to appear before him, he reminded Morosini (as he had once reminded Alexius III Angelus) that, by virtue of Richard the Lionhearted's conquest, Cyprus had been exempt from Constantinopolitan jurisdiction since before the fourth Crusade (*MPL CCXIV*, p. ccxxiii, in the *Gesta Innocentii*; Potthast 1332, for Innocent's letter to Alexius III; other correspondence *MPL CCXV*, col. 959, 966, Bk. IX, Nos. 140, 141; T.-Th. II, p. 19, no. 170; Potthast 2860, 2865; see also Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* II [Cambridge, 1948] 79.) Morosini in November 1209 did succeed,

Elsewhere I have discussed the social and administrative impact of the Latin conquest upon the Greek church.²² In this paper I plan to deal with the internal and external political problems of the patriarchate itself: its relations with the French and Venetians in Constantinople and with the papacy. It is my hope that a detailed examination of the sources will reveal the main lines of policy pursued by the main actors in the drama, which in itself may serve as a previously little-studied case history of mediaeval ecclesiastical colonialism.

The chief source throughout is the correspondence of the Popes as it survives in the Vatican Registers. As students of the period are well aware, we possess printed editions of the full texts of the letters of all the thirteenth-century Popes except for Honorius III. On the whole, Honorius' correspondence has only been summarized by Pressutti, although some individual letters have been printed by Horoy, Santifaller, and others. Moreover, Pressutti's summaries often fail to convey the true import of the letters. For this reason I have obtained a microfilm copy of the Registers of Honorius III, and have in each instance worked from the original text of the letters. The full texts of those previously unpublished letters which have proved most important for our purposes are printed in the Appendix to this article. It will be seen that many of them concern the question of church property, which, indeed, it would be entirely impossible to treat without these hitherto unused letters, containing as they do, for example, the full text of the most important single agreement reached between clerics and laymen in the Empire. It is a pleasant duty and entirely appropriate here to record my deep debt of gratitude to Robert Blake, who at my suggestion obtained the films of Honorius' Registers from the Vatican through the kindness of Cardinal Mercati and Msgr. Angelo Mercati, and who with characteristic generosity presented the films in 1948 to the Widener Library, where they may be used by scholars.

however, in retaining jurisdiction over the Archbishopric of Patras, despite the repeated efforts of the Archbishop to prevail upon Innocent III to place his see directly under Rome (*MPL* CCXVI, col. 163, Bk. XII, no. 142; Potthast 3849; T.-Th. II, p. 115, no. 218; see also E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* [Leipzig, 1903] p. 10, note 1; D. Rattinger, "Die Patriarchat und Metropolitansprengel von Constantinopel und die bulgarische Kirche zur Zeit der Lateinerherrschaft in Byzanz," *Historisches Jahrbuch* II [1881] 20-21.)

²² See Wolff, Organization. The first note in that article gives references to and brief comments on all the previous secondary literature known to me which deals with the Latin patriarchate. To this list there should now be added J. Longnon, *L'Empire Latin de Constantinople et le Principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), which, however, makes no systematic attempt to deal with the problems studied in this article.

MOROSINI, THE VENETIANS, AND THE POPE

When he had been confirmed by the Pope, and had received his privileges, Morosini went from Rome to Venice, where he stayed until summer, 1205. In Venice on May 13, in a document which still survives, he renounced in favor of the Venetian Patriarch of Grado all rights and jurisdiction over the churches already possessed by the Venetians in the city of Constantinople and elsewhere in the Empire. These churches, Morosini declared, had never been subject to a Greek Patriarch, but had in all matters spiritual and temporal been subject to Grado. Therefore, as Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, he declared the churches exempt from any exactions on the part of himself or his successors. The penalty for any contravention of this promise was to be a fine of one hundred marks of pure silver, which Thomas would pay the Patriarch of Grado, and this despite the fact that the Pope had granted Thomas full jurisdiction over all churches of the Empire.²³

Before 1204, the Venetians had possessed four churches — St. Akindynos, St. Mark, St. Mary, St. Nicholas — in their quarter of Constantinople along the shore of the Golden Horn, called *embulo* because of the main warehouse and place of exchange. As a result of the expansion of their quarter up the Golden Horn and inland to the “fourth hill” after the capture of the city in 1204, they further acquired three highly important ecclesiastical foundations: the monastery of the Pantepopté (the present Eski Imaret Djami), the church of the Pantokrator (the present Zeirek Kilisse Djami), and (in the southwestern portion of the city called Psamathia) the abbey of Maria Periblepté overlooking the Sea of Marmora (burned down in 1782; the Armenian church of Sulu Monastir occupies the site).²⁴ Before Morosini had

²³ T.-Th. I, p. 551, no. 146. Cf. Santifaller, 45 and 67.

²⁴ On the Venetian quarter in general see H. F. Brown, “The Venetians and the Venetian Quarter in Constantinople to the Close of the Twelfth Century,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XL (1920) 68–88; Kretschmayr I, 361 ff., 501, note 3; Heyd I, 316. On the four churches held before 1204, R. Janin, “Les Sanctuaires des Colonies Latines à Constantinople,” *REB* IV (1946) 166 ff., and *Églises*, 583 ff. St. Akindynos was martyred by the Sassanian King Shapur in 341 (*BHG* 4; *AASS Novembris* 445 ff.); there is a representation of him in the mosaics of the famous church of Daphni near Athens. The Venetians obtained the church of St. Akindynos in 1082 from Alexius Comnenus in the first chrysobull issued in their favor; it was their most important church before 1204. In 1107 it was conferred, with all its “lands, treasures, vestments, books, property, and possessions, its shops, bakery, and oven, its weights and measures for wine and oil” upon the Patriarch of Grado. These weights and measures were made standard for all Venetians in Constantinople, a concession which alone brought in seventy-two hyperpers to the Patriarch of Grado in the year 1206. In 1192, Pope Celestine III granted the tithes of this church to the Patriarch of Grado, despite the fact that one of his suffragans had previously been collecting them. After the fourth Crusade, Marino Zeno, first Podestà of the Venetians, renewed the grant to Grado at the command of the Doge, and added much other property, from which the Patriarch of Grado collected the rent, and for which a number of

even left for Constantinople, he had signed away some of his most valuable possessions there, and made a concession which was to hold for the duration of the Latin occupation. Just as the Venetian Doge curbed the power of the Venetian Podestà in Constantinople,²⁵ so the Patriarch of Grado saw to it that the revenues derived from the Constantinopolitan properties of his see should not fall into other hands, even those of a Venetian-born Latin Patriarch. Seven Venetian canons, who declared themselves to belong to the chapter of St. Sophia, also signed the renunciation, which was later to be confirmed on January 31, 1221 by Patriarch Mattheaeus,²⁶ and, finally, on July 11, 1256, by Pope Alexander IV in one of a series of privileges conferred by him on Grado.²⁷

Santifaller maintains that this confirmation by Alexander IV was the first official notice taken by the papacy of the concession. He argues that, since the power to grant exemptions was in any case one possessed only by the Pope, Morosini's grant was invalid until Alexander confirmed it more than half a century later. He adds, however, that the grant was not specifically challenged by the papacy. But Santifaller seems to have overlooked a letter of Innocent III to Morosini, written on November 23, 1209, which refers to this exemption and indeed clarifies the circumstances under which it was issued:

When you were passing through Venice en route to Constantinople, [says Innocent] the Venetians denied you passage, and forced you to swear a bad oath, which you permitted to be extorted from you because it was essential that you get to Constantinople to obtain money to pay your creditors. The Venetians extorted from you a published document concerning the confirmation of certain churches which they hold in Constantinople. Since this was extorted by force, we declare it null and void.²⁸

The later confirmation of the concession by Patriarch Mattheaeus and by Pope Alexander IV, however, indicate that, despite Innocent III's attempt to absolve the Patriarch from this oath taken to the Venetians, it continued

leases survive, indicating that rents were high in the Venetian quarter. (T.-Th. I, pp. 52, 68, 118; nos. 23, 32, 51; II, pp. 5, 52, 59, 492 ff; nos. 164, 181, 328–330; see also B. Antonio, "Le Carte del Mille e del Millesimo che si conservano nel R. Archivio Notarile di Venezia," *Archivio Veneto* XX [1880] 314–315; on Marino Zeno, see Wolff, Oath; for a conjecture that the church of St. Akindynos was located on the site of the present Mosque of Rustem Pasha see J. Mordtmann, *Esquisse Topographique de Constantinople* [Lille, 1891] 46.). The other three churches were of less importance, and are satisfactorily discussed by Janin; while the three great churches added after 1204 are discussed by R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination Latine," *Études Byzantines* II (1944) 174 ff. and in the standard works of Van Millingen, Ebersolt, and Schneider. See also Janin, *Églises*, 527 ff., 529 ff., 227 ff.

²⁵ See Wolff, Oath.

²⁶ T.-Th. II, p. 225, no. 259.

²⁷ Printed for the first time by Santifaller, 220 ff.

²⁸ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 162, Bk. XII, no. 140; *Potthast* 3846; T.-Th. II, p. 113, no. 215.

to hold good. Since 1157 the Patriarchs of Grado had had the privilege of appointing and consecrating bishops in the Venetian colonies throughout the Byzantine Empire; they apparently wished to make sure that the conquest of Constantinople and the institution of a new Latin patriarchate there would not interfere with this earlier right. Their pressure — however exerted — on Morosini enabled them to achieve their purposes.

But the Venetians in 1205 were by no means satisfied with the concessions wrung from Morosini. It is clear from Innocent's letters that he anticipated their next move, and was prepared to meet it. On May 20, 1205, less than two months after giving Morosini his parting instructions, Innocent wrote to Benedict, Cardinal priest of St. Susanna, whom he was sending to Constantinople as papal legate, reporting that he had already empowered the new Patriarch to appoint suitable men to the church of Constantinople (i.e. the cathedral chapter of St. Sophia). If, he added, the Patriarch should have neglected to do so, and should persist in his neglect when admonished by the legate, the legate would be authorized to make the appointments himself. The appointees were to be literate and honest and *of all nationalities* (*de quacunque natione*).²⁹

The reason for this stress on taking men of all nationalities into the cathedral chapter becomes clearer when we examine a letter from the Pope to the same legate late in August or early in September of the same year. In order to keep the peace, Innocent wrote, he had confirmed the original treaty of March, 1204, between the French (i.e., the non-Venetian crusaders) and the Venetians, although it was uncanonical; now he wishes to be sure that the terms would be fulfilled. The treaty expressly provided that French and Venetian clerics should respectively fill the churches assigned to their respective parties. If the Patriarch had not already installed the clerics in the benefices assigned them, the legate was instructed to do so. This command was not motivated simply by anxiety lest the vacant churches remain unfilled, but arose from a suspicion that Morosini would favor the Venetians at the expense of the French. As Innocent put it: "the favor which we have bestowed upon the Venetians with regard to the most important issue [the patriarchate] we ought not to deny the French with respect to the less important" (the actual naming of clerics to the churches, particularly the cathedral chapter).³⁰ Probably for the same rea-

²⁹ *MPL CCXV*, col. 628, Bk. VIII, no. 62; *Potthast* 2506; *T.-Th. I*, p. 557, no. 151.

³⁰ *MPL CCXV*, col. 715, Bk. VIII, no. 135; *Potthast* 2575; *T.-Th. I*, p. 566, no. 156: '... gratiam quam fecimus Venetis in majori, non decet nos Francis in minori negare.'

son, Innocent specifically commanded Thomas, on September 7, to give a cathedral prebend to a certain Henry — almost certainly a Frenchman.³¹

By June 21, 1206, Innocent had discovered that his worst suspicions were justified. He complained to his two cardinal legates, Benedict of St. Susanna and Peter Capuano, that the Patriarch had been neglectful of his duty: spurning the clerics of other nations, he was appointing only Venetians to the churches, especially to the Church of St. Sophia, and was thereby disregarding the principle that the sanctuary of God may not be possessed by hereditary right. The legates were enjoined to admonish Thomas not to postpone the establishment in these churches of religious, honest, and educated men *undecumque originem duxerint*. Unless Thomas complied, the legates were to threaten to absolve his subordinate clergy from their oath of obedience to him. Innocent also wished to know if it were true that Thomas had made a certain promise to the Venetians —³² a promise whose details are specified in an angry letter of inquiry written to Thomas the same day.³³

The Pope had now heard, he wrote the Patriarch, that the Venetians had violently extorted from him an oath to the effect that he would appoint no canon to the chapter of St. Sophia except a Venetian, or one who had lived ten years in Venice, and that he would make every effort to see to it that there would always be a Venetian patriarch, “saving the rights of the Apostolic See,” this last clause having been added orally, and therefore ineffectively, by Morosini. Innocent commanded Thomas not to observe this oath. From now on, he wrote, there would be no excuse for continuing to appoint only Venetians; or for continuing to strive to secure a Venetian succession to the patriarchate by requiring all appointees to the cathedral chapter to swear before their appointment that they would never vote for or receive any but a Venetian candidate for patriarch; or for keeping an additional oral promise he was said to have given, without swearing an oath, to appoint only Venetian archbishops throughout the Empire of Romania. The Pope absolved Morosini from all such promises, past and future, and forbade their observance on pain of anathema. He commanded the Patriarch to denounce them to the canons of St. Sophia already appointed and still to be appointed.³⁴

The extent of the Venetian plan to control the church in the Empire is now almost fully revealed. Not only had they forced Thomas to renounce jurisdiction over their own churches, so that the Patriarch of Grado might lose neither prestige nor revenue, but they had attempted to secure in per-

³¹ *MPL CCXV*, col. 715, Bk. VIII, no. 136; *Potthast* 2576; T.-Th. I, p. 569, no. 158.

³² *MPL CCXV*, col. 914, Bk. IX, no. 100; *Potthast* 2821.

³³ Dated June 21 by *Potthast*, July 21 by *Santifaller*, *op. cit.*, 172.

³⁴ *MPL CCXV*, col. 947, Bk. IX, no. 130; *Potthast* 2822; T.-Th. II, p. 13, no. 167.

petuity control over the patriarchate of Constantinople itself. Morosini had been forced to swear to appoint only Venetian canons to the chapter of St. Sophia. The canons themselves, moreover, as the Pope said, had sworn to vote for none but a Venetian patriarch. Indeed, beyond this, they had also sworn — though Innocent does not mention it — never to vote for or to receive in their chapter any archdeacon, archpresbyter, provost, dean, treasurer, or other canon unless he were a Venetian or had served in a Venetian church for ten years; and to require the same oath of all canons to be elected to the cathedral chapter in future.

Although the text of Morosini's oath is apparently lost, that exacted from the canons survives as it was first taken on May 8, 1205, signed by eleven new canons of St. Sophia, all, of course, Venetians, and as taken a week later by four more canons, who could not write.³⁵ Above and beyond this attempt to perpetuate a Venetian patriarchate in Constantinople itself, and in its electoral body, the new Latin cathedral chapter of St. Sophia, the Venetians had secured from Thomas a further oral promise that all future archbishops in Romania should also be Venetian: a provision which, if carried out, would have secured their local power throughout the Empire. The Pope was naturally disturbed by this concerted Venetian campaign. Still hopeful, however, of great things from the Venetians in the Holy Land, he was not yet as severe as might have been expected, and confined himself to invalidating the oaths and to cautioning Morosini against any attempt to abide by them or to repeat them.

A month later Innocent backed up with action his verbal denunciation of the Venetian plan. On July 25, 1206, he confirmed two new canons of St. Sophia who had been appointed not by the Patriarch but one by each of the papal legates. Benedict of St. Susanna and Peter Capuano had now begun to exercise the powers conferred upon them by the Pope for use if they should find the Patriarch negligent of his duty. Both new canons were non-Venetian: one was Walter of Courtrai, later chancellor of the Empire, who was of course a Fleming; the other, Clement, the provost of the church of St. Stephen at Constantinople, was Italian but not Venetian, and was a personal friend of the legate, Peter Capuano.³⁶ Foreseeing that Morosini would not confirm these canons appointed by the legates, Innocent specifically instructed him to let nothing hinder him from accepting Clement — not even the plea that a fixed number of prebends for the cathedral chapter, had previously been established, and that Thomas did not wish to go beyond this

³⁵ T.-Th. I, pp. 547 ff. nos. 144 and 145.

³⁶ MPL CCXV, col. 946, 951, Bk. IX, nos. 129, 134; Potthast 2853, 2857.

number. Even if the chapter were already full, Clement was to be added to it. The Pope warned the Patriarch that he did not wish Clement to have to take the long, hard journey back to Rome to secure his rights.³⁷

Thus, by securing through his legates the appointment of non-Venetians, the Pope combatted the Venetian plan, and strove to prevent the cathedral chapter of St. Sophia from becoming all-Venetian. Similar efforts were made at irregular intervals throughout the patriarchate of Morosini. On July 29, 1207, Innocent confirmed Wibert, a priest appointed canon of St. Sophia by Cardinal legate Benedict;³⁸ on November 2, 1209, he commanded Thomas to receive into the canonate of St. Sophia a certain G., a cleric attached to the Emperor Henry (1206–1216),³⁹ and therefore presumably a Frenchman; on March 15, 1210, he angrily required the Patriarch to receive three new French canons. Emperor Henry, the Pope reported, had complained that Morosini was favoring the Venetians and slighting the French more than the mere demands of the Patriarch's own Venetian flesh and blood required.⁴⁰ Besides this method of opposing the Venetians, Innocent had another: threats of punishment for their numerous offenses committed on the fourth Crusade, but especially for their crimes at the capture of Zara, which had never been fully expiated, and which it was sometimes convenient to recall, as Innocent did in an admonitory letter of August 5, 1206.⁴¹

None the less, the Venetian canons continued to take the oath to exclude non-Venetians: two further examples survive, one taken by Canon Egidius in November, 1207, and the other by Canon Henry in April, 1208.⁴² In the latter month indeed the whole problem came to a head. Innocent wrote the Archbishop of Verissa (Vrysis),⁴³ the Bishop of Panados, and the Cantor of the church of St. Paul at Constantinople, reviewing the situation: the French clergy and the Patriarch had brought the dispute to him, and he had heard both sides in public consistory. The French clergy had told him of the original treaty which had guaranteed the patriarchate to the party which should not elect the Emperor, and of the oath subsequently obtained by the Venetians from Morosini. The French charged that, although they had abided by their promise to obey the decisions of Cardinal-legate Benedict in his efforts to secure peace between them and the Venetians, Morosini had vio-

³⁷ *MPL CCXV*, col. 975, Bk. IX, no. 148; *Pothast* 2872; *T.-Th. II*, p. 36, no. 175.

³⁸ *MPL CCXV*, col. 1196, Bk. X, no. 128; *Pothast* 3148.

³⁹ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 147, Bk. XII, no. 113; *Pothast* 3813; *T.-Th. II*, p. 109, no. 210.

⁴⁰ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 217, Bk. XIII, no. 18; *Pothast* 3936; *T.-Th. II*, p. 117, no. 221.

⁴¹ *MPL CCXV*, col. 957, Bk. IX, no. 139; *Pothast* 2866; *T.-Th. II*, p. 27, no. 172.

⁴² *T.-Th. II*, p. 61, no. 184 and p. 75, no. 199.

⁴³ On the Latin Archbishipric of Verissa, the former Greek autocephalous Archbishipric of Βρύσις, see Wolff, *Organization*, 53.

lated his promise to do so by refusing to accept (non-Venetian) canons appointed to St. Sophia by the legate. The rejected canons had appealed to Rome.

The Patriarch's representatives had then replied that Thomas could not have accepted these canons appointed by the legate, since he had already appealed to Rome the whole question of the legate's authority to make such appointments. Had he obeyed the legate under the circumstances, he would have done injury to Venice. The Patriarch, his representatives continued, had already filled all the vacant prebends; while the legate, by the Pope's authority, had the right to appoint canons only if the Patriarch should have neglected to do so and thus left vacant prebends. Morosini's representatives also denied that he had taken an oath to appoint Venetians only; but Innocent declared his own belief that Morosini had indeed done so. The Venetians, the Pope declared, had not only prevented the Patriarch from leaving Venice (in 1205) — and thus from escaping his creditors — until he had sworn what they demanded, but had refused to allow him to insert into his oath the saving clause with respect to the rights of the Apostolic See which he had wished to include.

The papal decision was as follows: within two months after the receipt of this letter, Thomas was to abjure his oath publicly before all the clergy of Constantinople, and to promise not to keep it. By suspending the (Venetian) canons of St. Sophia from office, he was to compel them to renounce their oaths and to promise not to keep them. By the same date he was to receive into the chapter the canons appointed by the legate, and to ensure their peaceful possession of their prebends. If he failed to comply, he was to be removed from office. The three clerics to whom the letter was sent were charged with the responsibility of enforcing the Pope's commands, and of publishing Morosini's suspension if this should prove necessary.⁴⁴

In a letter to Thomas himself written the same day, Innocent reminded him of the favor he had shown him in confirming him as Patriarch despite his uncanonical election. Reviewing various other charges against Thomas (which had been accumulating, and to which we shall recur), Innocent solemnly reminded him of the original papal requirement that the canons of St. Sophia should be chosen from clerics of all nations, and castigated him for his disobedience. Suppose, said Innocent, that the Romans should take an oath that no man might be chosen Pope or made a member of the College of Cardinals except a Roman, or should take an oath not to appoint any but Roman patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops throughout the world.

⁴⁴ *MPL CCXV*, col. 1392, Bk. XI, no. 77; *Potthast* 3384; *T.-Th. II*, p. 83, no. 201.

Death would be preferable to acceptance of such a wrong. Innocent continued by apprising Thomas of his decision and of the penalty for disobedience.⁴⁵ Presumably in order to forestall disorders and to give Morosini a fair chance to redeem himself, Innocent simultaneously commanded the French clergy in Constantinople to remain obedient to the Patriarch during the two months of grace allowed him, and not to cease obeying him unless he should fail to comply with the Pope's decision.⁴⁶

Because of the fortunate preservation in the papal registers of a letter written to Innocent sometime in the year 1209, we know in detail how Thomas responded. Declaring that they wished to give the Pope a testimonial of Thomas' good behavior, the Bishops of Selymbria, Panados, and Gallipoli reported that, as soon as the papal decision had arrived in Constantinople, Thomas had accepted it with true devotion. He had speedily assembled all those able to make an appearance in those difficult times, and had caused the Pope's letter to be read aloud to them. A new complication had arisen, about which he needed advice: in addition to those canons previously known to have been appointed by the legates, and whom Innocent had commanded him to accept, there were others who had received letters of appointment from Cardinal-legate Benedict, which they had previously concealed, but which they now produced, coming forward and demanding to be installed as canons of St. Sophia. The bishops advising against their acceptance, the Patriarch then assembled the clergy, and, on December 15, 1208, made his public renunciation of the oath taken to the Venetians. In his own defense Morosini alleged that, contrary to current slander, he had never taken any oath to promote only Venetians to be bishops or not to obey the Pope. He declared that the Doge and his councillors and the "populus" of Venice had been bitterly opposed to his acceptance of the original papal command that he accept clerics of all nationalities, and had expressed their fear that, as more Frenchmen arrived in Constantinople, they would take high church office, thus depriving the Venetians of the control of the church which had been promised them by the treaty of March, 1204. To bring pressure on him (Morosini continued) the Venetians had not only prevented his departure from Venice for Constantinople, thus exposing him to persecution from his creditors, but had threatened to send to Constantinople and seize what was left of the treasury of St. Sophia. This step the Patriarch's Venetian creditors feared, because, if it were taken, he might never be able to repay his debts. Only in this intolerable plight, Thomas declared, had he consented

⁴⁵ *MPL CCXV*, col. 1387, Bk. XI, no. 76; *Pothast* 3385; *T.-Th. II*, p. 76, no. 200.

⁴⁶ *MPL CCXV*, col. 1395, Bk. XI, no. 79; *Pothast* 3386.

to take the oath required of him by the Venetians, and then chiefly as a measure to procure his own release so that he might start on his journey to Constantinople.

But he admitted that he *had* sworn to appoint only Venetian canons and to strive to prevent non-Venetians from becoming archbishops — always, he insisted, with the saving clause reserving the rights of the Apostolic See. This oath he now publicly renounced, and promised not to abide by it. He then required the canons to renounce their oaths, and proceeded to receive as canons, and promise protection to all those clerics whom the Pope had commanded him to accept, with the exception of those who had since become bishops. To demonstrate his good will and his desire to abide by the papal command, he himself then publicly created a Piacenzan, Master Blaise, canon of St. Sophia.⁴⁷

This renunciation, on the face of it, ended the controversy in a complete papal victory; but, as we have seen, Innocent continued occasionally to appoint canons. As late as March 15, 1210, he complained that Thomas was discriminating against the French. After this period, however, the quarrel disappears from the sources. Apparently the Pope had established the principle for which he had been contending. Later Popes, however, occasionally appointed canons to the cathedral chapter, perhaps in order to combat Venetian influence, perhaps merely to keep alive their active right to do so. Although it seems probable that the oath, to which Innocent so strongly objected, ceased to be exacted from newly-appointed canons, the chapter remained largely Venetian. Despite the occasional forcing of clerics of other nationality upon the chapter's membership, Venice continued to exercise the predominant influence on the church of Constantinople and thus over the patriarchate itself. The oaths originally exacted from Morosini and from the canons remain of great interest, not only as an indication of the political (and almost certainly economic) importance attached by the Venetians to ecclesiastical predominance in Constantinople, but also as an extraordinary and violent attack upon the established principles of canon law, and a bold attempt to capitalize upon the new situation in the east.⁴⁸

In 1208, at the time he was forced to renounce his oath to the Venetians, Morosini was also charged by the French party with having stolen 100,000 marks from the treasury of St. Sophia, and certain property from the French party's churches — notably some marble columns from the Church of the

⁴⁷ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 118, Bk. XII, no. 105; T.-Th. II, p. 101, no. 204.

⁴⁸ Cf. Santifaller, *op. cit.*, 140 ff.

Resurrection (Anastasis).⁴⁹ They also accused him of diverting to his own use three hundred hyperpers⁵⁰ given him by the Empress⁵¹ and others for the support of the Cardinal legate (a sum which he should have contributed himself, since the Emperor had already given twelve hundred hyperpers for this purpose), and three hundred additional hyperpers extorted from the clergy, totalling six hundred. To these charges Morosini's representatives at Rome replied that Thomas had dipped into the treasury of St. Sophia not only because of the needs of the church, but also because of the needs of the state: he had given, they said, 3,000 marks to the Emperor and 2,000 to the Venetians; he had spent 4,000 to buy property for the church, which he would do any time he got the opportunity. The representatives, however, do not seem to have accounted in any way for the rest of the 100,000 marks, nor did they deal with the charges involving the six hundred hyperpers or the columns. On April 17, 1208, Innocent instructed the Bishop of Selymbria, the Archbishop-elect of Heracleia, and the Cantor of St. Sophia, to see to it that Thomas refund any sum misappropriated to his own use from the funds which should have gone toward the maintenance of the papal legate, and that he make restitution of whatever sums he might have taken from the treasury of St. Sophia. The Pope forgave the removal of the columns.⁵²

On the occasion when, complying with the Pope's command, Thomas publicly renounced his oath to the Venetians, he also dealt publicly with these charges. Exhorting his audience not to conceal the truth about these matters, concerning which the French clergy, he said, had lied to the Pope, he invited any cleric present to speak up, and register a complaint as to any losses suffered by his own or by any other church at the hands of the Patriarch. He offered to pay back double the amount of any such losses. He

⁴⁹ On this church see R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination Latine," *Etudes Byzantines* II (1944) 162 ff.; *Églises* 24 ff.

⁵⁰ There is a large literature on the hyperper, as the Byzantine *nomisma*, previously the *solidus*, was called in our period, and several passages exist in contemporary authors which evaluate the hyperper in terms of western currencies. An equivalent of 3.90–4.75 current American dollars may be accepted as approximate for the hyperper of the early thirteenth century, but the purchasing power cannot be accurately estimated. The problem is discussed, with bibliographical references, in my forthcoming article, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," to be published in *Speculum* during 1954.

⁵¹ The Empress was Agnes, daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, who was married in February 1207 in St. Sophia to the Emperor Henry, younger brother and successor of Baldwin I, who had been killed in prison by Ioannitsa, King of the Vlachs and Bulgars after having been captured at Adrianople in the spring of 1205. For the marriage see Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chapters 456–458, ed. E. Faral, II (Paris, 1939) 306–308; ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874) 294–296.

⁵² *MPL* CCXV, col. 1387 and 1395, Bk. XI, nos. 76 and 78; *Potthast* 3385, 3379; T.-Th. II, p. 76, no. 200.

denied that he had taken more than 18,000 marks from the treasury of St. Sophia at any time. Although admitting that he had received three hundred hyperpers as a contribution to the expenses of the Cardinal legate, he declared that he himself had spent even more, and therefore regarded himself, in this matter, not as a debtor but as a creditor. As for the other three hundred, allegedly wrung from the clergy and misappropriated, he admitted that he had received this sum from the "debtors of the (Venetian) commune,"⁵³ but maintained that he had then turned it over to a certain Theodore, a representative of the clergy. Theodore himself was present, and confirmed this statement.⁵⁴ In this way Morosini defended himself against the charges of peculation; it seems altogether probable that his derelictions in this regard were far less serious than his opponents charged, since this public accounting apparently put an end to their efforts to bring him to book, and satisfied his audience, including the three prelates chosen by the Pope to adjudicate the matter.

THE QUESTION OF THE CONVENTUAL CHURCHES

Immediately upon Morosini's arrival in Constantinople in midsummer 1205, the French (i.e. non-Venetian) clergy refused to receive him or to obey him, alleging that his election had been achieved by lies and suppression of the truth. In the presence of Cardinal legate Peter Capuano, they appealed to the Pope. Peter accepted the appeal, and, pending papal action, did not wish to compel the French clergy to render obedience to Thomas. Thomas, however, forced the issue by excommunicating the French clergy, an act whose validity Peter refused to accept.⁵⁵ When the second Cardinal legate, Benedict, came from Rome later in 1205, bearing orders that the quarrel should be resolved, he found the Patriarch treating the French clergy as excommunicate, while the legate, Peter Capuano, had continued to deal with them. Since the original agreement between Venetians and Crusaders had expressly provided that the clergy of each party should have the right to appoint priests to its own churches, Innocent had specifically enjoined upon Benedict the necessity of guarding against any effort by Thomas to dispossess the French clergy of their proper benefices.⁵⁶ By 1206 both parties to the dispute had accepted the mediation of Benedict: Morosini had agreed to leave the French clergy undisturbed, and the French

⁵³ On the Venetian colony as a commune, see Wolff, *Oath*.

⁵⁴ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 118, Bk. XII, no. 105; T.-Th. II, pp. 101 ff., no. 209.

⁵⁵ *Gesta Innocentii*, chapter 100, *MPL CCXIV*, col. CXLIV.

⁵⁶ *MPL CCXV*, col. 715, Bk. VIII, no. 135; Potthast 2575; T.-Th. I, p. 566, no. 156.

clergy had been required to accept Morosini as Patriarch.⁵⁷ The settlement, however, did not remain unchallenged.

Morosini and the Emperor Henry (1206-1216), natural leader of the French party, although in theory impartial, also quarreled about the jurisdiction over thirty conventional churches or *praepositurae* in Constantinople. These, like the chapels of the imperial palaces of the Boukoleon and the Blachernae, the Emperor Baldwin had received, when churches, like other property, had been distributed immediately after the Latin conquest. The Pope refers to them as "among the best churches which fell to the lot of the French," and to them Baldwin had appointed *praepositi* and deans, presumably French. After Baldwin's death, Henry had continued the practice; but Morosini now claimed the privilege as his own, and the case was adjudged by Benedict. For reasons which will later appear the legate awarded twenty-three of the *praepositurae* to himself,⁵⁸ and left the fate of seven others undecided. Thereupon both Emperor and Patriarch appealed to the Pope, who in March, 1208, instructed the Archbishops of Verissa and Gallipoli to settle the matter.⁵⁹ On November 2, 1209, Innocent wrote Thomas that the Emperor had again complained, charging that the Patriarch had been ordaining clerics to the imperial *praepositurae* and treating imperial appointees as excommunicate. The Pope commanded the Patriarch to cease these practices, and empowered the Archbishop of Verissa, the Bishop of Selymbria, and the Dean of St. Mary of Blachernae to enforce this command.⁶⁰ But Innocent

⁵⁷ *MPL CCXV*, col. 959, Bk. IX, no. 140; *Pothast* 2860; *T.-Th. II*, p. 19, no. 170.

⁵⁸ Gerland, p. 126, mistakenly says that the *praepositurae* were awarded to the Emperor. Note quotation in next note; The "sibi" (in italics) can refer only to the legate. See below and notes 145 and 175.

⁵⁹ *MPL CCXV*, col. 1349, Bk. XI, no. 16; *Pothast* 3331; *T.-Th. II*, p. 72, no. 195: "Significavit nobis . . . patriarcha quod . . . Balduinus . . . triginta praeposituras infra urbem Constantinopolitanam . . . suae donationi retinuit, instituens in eis praepositos et decanos; cui . . . Henricus succedendo, easdem in animae suae periculum ordinare praesumit. Unde nobis humiliter supplicavit ut easdem suae faceremus ordinationi dimitti liberas et quietas, maxime cum . . . Benedictus . . . tunc apostolicae sedis legatus, ex ipsis triginta viginti tres adjudicaverit *sibi*, septem nec adjudicatis nec cassatis in nostrae relictis arbitrio potestatis, et nos tempore ordinationis eiusdem nullam Ecclesiam exceperimus, imo sibi curam Constantinopolitanae Ecclesiae commiserimus generalem. . . . Verum, quia imperator . . . praepositurarum ipsarum collationem confirmari *sibi* . . . postulavit, . . . mandamus quatenus audiatis hinc inde proposita. . . ." Boukoleon was the name initially given to a statue of a lion attacking a bullock which stood on the waterfront near the great palace, and then to a palace nearby; it seems to have been used by the Latins as a general term for the great palace itself. See Janin, *Constantinople*, 101-102, 120-121, and references there. The church of St. Michael of the Boukoleon was the name given by the Latins to the Byzantine church of the Nea built by Basil I. See Janin, *Eglises*, 374 ff. The palace and church of the Virgin of the Blachernae far up the Golden Horn are also treated fully by Janin, *Constantinople*, *passim*, and *Eglises*, 168 ff.

⁶⁰ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 147, Bk. XII, nos. 115, 116; *Pothast* 3815, 3816.

does not appear to have rendered any decision with regard to the appeals from Henry and Thomas as to jurisdiction over the *praepositurae*.

This question remained to vex the successors of both Emperor and Patriarch. Its chief significance lay in the fact that the *praepositi* claimed the right to vote in the election of the Patriarchs. This claim was backed by the (hitherto lost) papal letter of May, 1205, which had authorized all prelates of conventional churches to participate in the elections.⁶¹ If the French faction could maintain their jurisdiction over the *praepositurae*, and establish the right of the *praepositi* to vote in patriarchal elections, they could put in jeopardy the efforts of the Venetians, who controlled the cathedral chapter of St. Sophia, to secure the election of a Venetian patriarch. Conversely, if Thomas, with his predisposition to appoint Venetians, could dispossess the French from the *praepositurae*, and either appoint Venetians to the posts, or prevent the *praepositi* from voting in the patriarchal elections, he could maintain unimpaired the Venetian succession to the patriarchate.

INTERREGNUM AND DISPUTED ELECTION, 1211–1215

In June or July, 1211, Morosini died, while on a visit to Thessalonica.⁶² There followed a troubled interregnum of more than four years, which began with a disputed election — for which the conflict between French and Venetians had already prepared the ground — and which was not settled until the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

During Thomas' last illness at Thessalonica, the *praepositi* of the conventional churches in Constantinople, who were mostly French, began to fear, with reason, that their right, which Innocent III had granted them, to take part, together with the cathedral chapter, in the election of a new Patriarch, would be infringed upon if Thomas were to die. They therefore assembled in St. Sophia in the presence of the dean and chapter, and read aloud Innocent's *constitutio* of May, 1205, laying down the method by which the Patriarch of Constantinople was to be elected. Because some of the canons were absent, the conventional clergy could get no satisfactory assurances that they would be allowed to take part; but they also appealed to Rome, in order to prevent the largely Venetian chapter from holding any election without their participation. Returning to St. Sophia three days later to obtain a response to their previous representations to the dean and chapter, they found a throng of armed Venetians in the stalls and about the altar, shouting and

⁶¹ See above, text and note 9. Also below, text and note 149. Appendix, no. II.

⁶² Santifaller, p. 28, note 5, lists all references in sources and secondary works to this event.

threatening mutilation and death to any who opposed the election of a Venetian.

Prevented from entering the cathedral, the clergy of the conventional churches suddenly saw a number of the canons come bursting forth from a secret conclave which they had been holding behind locked doors. Though some of the chapter had dissented — perhaps those Frenchmen appointed canons by the Pope or his legates in their attempt to prevent the chapter from becoming all-Venetian — the chapter had already chosen as the new Patriarch Philip,⁶³ their own dean. Angered at their exclusion, and desiring to take their proper part in the election, the *praepositi* then renewed their appeal to the Pope, and themselves unanimously named three churchmen, from among whom they asked the Pope to choose the Patriarch. These were Sicard, Bishop of Cremona, Peter Capuano, Cardinal priest of St. Marcellus and the Pope's former legate in Constantinople, and Robert de Corzon, a canon of the cathedral chapter of Paris. Their representatives, in presenting this appeal to the Pope, alleged that the election of Philip, the dean, by the cathedral chapter was illegal because it had been connived at in advance.

Because the *praepositi* of the conventional churches had been excluded, Innocent declared the election of Philip, the dean, invalid. He also refused, however, to comply with the request of the conventional clergy to name one of their three choices. This, he wrote on August 5, 1211, would not be advisable procedure. Instead he ordered that a new canonical election take place, with all those privileged to do so taking part. He urged the election of a man of suitable learning, habits, and distinction, reminding both the *praepositi* and the cathedral chapter that, if their candidate should not be suitable, or should not have been chosen according to canonical procedure, the Pope himself would by apostolic authority name a patriarch.⁶⁴

The new election was held on December 24, 1211, with the *praepositi* as well as the chapter participating, and ended in a double choice. It was enlivened by an exchange of charges and countercharges between the parties, and was of course followed by an appeal to Rome, carried by representatives of both sides. What we may now call the French party chose the Archbishop Gervasius of Heracleia, who was, however, a Venetian by nationality; while the Venetian party chose a certain Ludovicus, the *plebanus* of the church of St. Paul in Venice.⁶⁵ In their appeal to Rome the representatives of the two parties told the following story of what had happened.

⁶³ Cf. Santifaller, 28.

⁶⁴ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 459, Bk. XIV, no. 97; *Potthast* 4297; *T.-Th. II*, p. 127, no. 228.

⁶⁵ The technical term for the election to the patriarchate of a cleric already a bishop is *postulatio*, a request for a transfer, or a "calling to office," and so the sources term Gervasius'

The representatives of the Venetian party (the supporters of Ludovicus the *plebanus*) reported that, at the time of the election, seven representatives of the conventional churches had appeared to take part, together with some other clerics, two of whom were finally admitted as representing other *praepositi* who were not present, making the conventional church representation nine strong. These nine, and nine of the Cathedral canons — presumably the French ones, mostly appointed by the Pope — voted for Gervasius, Archbishop of Heracleia, giving him eighteen votes. Fifteen canons and the *praepositus* of the Church of the Holy Apostles voted for Ludovicus the *plebanus*, giving him sixteen votes, from among those present at the election. But the Cantor of St. Sophia, then absent on church business, and eight other canons, also absent, had all cast their proxies in advance for Ludovicus, thus giving him twenty-five votes (although the papal letter adds it up to only twenty-four). To strengthen the position of Ludovicus, the representatives of the Venetian party tried to impugn the legality of the participation in the election of several members of the opposing faction. They maintained that, since the *praepositi* of the two palace churches of Boukoleon and Blachernae were exempt from patriarchal jurisdiction as priests of imperial churches, they should not have been allowed to vote for the patriarch. In addition, four other voters had not themselves been *praepositi*, but only representatives of *praepositi*, and were therefore not properly entitled to vote. Finally, one of the electors had already been made Archbishop of Verissa, and had taken possession of his see before the election, which, they argued, disqualified him also. Thus the Venetian party attempted to cast doubt upon the right to vote of seven of the supporters of Gervasius, which would have reduced the number of his votes to eleven, only two of which would have been cast by clerics outside the chapter. In support of their claim that the conventional churches should not have had more than two votes, the Venetian party reminded the Pope that the number of such foundations had been reduced by previous decision from thirty to seven, whose status was still unsettled, and added that many of the *praepositi* were absent from Constantinople.

Further, they accused Gervasius himself of incontinence, charging that he had a son while a monk. They charged him also with ambition, because, they alleged, on Christmas eve, when the election was still to be held, he had come from his see of Heracleia to Constantinople, and, to the music of a *Te Deum*, had allowed himself to be seated on the throne used by the

faction the *postulantes*, while the election of a cleric not yet a bishop is termed an *electio*, and the sources therefore term Ludovicus' supporters the *eligentes*.

patriarch on feast days. Moreover, they charged, he had, after the death of Thomas, on his own authority distributed the property of the patriarchate: he had by violence stolen the patriarchal seal from the office (*scrinium*) of the chamberlain, and with it had sealed a letter sent to Ravenna, using its authority to have conveyed to him a considerable sum of patriarchal money deposited there, which he had then distributed at his own whim, thus inflicting grievous injury upon the church of Constantinople. Summing up, the Venetian partisans of Ludovicus declared that Gervasius' party was not only smaller in number, but had in any case lost its rights by choosing a candidate known to be unworthy, since all the aforementioned charges against Gervasius had been ventilated in the actual election conclave. They therefore petitioned the Pope to confirm Ludovicus.

The French party maintained that the Pope's *constitutio* of 1205 had given the conventional churches the right to participate in patriarchal elections, and that this was for the good of the church, since their *praepositi* were enemies of those who sought "to possess the sanctuary of God by hereditary right." This was a shrewd dig at the Venetians, against whom the Pope had for years been levelling precisely this charge in precisely these words, with regard to their attempt to retain exclusively for Venetians the patriarchate and chapter of Constantinople and the archdioceses of Romania. The French party argued that the exemption of the imperial churches of Boukoleon and Blachernae from patriarchal jurisdiction in no way rendered their *praepositi* ineligible to take part in the election of a Patriarch. They claimed indeed that all nine members of their group — seven *praepositi*, and two others representing the other twenty-three *prapositurae* — had cast legal and valid votes. They also claimed, though it is not clear how, six votes more than the eighteen allowed them by their opponents, thus raising the total to twenty-four. They naturally also cast doubt on the claims of the Venetian party, maintaining that the eight absent canons, whose votes the Venetians had counted for their candidate, had been absent from Constantinople so long that they could no longer be considered canons.

They praised themselves for their own exhibition of good will toward Venice, in having chosen a Venetian, a man known for his good mode of life, his excellent administrative ability, and his popularity with clergy and laity — a man whom the Emperor, the suffragan bishops, and the people all desired. They dismissed as untrue the charge of incontinence levelled against Gervasius, adding, however, that if there ever had been any truth in it, his subsequent probity had rendered the accusation invalid. They threatened, if their opponents did not cease to slander Gervasius, that they

for their part could slander Ludovicus. Gervasius, they declared, had not canvassed for election; he had come to Constantinople on Christmas eve for a perfectly honest reason: as the executor of Thomas Morosini's will, he often had business to attend to in the capital. Although he had attended Christmas services, he had sat in the dean's seat, and not in the patriarch's, and had not abused any privileges belonging to the patriarch. Although perhaps not distinguished, Gervasius, they maintained, was competently educated (*litteratus*), and knew his Bible well enough. As for Ludovicus, he was still in minor orders — only a sub-deacon — and this laid him open to the charge of ambition; moreover he was from outside the patriarchate and Empire, instead of a suffragan and neighbor. Finally, they charged, he had himself electioneered, and had written and asked for the votes of some of the canons, despite the denials of his supporters. They therefore asked to have Gervasius confirmed.

Innocent, having thus reviewed the claims of both parties, wrote on August 18, 1212, to his notary, Maximus, instructing him to find out the truth about the election. First the notary was to go to Venice, where both Gervasius and Ludovicus had been born and had lived for many years, and to inquire about their eligibility, and obtain any other information which might prove helpful. Then he was to proceed to Constantinople, where he was to determine whether, at the time of the election, the conventional churches had had a number of *praepositi* large enough, if they had all participated in the election, to have given Gervasius a total of thirty-two votes in all, or twice the number (sixteen) that Innocent was willing to allow for Ludovicus. The Pope thus disallowed the Venetian party's claim to count in Ludovicus' total the votes of the eight absent canons. If Gervasius could be considered to have twice as many votes as Ludovicus, Maximus was to confirm Gervasius (unless he should not be worthy), to dissolve his connections with the archdiocese of Heracleia, and to install him as patriarch. If thirty-two votes could not be mustered for Gervasius, Ludovicus was to be confirmed.

This papal decision is not altogether easy to understand: why should Gervasius have had to secure a two-thirds majority to win the election, while Ludovicus could be elected on the strength of sixteen votes only, even if Gervasius might have had as many as thirty-one? The possible answers seem to be:

1. that the Pope desired Ludovicus' election, whether as a measure of appeasement to Venice or for some other reason, and was making it as hard as possible for Gervasius to be chosen;

2. that the Pope desired Gervasius' election, whether as a measure to limit Venice's power or to show support for the Emperor and the French or for some other reason, and was confident of a two-thirds majority for him; so that he could put the election beyond question by demonstrating Gervasius' strength;
3. that the Pope regarded the votes of the canons of the cathedral chapter as twice as important as those of the *praepositi* of the conventional churches. This possibility, however, seems to be ruled out, since Gervasius also had the support of nine members of the chapter.

If the Pope had desired Ludovicus' election, it seems improbable that he would have disallowed eight votes claimed for him (the absent canons); moreover, it seems improbable that he would ever have consented, as he later did, to the confirmation of Gervasius. So, on the whole, the second hypothesis seems most probable. It should probably be considered, however, whether in sending Maximus first to Venice, where he must have known that he ran the risk of being detained, and in giving him such precise instructions for so complicated a situation, Innocent III did not wish to have the issue remain in doubt; so that he could himself appoint a new patriarch. Since, in the event, this was precisely what happened, it is legitimate to inquire whether the Pope did not expect it to happen, in view of the deep hostility between the factions, and whether his insistence on an apparently unobtainable majority for Gervasius was not in reality a device to assure himself of the opportunity to appoint his own choice to the patriarchate.

Maximus also received instructions covering other possible situations: if Gervasius should be found to have thirty-two votes, but should be found unworthy, neither candidate was to be confirmed, unless it should be found that Gervasius' supporters had deliberately selected an unworthy candidate; in this case, Ludovicus was to be confirmed, and the right to vote taken from Gervasius' supporters. If both candidates had to be discarded, both parties, Venetian and French, were to send representatives to Rome; the Pope would then appoint a patriarch, perhaps Gervasius or Ludovicus, perhaps a third choice.⁶⁶

Three days after issuing these instructions, the Pope granted Maximus the right formerly held by Morosini to absolve those in Romania who had been excommunicated for laying violent hands on clerics;⁶⁷ he informed the clergy of Constantinople that Maximus was to be regarded as the Pope's

⁶⁶ All the above is from the long letter *MPL CCXVI*, col. 675, Bk. XV, no. 156; Potthast 4577; T.-Th. II, p. 150, no. 234.

⁶⁷ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 674, Bk. XV, no. 153; Potthast 4580.

representative in the absence of a patriarch or of a legate;⁶⁸ and he asked the Emperor Henry to have confidence in Maximus' decisions.⁶⁹ At the instance of the Doge, and over the protests of the French party, Maximus then went to Venice, where he was denied passage to Constantinople, and forced to linger. It was almost a year later before Innocent, on August 12, 1213, remonstrated with the Doge, Piero Ziani, who had meanwhile coolly asked that the Pope now confirm Ludovicus, although the whole controversy remained unsettled, and although Maximus had never been given the opportunity to go on his mission. The Pope's letter to Ziani was rather mild, in view of the offense, possibly because he was still urging a crusade upon the Venetians, and wished to remain on good terms with them. None the less, Innocent naturally refused to confirm Ludovicus, and wrote the Doge that he would now appoint a legate immediately to put an end to the controversy.⁷⁰ Six weeks later the Pope named Pelagius, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, and instructed him to settle the case, following the precepts laid down in the letter to Maximus.⁷¹

In spite of this apparent determination on Innocent's part, there is no surviving evidence to indicate that Pelagius settled the question either way.⁷² The papal registers for the years 1214–1215 are lost; so that the source-material suddenly becomes very scanty. However, the contents of some of the lost letters are known; others have been recovered; and certain passages in contemporary German chroniclers permit a reconstruction of developments. The double election was still unsettled at the time of the Lateran Council of 1215, when both candidates came to Rome. Acting on the advice of his cardinals, Innocent deposed both; and then elevated Gervasius, invested him, and sent him back to Constantinople. The Royal Chronicle of Cologne, which reports this development, says plainly that a third man was chosen for the post;⁷³ but the inaccuracy of this is demonstrated by a letter from Innocent, to be dated late in 1215 or early in 1216, of which the text is lost but of whose contents a summary survives, addressed to all the archbishops,

⁶⁸ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 674, Bk. XV, no. 154; Potthast 4581.

⁶⁹ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 675, Bk. XV, no. 155; Potthast 4582.

⁷⁰ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 891, Bk. XVI, No. 91; Potthast 4784; T.-Th. II, p. 171, no. 238.

⁷¹ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 907, Bk. XVI, no. 112; Potthast 4811; T.-Th. II, p. 173, no. 239.

⁷² The sources for Pelagius' mission are Akropolites and Mesarites, ed. Heisenberg, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion, III, Die Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische Klasse* (Munich, 1923) 3 Abhandlung, p. 96; Potthast *5200; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* I, p. 68, no. 90; Hampe, *loc. cit.*, note 76 below, p. 561, no. 15; and certain hitherto unnoticed or unpublished letters of Honorius III, dealt with below.

⁷³ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, *MGH SS XVII*, p. 282.

bishops, and other prelates subject to the see of Constantinople, and commanding them to obey "G. formerly Archbishop of Heracleia, Patriarch-elect of Constantinople," who had now been confirmed by the Pope.⁷⁴ In another lost letter Innocent conferred the *pallium* upon Gervasius;⁷⁵ while a third, discovered only in the twentieth century, granted Gervasius many of the privileges previously conferred upon Thomas Morosini: the right to absolve those who have laid violent hands upon members of the clergy, and those who forge the Patriarch's seal or that of any of his subjects, and the right to anoint kings with the consent of the Emperor.⁷⁶ He was also granted the exemption, previously accorded to Thomas, from the clause in his oath which forbade him to sell or alienate or give as a pledge the possessions of the patriarchate,⁷⁷ and was permitted on holidays to promote clerics to be sub-deacons.⁷⁸ Thus finally the four-year-old controversy was settled, and the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople received its second Patriarch, Gervasius, a Venetian like the first,⁷⁹ but the candidate of the French party. Simultaneously Innocent appointed an archdeacon to the cathedral chapter, whom he commanded Gervasius to receive⁸⁰ (it may be conjectured that this appointee was not a Venetian), and confirmed the number of thirty-five canons and forty prebends for the church of St. Sophia.⁸¹

With the accession of Gervasius,⁸² we enter the pontificate of Honorius III, who succeeded immediately after the death of Innocent in July, 1216.

Gervasius proceeded to Constantinople by way of Greece, where he appears to have acted in a high-handed manner, especially in his relations with the Latin Archbishop of Thebes. The archbishop complained to the

⁷⁴ Potthast *5195; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* I, p. 65, no. 85.

⁷⁵ Potthast *5201; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* I, p. 66, no. 90.

⁷⁶ Text in K. Hampe, "Aus verlorenen Registerbänden der Päpste Innocenz III und Innocenz IV," *Mittheilungen für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXIII (1902) 560, no. 14.

⁷⁷ Potthast *3195, Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* I, p. 66, no. 83.

⁷⁸ Potthast *5197, Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* I, p. 66, no. 84.

⁷⁹ Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *MGH SS* XXIII, 919, calls Gervasius a Tuscan, and is followed by Gerland, 225. But there seems no reason to disbelieve the two references in the papal letters, in one of which the French party calls attention to its broadmindedness in choosing a Venetian, and in the second of which the Pope tells Maximus to look into Gervasius' reputation in Venice, his native place.

⁸⁰ Potthast *5202, *5203, *5204; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* I, p. 66, nos. 92, 93, 94. Text in K. Hampe, *loc. cit.*, p. 562, nos. 16, 17, 18.

⁸¹ Potthast *5147; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* I, p. 64, no. 28.

⁸² Santifaller, 83 ff. prints and studies the two surviving original documents from the patriarchate of Gervasius. Of interest chiefly to the student of diplomatics, they are of little historical importance. See also J. Longnon, "Le Patriarcat Latin de Constantinople," *Journal des Savants* (1941) 174 ff. for two further documents unknown to Santifaller, relating to the same transaction as one of Santifaller's documents: the bestowal of the church of the Saviour in Modon upon the church of St. Loup in Troyes.

Pope that the Patriarch had claimed the right to hear all cases, even though they had not been appealed to him; he had excommunicated the archbishop's own clergy and lay parishioners without consulting the archbishop; he had upon his own whim conferred upon clerics of his own choice offices and prebends which were in the archbishop's gift and of which Gervasius had no right to dispose.⁸³ Moreover, he had claimed as belonging to his own jurisdiction certain monasteries in the archbishopric of Thebes, because a former Greek Patriarch had placed a cross in them as a sign of a prayer to be said daily by the local monks for him.⁸⁴ Gervasius chose to think that the presence of such a cross in any church indicated that the church was subject directly to him. He also apparently removed from the archbishop's jurisdiction several important churches,⁸⁵ and, allegedly without just cause, he excommunicated two of the greatest nobles of Greece, Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Othon de la Roche.⁸⁶ In February, 1217, Honorius took measures to correct all of these abuses.

Gervasius apparently arrived in Constantinople sometime late in 1216. The Emperor Henry had died on June 11, but the Pope was unaware of this on August 12, when he wrote commanding Gervasius to cooperate with Henry in every respect, and to make the political as well as the ecclesiastical affairs of the Empire a matter of his personal concern.⁸⁷ After Henry's death, Conon de Béthune, one of the original crusaders of 1204, was made *bailli* of the Empire, while the barons deliberated on a successor to the imperial throne. The two candidates were Peter of Courtenay, Count of Auxerre, who had married Yolande, sister of Baldwin and Henry (the first two Latin Emperors), and King Andrew of Hungary, who had married Peter's daughter. The barons chose Peter.⁸⁸ In April, 1217, Honorius ordered Gervasius to welcome and aid Peter, whom he had already crowned Emperor in Rome.⁸⁹ Honorius was at pains to make it clear to Gervasius that this coronation was not to be regarded as an infringement of the Patriarch's own prerogatives or as prejudicial to the Patriarch's right to crown future Emperors.⁹⁰ This papal coronation of the Emperor of Constantinople was indeed to be the exception, not the rule: after Peter, Emperors were crowned by the Patriarch. On his way out to Constantinople, Peter was captured in

⁸³ Pressutti 340.

⁸⁴ Pressutti 341.

⁸⁵ Pressutti 342.

⁸⁶ Pressutti 332; see below text and note 124.

⁸⁷ Horoy II, col. 25; Pressutti 20.

⁸⁸ Pressutti 526, 291, 330, 497. For all details on the subject of the history of the Empire see my forthcoming book.

⁸⁹ Pressutti 497.

⁹⁰ Horoy II, col. 360; Pressutti 497.

Epirus by the Despot Theodore, and was never released. His wife, Yolande, who had gone by ship, ruled as Empress from 1217 to 1219, when she died. After her death, Peter's younger brother, Robert of Courtenay, was chosen Emperor, and came out to Constantinople, where he reigned from 1221 to 1228. Gervasius himself died in November, 1219, as we shall see, and was succeeded in 1221 by Matthaeus.

All during these years, ever since 1204, the question of church property and the related question of church privileges and jurisdiction had been complicating the already difficult position of the Latins in the Empire. We may turn now to this highly important subject, which has never before received careful study by scholars.

CHURCH PROPERTY: EFFORTS AT A SETTLEMENT, 1204-1223

The original treaty of March, 1204 between Venetians and Crusaders provided that: ". . . from the possessions of individual churches sufficient should be provided for the clergy and for the churches to enable them to live and to be supported honorably. The remainder of the property of the churches is to be divided." The division was to be effected according to a pattern already prescribed for division of all other booty to be found in the city: the Venetians were to get one quarter outright; the remaining three-fourths was to be divided between them and the non-Venetians; and the whole operation was to be supervised by a commission of twelve men, six from each party.⁹¹

Such an attack on the church could not go unchallenged by Innocent. Writing to the Doge on January 29, 1205, the Pope refused to confirm the treaty, and objected specifically to this clause dividing church property. Violent hands, he wrote, cannot be laid upon the treasures of the church without offense to the Lord. The Apostolic See cannot possibly defend any such act: a treaty which pretends to look out for the welfare of the Church actually intends to harm it. How can a commission of twelve men unknown to the papacy, and perhaps enemies of the holy ordinances, be entrusted to carry out such a division? Moreover, the Pope added, he would be unable to confirm any agreement which might injure Thomas, the newly-elected Patriarch, who might well find that his property had been disposed of even before he himself should have arrived at his new post.⁹² A few days later the Pope wrote again to the Emperor Baldwin, to Enrico Dandolo, and to Boniface of Montferrat, commander of the armies and soon to be first Latin king of Thessalonica, commanding them not to proceed with the division of the

⁹¹ T.-Th. I, 447, 451.

⁹² *MPL CCXV*, col. 519, Bk. VII, no. 206; *Pothast* 2398; T.-Th. I, p. 529, no. 131.

church property. Not only is the church of Constantinople injured by this agreement, he declared, but also papal dignity is itself impugned; the agreement is not only *illicitum* but might well be called a *perjurium*.⁹³ Innocent also informed Reniero Dandolo, acting as Doge in Venice in the absence of his father in Constantinople, of his attitude on the question.⁹⁴

The papal command came too late, however; the great distribution of the booty had already taken place in the autumn of 1204: church property had gone to laymen with the rest, and was secularized according to the program of the treaty. As Nicetas Choniates says: "When they divided up their loot they made no distinction between profane wicked things and holy ones."⁹⁵ The churches were apparently left only such property as the commissioners thought would provide a suitable living for the clergy. In view of the greed of the Crusaders, it seems hardly probable that the commissioners were generous in their estimates.⁹⁶ Faced with a *fait accompli*, the Roman church continued to press its claims for an indemnity. We find Morosini acting as the partner of the papal legate in the first settlement of this troubled question, which was eventually reached between clerics and laymen on March 17, 1206, and which was then confirmed by Innocent on August 5. Unfortunately we have no sources for the development of the negotiations, and it is therefore impossible to assess the part played by Thomas in reaching the agreement, or to estimate the extent of papal pressure necessary to bring it about.

The agreement was drawn up between Benedict the legate and Thomas the Patriarch on the one hand, and, on the other, Henry, brother of the Emperor Baldwin. Baldwin had been captured in April, 1205, by Ioannitsa, King of the Vlachs and the Bulgarians, and had died or been killed in prison. At the time of the agreement, Henry was not yet Emperor, but still only *moderator* of the Empire; he was not crowned until August 20, 1206, by which time the barons were convinced that Baldwin was really dead.⁹⁷ Acting for the barons, knights, and people; i.e. the non-Venetian laity of Romania, Henry undertook to compensate the churches for their lost possessions by agreeing that they were to be awarded one fifteenth of all property outside the walls of Constantinople: cities, castles, villages (*casalia*), fields, vineyards, groves, forests, meadows, orchards (*pomeria*), gardens, salt-pans (*salinae*), tolls (*passagia*), and customs dues (*telonia*) on land and sea, salt and fresh-water fisheries, and all other property not specifically mentioned.

⁹³ *MPL CCXV*, col. 521, Bk. VII, no. 208; *Potthast* 2406; *T.-Th. I*, p. 534, no. 133.

⁹⁴ *Potthast* 2407; *T.-Th. I*, p. 534, no. 34, not in *Migne*.

⁹⁵ Nicetas, 786.

⁹⁶ Cf. Gerland, 75.

⁹⁷ *Villehardouin*, chapters 439–441, ed. Faral II, 252–256; ed. de Wailly, 262–264.

Exempt from this capital levy of a fifteenth was the land next to the (land) walls of Constantinople from the Golden Gate (*porta aurea*) to the Blachernae gate, and land lying between the (sea) walls and the sea. Also exempt were the *casalia monetae* (villages from which a money rent was derived), but the amounts which might have been derived from them were to be compensated for from the next territory to be conquered. The *commercium* or sales tax collected in the name of the city of Constantinople itself was exempt, but not the *commercium* collected on behalf of any other city, even if levied inside Constantinople, or any tribute imposed as the price of peace by the Emperor upon any city, fortress, land, or island, which he could not conquer but from whose rulers he extracted money. If the Emperor wished, he might grant a piece of land as a fief or give it to another or alienate it, but only if the fifteenth which it owed should have been paid to the church.

A commission of “good men” from both sides was to be formed within a week after the treaty had been sealed, who were to proceed to divide all property into fifteenths. If agreement could not otherwise be reached, lots were to be cast to determine which portion was to be the church’s fifteenth. The whole process was to be completed by the next Pentecost. All monasteries inside and outside the city were to belong outright to the church, and were not to be included in the calculations. If any question should arise about a monastery, a commission of three (one from each party, these two to choose a third) should settle it; the Patriarch or the bishop of the diocese must give his consent before any former monasteries were to be fortified in defense of the country; if they should refuse, another three-man commission was to settle the case. In addition to the levy of the fifteenth on all property, the Latin Emperor, his barons, knights, and people pledged themselves also to pay annual tithes (tenths of income) according to the custom of the Latins, but not of the Greeks. If, as time went on, the church should succeed in getting the Greeks to pay tithes also, this was not to have any bearing on such payments from the Latins. The clergy and all their possessions were to be free from lay jurisdiction. Moreover, the church was to receive in addition a fifteenth of all lands still to be conquered before they were distributed.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ *MPL CCXV*, col. 967, Bk. IX, no. 142; *Potthast* 2867; *T.-Th. II*, p. 31, no. 173: “Dominus Henricus . . . dat ecclesiis, et promittit se daturum in earundem recompensationem possessionum, sicut inferius denotatur, extra muros civitatis Constantinopolitanae, quintam decimam partem omnium possessionum, civitatum, castrorum, casalium, camporum, vinearum, nemorum, silvarum, pratorum, pomeriorum, hortorum, salinarum, passagiorum, teloneorum terrae et maris, pisciarum in mari et in aqua dulci, et omnium possessionum, etsi in praesenti scripto non reperiantur in solidum declaratae: his exceptis, quod de terra, quam habent juxta muros nominatae civitatis, a porta aurea usque ad portam Blachernae, infra murum ipsius et mare, dare quintamdecimam nullatenus tenebuntur; nec etiam de casalibus monetae, in quorum recompensationem casalium dominus Henricus et praedicti, secundum eorundem casalium valorem,

Through the efforts of Morosini and of the legate, backed by papal authority, a partial redress had now been promised to the church for the wrongs done it by the first treaty between laymen, which had cost it all its property save what had been judged by laymen essential to the support of the clergy. The text of the treaty directly implies that the properties which had been held by the Byzantine church under the Greeks were now deemed by Morosini and the legate and the Pope to be beyond recovery. The fifteenths of lay property were not restitution of what had been lost, but were to be given to the churches in compensation. Whenever a lay proprietor should demur at giving the church its first choice among the fifteenths of his property, that fifteenth which was to go to the church was chosen by lot. The chance of the Latin churches recovering former Greek church property was probably very small. Thus the Latin church in the Empire was to start afresh, with new lands to administer.

Moreover, the agreement could be only partial, since the Venetians, who were just as guilty as the barons in the original seizure of church property, were not party to the restitution. So far as we know from the surviving documents, they had not yet been compelled to make amends.

Thomas Morosini himself prevented this settlement from restoring peace. After the quarrel between the Emperor and clergy had been composed and the fifteenths had actually been allotted, Thomas sequestered, and held in sequestration for three years, the entire proceeds of the fifteenths, and of all the tithes as well. This he did in order to challenge a ruling of the papal legate, who, at the request of the suffering clergy, had decreed that the Patriarch should content himself with one quarter of the total sum involved in both fifteenths and tithes. Thomas wanted half. His representatives

in prima conquisitione satisfacere de quintadecima ecclesiis tenebuntur. De commercio, quod infra Constantinopolim vel extra nomine civitatis receperint, quintamdecimam non dabunt. Si in ipsa civitate Constantinopolitana, nomine alterius civitatis, aut loci, vel alibi, commercium solvetur, quintamdecimam dabunt Ecclesiae; si vero cum aliqua civitate, vel castro, terra, vel insula, quam dominus Henricus subjugare sibi et imperio non poterit, per annum censum compositum fuerit, quintamdecimam dabunt Ecclesiae; sed, si feudare, vel donare, vel alienare voluerit, hoc faciat, salva primo ecclesiarum quintadecima parte. Divisiones possessionum inter ecclesiam et praedictos hoc modo fient, quod boni viri, post bullatum praesens instrumentum, infra octo dierum spatium ab utraque parte eligentur, qui jurati bona fide de possessione cuiuslibet terrae et aquae quindecim partes facient, et sortes mittent, si aliter convenire non possint, et supra quam sors ceciderit Ecclesiae erit Ecclesiae. . . . Dabunt etiam decimas Latinorum in perpetuum, videlicet de blado legumine et omnibus fructibus terrae et vinearum quas excolent, vel propriis sumptibus excoli facient, et de fructibus arborum et hortorum. . . . De nutrimentis animalium, quadrupedum, et de apibus et lanis decimae solventur, et, si progressu temporis Ecclesia a Graecis decimas per exhortationem et admonitionem acquirere poterit, per eos nullum impedimentum praestabitur. . . . De terris vero, quae, Deo volente, de caetero conquirentur, primo habebit Ecclesia quintamdecimam partem, antequam alicui distribuantur."

at Rome contended that the legate had had no right to legislate as to the distribution of the tithes, and especially as to the distribution of the fifteenths, which, at the time of his ruling, had not yet been assigned to the individual churches.

For three years this matter dragged on, while the tension between the Patriarch and his clergy became greater. On March 7, 1208, the Pope felt himself compelled to command all the clergy of Constantinople belonging to those churches under Morosini's jurisdiction (that is, all those not under Grado directly) to render Morosini the canonical obedience which was his due,⁹⁹ thus implying, of course, that they had not been doing so. Five days later he wrote commanding the Archbishop of Verissa (Vrysis) and the Bishop of Panados to put a stop to a practice of which the Patriarch had complained: the clergy of the churches exempt from his jurisdiction had been receiving at divine service residents of parishes under the Patriarch's interdict, and even individuals who had been directly excommunicated by the Patriarch.¹⁰⁰ These two documents indicate how close to open revolt the situation had grown.

Finally, on April 6, 1210, Innocent backed the legate, and ordered Thomas to be content with one quarter of the money, and not to put further hindrance in the way of the clergy collecting their share. The Bishop of Gallipoli and the deans of the churches of St. Sophia and of Blachernae were to enforce the decree.¹⁰¹ Eight months later, however, the matter was apparently still hanging fire. On December 7, 1210, the Pope ordered the Bishop of Selymbria to settle the matter of the division of the tithes and the fifteenths by serving on a three-man commission with a representative of the Patriarch and one of the clergy until a new papal legate should arrive. If either party should refuse to appoint a representative the Bishop was to act together with the representative of the other side.¹⁰² In this way — and these are all the details which survive — Morosini had transformed a settled dispute with the Emperor into a new dispute with the papal legate and with his own impecunious clergy. We do not know whether the Patriarch ever relinquished to his clergy any share of the fifteenths or of the tithes, or how large a share he kept for himself.

In addition to this initial agreement on church property within the Empire proper, a settlement was also reached during Morosini's patriarchate with regard to church property in Greece "from the borders of Thessalonica

⁹⁹ *MPL CCXV*, col. 1351, Bk. XI, no. 20; *Pothast* 3317; T.-Th. II, p. 66, no. 186.

¹⁰⁰ *MPL CCXV*, col. 1351, Bk. XI, nos. 18, 19; *Pothast* 3333–4; T.-Th. II, p. 74, nos. 97, 98.

¹⁰¹ *MPL CCXVI*, col. 230, Bk. XIII, no. 44; *Pothast* 3963.

¹⁰² *MPL CCXVI*, col. 355, Bk. XIII, no. 186; *Pothast* 4141.

to Corinth," which Innocent III extended to the Kingdom of Thessalonica. There, under the first Latin King, Boniface of Montferrat, there had been no wholesale confiscation and division of ecclesiastical possessions such as had taken place by agreement in the Empire. Indeed, Boniface had restored all church property and privileges to Benedict of St. Susanna; but, some time after Boniface's death at the hands of the Bulgars on September 4, 1207,^{102a} the Lombard nobles rose in revolt on behalf of his son by his first marriage, William of Montferrat, and against the Emperor Henry and Boniface's son by his second marriage, the infant heir to Thessalonica, Demetrius.^{102b} During the revolt, which was not put down until 1209, the barons committed many abuses, secularizing church property, and forcing the sons of Greek priests to perform military service. The Greek clergy had regularly paid the so-called *acrosticon* (sometimes corrupted in Latin to *crustica*) to the secular authorities for their lands, and the Lombard rebels not only took advantage of this Greek practice to extract a similar tax from the Latin clergy but also gave up the Latin practice of paying tithes to the church, and did not require their subjects to pay them either.¹⁰³ Despite his war against the Lombard nobles, the Emperor Henry did not side with the church against them in these matters, as might have been expected. Indeed, he always hoped to bring them back to their loyalty to him, and he too had his differences with the Latin clergy, arising out of his decree that fiefs could not be left to the church by will, a ruling strongly protested by Innocent III.¹⁰⁴

Not until the civil war with the Lombards had been won was the issue of church property in Greece north of Corinth and in the Kingdom of Thessalonica resolved at the so-called *Parlement* of Ravennika, held in 1210. Here a pact "concerning all the churches situated in Thessalonica and up to Corinth," was concluded between the Patriarch and clergy on the one hand, and the barons on the other, and was approved by the Emperor. The Pope later extended its provisions to the Kingdom of Thessalonica. By its terms the barons resigned into the hands of the Patriarch all church property of all sorts, and undertook to guarantee the clergy in its possession, free from all *angareia* (corvée) and other impositions or demands for service, except for the *acrosticon* which the Greek clergy had paid to the lay lords in the period

^{102a} Villehardouin, chapters 497–499, ed. Faral II, 312–314; ed. de Wailly, 298–300; for the exact date as recorded in a Cistercian martyrology see A. Ceruti, "Un codice del monasterio cistercense di Lucedio," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4 ser., VIII (1881) 378, note 4.

^{102b} For the Lombard revolt see especially Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri*, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1948).

¹⁰³ Cf. Gerland, 192–209.

¹⁰⁴ *MPL* CCXV, col. 1348–1349; Bk. XI, nos. 12, 13, 14, 15; *Potthast*, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, March 12, 1208; *MPL* CCXVI, col. 296, Bk. XIII, no. 98; *Potthast* 4042.

before Constantinople had been captured; the *acrosticon* must be paid, whether by Greek or Latin clergy, for lands which had paid it under the Greeks. The barons would make no other claims. If any cleric, secular or regular, Greek or Latin, who held lands of the barons and worked them, refused to pay the *acrosticon*, the baron in question was empowered to seize as much of the cleric's goods as would pay the debt, but no more. The barons agreed not to seize the priests' heirs or their wives for debt; but the sons of ecclesiastical tenants, like the sons of laymen, would have to perform military service for their lords unless they should have been ordained. After ordination, they were to enjoy the same exemption from military service as Roman clerics.¹⁰⁵

This settlement differs materially from that in the Latin Empire. In Greece and the Kingdom of Thessalonica, church property had not been lost beyond recovery, and restitution was possible and required. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the Latin clergy were obliged to pay to laymen the former Greek levy of the *acrosticon* for lands which had owed the levy before their arrival. A further difference arises from the obvious fact that Venice had no role in the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica, and the church was not faced as it was in the Empire with the difficult task of compelling the Venetians to make restitution. The fact that Honorius III confirmed it on January 19, 1219, suggests also that in practice the settlement had worked far better than the first unsuccessful effort in Romania proper.

¹⁰⁶ Preserved in full in the confirmations by Honorius III of January 19, 1219, and September 4, 1223, from the latter of which Horoy prints it. Horoy IV, col. 409, Bk. VIII, no. 10; Pressutti 1816 and 4480: "Hoc est pactum sive conventio super universis ecclesiis positis . . . in Thessalonica usque Corinthum, quod intervenit inter dominum Thomam . . . patriarcham et archiepicopos . . . et episcopos . . . , et barones . . . Renuntiaverunt . . . quidem domini . . . omnes ecclesias et monasteria, possessiones, redditus, mobilia et immobilia bona, et universa jura Ecclesiae Dei, volentes, et firmissime permittentes dictas ecclesias et monasteria . . . et personas in ipsis posita et ponendas, et claustra ecclesiarum et servientes et servos et ancillas et homines et universa supplectilia et bona libera et absoluta per se successoresque suos, homines, milites, vassalos, fideles, servientes et servos in perpetuum permanere ab omnibus angariis et parangariis, taliis, servitiis et servitutibus universis, excepto acrostico tantum, quod eis debent cuncti sive Latini sive Greci, tam in dignitatibus, quam in minoribus officiis et ordinibus constituti propter terras, quas tenent ab ipsis, si quas tenet vel tenuerunt, quod tempore captionis civitatis regiae Constantinopolitanae solvebatur a Graecis, et nihil aliud debent, et nihil aliud praefati barones . . . vendicare, nihilque in posterum usurpare. . . . Si qui fuerint de clericis Latinis, vel Graecis, sive papatibus, vel monachis calogeris . . . qui dictorum baronum terras detineant, et laborent, et acrosticam solvere noluerint termino inter eos statuto, nisi solverint quod tenentur, potestatem habeant nominati barones accipiendi de bonis eorum tantum, quod eorum debitum et nihil amplius persolvatur. . . . Haeredes vero, sive filios clericorum sive papatum, et uxores eorum non capiant vel detineant . . . filii quoque laicorum Grecorum, sive clericorum seu papatum in baronum servitio juxta morem solitum perseverent, nisi per archiepiscopos vel episcopos vel de eorum licentia fuerint ordinati. Post ordinationem vero eodem privilegio gaudeant, quo fruuntur clerici in obedientia Romanae ecclesiae constituti." See Wolff, Organization.

We have no further direct sources regarding the development of the property settlement question in the Empire under the pontificate of Innocent III or the patriarchate of Thomas Morosini. But the question had remained very much alive, as we learn from materials dating from the earliest years of the pontificate of Honorius III and the patriarchate of Gervasius.

On April 21, 1217, at about the same time as his coronation of the Emperor Peter, in Rome, Honorius appointed as legate to Constantinople, Cardinal John Colonna, titular priest of St. Praxed. The legate was soon afterwards captured with the Emperor Peter in Epirus, but was later released by Theodore and reached Constantinople safely.¹⁰⁶ One of Honorius' letters to John, detailing his powers and duties, reveals that the church property question in Constantinople had taken a new turn: Patriarch Gervasius had asked that Honorius confirm a decision made by Innocent III at the request of the late Emperor Henry, to the effect that *one-twelfth* of all property situated beyond Macri (*ultra Macram*), ecclesiastical as well as lay, was to be distributed among the churches of Constantinople, and also that *one-twelfth* of all property held by the Podestà of Venice and the other Venetians throughout the Empire should be given to the same churches. The Pope instructed his legate to look into the question, and to settle it as seemed best to him.¹⁰⁷

We have here a reference to a new settlement, concluded while Henry was still Emperor and Innocent III still Pope: that is to say, before 1216. The last surviving reference to the church property question in the correspondence of Innocent III is in his letter of December 7, 1210, already mentioned, in which he gave instruction for the immediate collection of tithes and payment of fifteenths, but made no mention of twelfths. Another letter of Honorius III, whose full text has never before been printed, contains concealed in that portion of its text hitherto unavailable a hint which enables us to say with some certainty that the new award of twelfths was made as a result of a settlement reached by Pelagius during his mission to Constantinople. From this letter, whose text is reproduced in the Appendix to this article, we learn that Pelagius had taken away the fifteenths from the church: it seems most probable that he cancelled the award of the fifteenths, already ren-

¹⁰⁶ Pressutti 526. The appointment is announced to the Patriarch and the Emperor, to all the prelates of the Empire, to the Podestà of the Venetians, to Milo de Brabant, the *buticularius*, to Conon de Béthune, the *baiulus*; to Geoffrey of Achaia, seneschal, to Berthold of Katzenellenbogen, *baiulus* of the Kingdom of Thessalonica, to Nicholas of St. Omer, to Count Maio (Orsini) of Cephalonia, to Narjot de Toucy, and to the lords of Nigropont.

¹⁰⁷ Pressutti 584.

dered ineffective by Morosini's behavior, and succeeded in obtaining an award of twelfths instead.¹⁰⁸

From the point of view of the Latin church, the new arrangement, of whose details we know no more than what is given in Honorius' letter, apparently had two great advantages over the earlier award of fifteenths. In the first place, twelfths are a substantially greater fraction than fifteenths; and, if the types of property were as carefully and comprehensively enumerated in the new settlement as they had been in the old, the churches would have made real gains. In the second place, the Venetians were obligated by the new settlement, as they had not been by the first one. But the settlement had in any case remained a dead letter, and the churches had not yet obtained justice.

It remains briefly to gloss the words *ultra Macram*. Macri is and was a town on the shore of the Aegean, slightly to the west of the present-day Alexandroupolis (Dedeagach). It was in this region that Villehardouin, historian, crusader, and Marshal of Romania, had been awarded his fief.¹⁰⁹ This was clearly a boundary point between the Latin Empire proper and the Kingdom of Thessalonica, and from now on we find the sources regularly referring to lands *ultra Macram* or *citra Macram*. But what lay *ultra Macram* and therefore in the Kingdom of Thessalonica from the point of view of a person writing in Constantinople, lay *citra Macram* from the point of view of a person writing in Rome; what lay *citra Macram* and therefore in the Latin Empire proper from the point of view of a writer in Constantinople, lay *ultra Macram* from the point of view of a writer in Rome. Thus the student of documents employing this terminology must be extremely careful to note the place of origin of each document he examines, or he will misunderstand the use of *ultra* and *citra* and mis-locate the regions to which his document refers. Moreover, his task is complicated by the fact that a document drawn up in Rome is sometimes a confirmation of one drawn up in Constantinople, and that the authorities in Rome sometimes changed the original terminology from *citra* to *ultra* or vice versa to make the geographical description conform to the Roman viewpoint, and sometimes did not. In what follows I have each time both quoted and glossed the geographical terminology. In this letter of Honorius, *ultra Macram* is to be understood as referring to the Latin Empire proper, which, for a writer located in Italy, lay beyond Macri.

¹⁰⁸ Pressutti 1428. For text see Appendix, no. III. The important words are . . . *quinta-decima sibi per episcopum Albanensem subtracta*. . . .

¹⁰⁹ J. Longnon, *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffroi de Villehardouin* (Paris, 1939) p. 89 and note 5.

When John Colonna, the papal legate, was captured and held prisoner in Epirus, Honorius wrote to Patriarch Gervasius on August 10, 1217, instructing him to postpone any action on the question of the restoration of church property, which the Patriarch was then disputing with the *baiulus* (Conon de Béthune) and princes (barons) of the Empire. The Pope warned that disunity among the Latins would only encourage the Greeks, and so commanded that this quarrel be suspended without decision. In a portion of this letter printed for the first time in the Appendix below, the Pope declared that the quarrel between the clergy and the laity over church property threatened the very existence of the Empire: the lay lords of the Empire (*principes*) were afraid to go into battle because of the sentence of excommunication which had been passed against them. The Patriarch was instructed to present these arguments to his fellow-clerics. The Pope added that at a suitable moment he would re-open the question, but urged the Patriarch to work for unity among Latins during the emergency. Honorius also added an enclosure to this letter, previously unknown, in which he explains that it had been Innocent III who had passed the sentence of excommunication against the barons, and that Innocent had died before the sentence was promulgated. Moreover, the Emperor (whom the scribe calls B. — for Baldwin — but who was of course Henry) had also died without having obeyed the Pope's commands. Because a sentence of excommunication loses its validity with the death of the Pope who pronounces it, and because the Emperor, who in general had been a dutiful man, had also died, it was Honorius' view that the sentence should no longer be valid. He did not feel that the *principes* should be punished, especially as their hesitation to restore church property was in part due to their wish not to act during an interregnum. But, Honorius adds, he had not included this line of reasoning in his main letter lest the *principes* find out that there was a legal argument about the validity of the sentence, and use it as an excuse at some time in the future to delay further the whole question of restoring church property.¹¹⁰

We learn from this letter that, in the last days of Pope Innocent III and Emperor Henry, the property quarrel had reached a new pitch of severity, but that, in view of the political emergency created by the capture of Emperor Peter and the papal legate, Pope Honorius was unwilling to press the issue for the moment, and that he even undid the sentence of excommunication passed against the lay lords, presumably for their failure to hand over the twelfths.

After Theodore of Epirus had released the legate, John Colonna, how-

¹¹⁰ Pressutti 720. For text see Appendix, no. I.

ever, and Colonna had arrived in Constantinople, Honorius wrote to him on June 11, 1218, signifying that he now felt the moment propitious to reopen the question. The Patriarch and chapter of Constantinople, he declared, were now virtually reduced to beggary: their fifteenths had been taken away by Pelagius, and the payment of the twelfths suspended by the Pope himself. As a result, the Empress (Yolande), the barons, the knights, and the Podestà of the Venetians were in possession of all property belonging to the church. John Colonna should, Honorius urged, settle the question as he saw fit, *juris equitate servata*.¹¹¹

A surviving report to the Doge of Venice by the Podestà of the Venetians in Constantinople provides some information as to the sequel. On October 12, 1219, says the Podestà, after the death of the Empress Yolande, there took place a *parlamentum* at Rodesto, a Venetian port town on the shore of the Sea of Marmora. Present were Patriarch Gervasius and his prelates, the Cardinal legate John Colonna, the Podestà of the Venetians, and Conon of Béthune (now again *bailli* after Yolande's death and before Robert's arrival), and the barons. Opening the session, the papal legate declared that the Pope had sent him to Constantinople to settle the question of church property. He requested first that all their possessions be restored to the churches. But he apparently had little hope of securing this aim, which, as we have seen, had been recognized as impracticable ever since 1206; for, the Podestà adds, the legate at once continued that, if this first request should be refused, he asked at least that the property of the cathedral churches be restored, that the twelfth of all property in the empire be paid, and that, for every laboring peasant (presumably on the barons' land) one modius of wheat and one of barley be given. These terms, he stipulated, should be made retroactive for three years, and should remain in force for three years to come. He required, in addition, that the churches should have jurisdiction over church lands, and should collect the tithes from the knights and villeins. If the lay lords there assembled would agree to this, he said, he would cause the twelfths, which they would otherwise be obliged to render to the churches, to be restored to them.

It is certainly puzzling and curious that the legate should offer to restore the twelfths as part of a bargain which specifically involved the payment of the twelfths; but this is what the Podestà's report says. Possibly the explanation lies in the legate's demand for restitution of the property of the

¹¹¹ Pressutti 1428. For text see Appendix, no. III. Cf. also Pressutti 1434, where the Pope instructs the legate similarly with regard to the property of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, and Pressutti 1435, in which he orders restored to this church its property in Greece (*a Macra usque per totam Moream*), according to a lost constitution of Innocent III.

cathedral churches, made here for the first time as a separate claim. It may be that the twelfths were less important to the clergy than the recovery of the lost property of bishoprics and archbishoprics and the assured payment of the tithes. Moreover, the measures of wheat and barley are new in the sources, and it seems possible that these payments in kind were regarded as more necessary and valuable than the twelfths. It is also interesting that the legate is not reported as mentioning the fifteenths, to which Honorius had referred in his instructions.

According to the Podestà, the barons and Venetians now asked for a ten-day delay, in which to consider the legate's proposals. The barons left Rodesto, and later reported their decision from near-by Selymbria: the best they could do, they declared, was to pay the cash sum of 3,000 hyperpers annually to the church as a kind of quit-rent for all their possessions from Macri¹¹² toward Constantinople, and across the straits. This they would do if the legate would urge the Pope to be generous to them; so that they could afford to remain in the service of the Empire. For their part, the Podestà reported, the Venetians had postponed their decision, on the pretext that they were awaiting the Doge's orders, expected by ship from Venice; but they finally yielded to pressure brought by the legate. They feared excommunication, and, on the advice of their great and small councils,¹¹³ they offered the same terms as the barons, despite their concern that the Doge might not approve.¹¹⁴

The Podestà's report implies that the legate was at the time satisfied with

¹¹² The text (see note 114) has *a mane*, from the east; but I believe it should probably be emended to *a Macra*.

¹¹³ For the councils of the Venetian colony, see Wolff, *Oath*.

¹¹⁴ T.-Th. II, 215 ff, no. 257: ". . . dominus Cardinalis ait omnibus dicens: quia summus Pontifex misit ipsum ad hoc Imperium, pro facto possessionum ecclesiarum inquirendum: 'quas sic vobis peto, in primis, ut deliberare debeatis mihi omnes possessiones ecclesiarum cathedralium et aliarum; quas si omnes refutare nolueritis, quaero, ut refutetis omnes possessiones supradictarum cathedralium ecclesiarum, et duodecimam partem omnium aliarum possessionum Imperii; et pro unoquoque agricola laborante medium frumenti et ordei unum.' Et de his omnibus introitus transactorum trium annorum quaererebat, et usque ad tres annos haec tenere volebat, et hoc notificare domino Papae, ut in suo permanente arbitrio, dum esset ad summi Pontificis et sanctae Romanae ecclesiae voluntatem, et usquedum Imperium per venerit ad bonum statum. Postea quoque voluit, ut omnes possessiones ecclesiarum eisdem ecclesiis devenant, et milites omnes et villani rectum decimum reddere debeant. Sed praedictus dominus Cardinalis dicebat: quod, si praedicti Barones facere vellent, quia ipse faceret restituere eis duodecimam partem possessionum Imperii, quia ab Imperio ipsis ecclesiis fuit assignatum. Super hoc ipsi Barones et nos nimis ventilantes, cum eo tandem ad talem finem devenimus: super quibus ipsi Barones et nos consulti terminum receperimus ab eis quod nos undecima die astante, suprascripto mense Octobris, responderemus. Et sic tunc ipsi Barones a Rodesto recesserunt, consilium super hoc habituri. Et ad talem secum devenenterunt finem, sicut melius cum eo facere non potentes: Quod dabunt ei tenutam de tribus millibus hyperperorum de redditibus annuatim pro totis possessionibus, quas tenent per Imperium Romanie

the cash offer from the *bailli* and barons, and says that he exerted extreme pressure on the Venetians (*nos omnimodo infestando*) until he got them to match it. But, in the end, the settlement adopted bore little resemblance to the Podestà's report. We cannot tell whether the legate reconsidered and reached the conclusion that the offer from the *bailli* and barons was unsatisfactory; or whether he simply used their offer as a stick with which to beat the Venetians until he had obtained cash from them, and then reopened the question with the *bailli* and barons; or whether the *bailli* and barons did not pay what they had promised, and therefore gave the legate an opportunity to re-open the question with them; or whether the Pope objected to the settlement when it was reported to him; or even whether the Podestà of the Venetians was in error or was deliberately reporting the settlement to the Doge incorrectly. In any case what is contained in the Podestà's report does not represent the true final settlement of the church property question.

Preserved in the registers of Honorius III is his confirmation of an entirely new settlement. The confirmation is dated March 17, 1222, and it includes the full text of the Emperor Robert's confirmation of the pact, dated June, 1221. The full text of the pact also is included, and this is dated 1219. It must therefore be the very pact which the Podestà is describing to the Doge as having been reached in that year, yet its provisions are quite different from those reported by the Podestà. The full text of this document has never been printed or analysed, and is for the first time presented in the Appendix to this article. It is the fullest and most revealing of all the documents which survive relating to the church in the Latin Empire. Indeed, it sets forth an overall agreement between the church and the French party on ecclesiastical affairs, involving, as the Pope remarks, all points at issue with regard to the liberties, possessions, and legal rights of the church: a manifold problem and long disputed (*multiplex questio, diutius agitata*). Although it was originally drawn up to apply to the Latin Empire proper (defined properly as *ultra Macram* in the portions of the letter emanating

a mane versus Constantinopolim et ultra Brachium; ita, quod deberet scibere domino Papae, ut super eis misericordialiter provideat, taliter, ut ad servitium Imperii possint perseverare. Quae omnia in Solambria cum eo constituerunt. Nos quoque ab eodem Cardinali terminum receperimus, ad Constantinopolim sibi responsuri, praepontentes ei, quod nos praecipuum vestrum expectabamus per naves venturas a Venetia, quia hoc vobis dicendo miseramus. Sed cum ad Constantinopolim venimus, et ipse, nos omnimodo infestando, super hoc responsurus, et quia hoc nos magis dilatare non poteramus, timorem vinculi excommunicationis plene etiam dubitantes — quae quidem excommunicatio de facili super nos revertebatur — quamvis de vobis tamquam de domino unico dubitantes, ne vobis hoc incongruum appareret, ad similem finem, consilio parvi et magni Consilii et militum, devenimus: id est, quod secundum quantitatem, quam Francigenae sibi dederunt, et nos ipsi dabimus."

from the papal chancery and *citra Macram* in the portions drafted in Constantinople), the settlement was also accepted by the *baiulus* of the Kingdom of Thessalonica, who was Guido Pallavicini, Marquis of Boudonitsa. Thus, for the first time, both the Empire proper and the Kingdom of Thessalonica were brought under the same code governing ecclesiastical affairs. Because of the importance of the agreement, it is worth summary and analysis, provision by provision.

All clerics, churches, and religious persons, Latin and Greek, and their households and servants, and all men seeking asylum in the churches were to be free of all lay jurisdiction, except that laymen resident in the monasteries of Constantinople were to be liable for taxes. The clergy would not, for its part, interfere in the carrying out of secular justice involving capital penalties or the loss of limbs, unless the condemned man had sought refuge in the church.

Second, in every village of twenty-five to seventy hearths, there were to be two priests (*papates*) under ecclesiastical jurisdiction only, with their households and servants, paying to the lay lords of the land whatever *acrosticon* the lands had owed at the time of the Emperor Alexius (Alexius III Angelus, 1195–1204). In villages of seventy to one hundred and twenty-five hearths, there were to be four priests enjoying the same conditions; in larger villages six, and so forth. Villages of fewer than twenty-five hearths were to be combined with neighboring villages, until the number of twenty-five hearths was reached, when they would be entitled to two priests, as provided above. All other priests in the countryside were to pay whatever taxes had been imposed upon them by the Latin Emperors, but were to be free with their households from corvées, exactions, tolls, and lay jurisdiction. Cathedral priests and other cathedral clergy, their households and servants, would be exempt from every payment except whatever *acrosticon* their lands might have owed in the time of Alexius. Other town priests were to be governed by the same rules as the rural priests. The clergy was not to ordain priests beyond the number fixed by this agreement, without the consent of laymen. This provision gives the only detailed description known to me of the status of the priesthood in the Empire. Moreover, this is our first indication that the *acrosticon* was to be paid in the Empire proper, as well as in continental Greece and the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica.

All abbeys and churches, whether the fabric was still in existence or not, which were situated across the royal river (*ultra fluvium regium*), no matter to whom they might have belonged in the past, and which had not possessed more than one hundred hyperpers-worth of land under the Greeks, were to

possess their property without paying the *acrosticon*, or any service or impost, free from lay jurisdiction, completely under ecclesiastical control. Those which had had more than one hundred hyperpers-worth under the Greeks were to keep whatever property had belonged to them under the Latins. Those with less than one hundred hyperpers-worth outside the cloister were to receive from the Emperor enough to bring their possessions up to this level, and were to hold it according to the above conditions. Anybody who was holding an abbey or abbey property, except by an award from the Emperors Baldwin or Henry, was to turn it over to the prelates of the church, and if those who were holding such property by such imperial award had imposed any levy not permitted by the imperial deed of gift, any such levy was to be invalid. Those abbeys which were on the hither side of the royal river (*citra fluvium regium*) were to have all their possessions as had been decreed by the emperors, and laymen were not to receive any more revenue from them than they had been required to pay by imperial decree; and they were to be under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Moreover, if the prelates should try to extract more than was their due from abbeys in which laymen had the right to collect the *acrosticon*, the laymen were to oppose this, and place their complaints before the prelates' ecclesiastical superiors. In this provision, the term *fluvium regium* refers, I believe, to the Maritsa, as boundary between the Latin Empire proper (*citra fluvium regium*) and the Kingdom of Thessalonica (*ultra fluvium regium*). Thus the first part of the provision, dealing with abbeys beyond the river, refers to abbeys in the Kingdom of Thessalonica; the second part, dealing with abbeys on the hither side, refers to abbeys in Romania proper. So far as I know, this is the only document which uses precisely this terminology.

All cathedral churches were to be confirmed in their possession of all property which had belonged to them in the time of Alexius Bambacoratius,^{114a} and were to hold their property without being liable for any imposts except the *acrosticon*. The clergy would not give shelter on its lands to men (presumably agricultural laborers) belonging to the Empire, nor would the Emperor or barons receive men who belonged on church lands. If men belonging to either should enter the lands of the other, the legal rights of both parties were to be respected just as they would be between two barons. This provision meets one of the legate's most pressing demands as reported by the Podestà: the restoration of cathedral properties. It also

^{114a} For this nickname of Alexius III (1195–1203), from the Greek Βαμβακοράθης see N. Bees "Bambacoratius, eine Beiname des Kaisers Alexios III Angelos 1195–1203," *Byzantinische – neugriechische Jahrbücher* III (1922) 285–286.

gives full recognition to the church's rights as a landlord, and protects its labor supply just as that of an individual baron was protected.

Since the Emperor and barons could not compensate in full for the possessions of the churches inside the walls of Constantinople and for the possessions of those outside the walls which did not have all their property, and for the injuries done to all churches, cathedral and other, inside the walls and out, and for the tithes and revenues and other income, because some of the possessions of the churches had been distributed in such a manner that they could not be restored without bringing about the downfall of the Empire, the Emperor and barons now promised to do all they could to make up for this: they would give one *eleventh* of all property so far acquired or still to be acquired, whether church property or not, in all the Empire proper (*citra Macram*), and of all real estate in the cities, villages, fields (the word is *camporum*; *campi* is also a technical term used for the quarters assigned to the Italian and Provençal cities in Constantinople; but in this context I believe it means "fields"), groves, forests, meadows, orchards, gardens, salt-pans, tolls, customs dues on land and sea, fisheries both fresh and salt water, and all other property even if not mentioned specifically in the present document. And, in addition to this eleventh, they would give two thousand hyperpers-worth of land, properly assessed; and by way of compensation for the villages which paid a money rent (*casalia monetae*), because these could not be divided and an eleventh of the property taken away without ending the revenue derived from them, they would give every year one thousand hyperpers to the church until a sum should have been paid equivalent to the value of one-eleventh of these villages. Exempt from the eleventh were lands inside the walls of the city, but the Emperor and barons agreed to restore to the church any such property which might have been taken from them after the capture of the city, i.e. by the Latins.

This provision parallels to a considerable degree the text of the first agreement promising fifteenths; and, we may conjecture, of the later lost agreement promising twelfths. Presumably because the fifteenths and twelfths had never been properly and finally collected, and the damages incurred by the church had grown greater with every passing year, the fraction had now increased to elevenths. It is interesting to note the frank admission that full restoration of sequestered church property would ruin the Empire. We also learn more than any other source teaches us about the *casalia monetae*. Apparently these villages were regarded as indivisible; if they had been divided and the church given an eleventh, the money-rent would have ceased, and, to avoid this, an annual cash payment was granted

the church instead. The promise to the church of two thousand hyperpers-worth of properly assessed land is a new provision, not present, so far as we know, in any other settlement of the property question.

Every knight who owned three hundred hyperpers-worth of land was to give one eleventh of it to the church. In addition, for every two thousand hyperpers-worth, he was to pay a cash payment of one and a half hyperpers per hundred hyperpers value. Fiefs worth less than three hundred hyperpers were to be lumped in with neighboring fiefs in the assessment of the elevenths. Moreover, all Latins would pay tithes in full for all the property on land and water, in cattle, birds, and produce. Non-Latins living under Latin rule (chiefly Greeks, of course) would pay a thirtieth annually instead of the regular tenth for a period of ten years. Thereafter, unless the Roman Church forgave them the tithe or prolonged the period during which they were liable only for a thirtieth, they too would pay tithes in full. These and all other privileges of the church, even though they might not be mentioned specifically, were to be guaranteed to the churches “according to the freer custom of France.”¹¹⁵

These last provisions carry the payment of the elevenths further down the social scale than we know to have been the case with the payment of the fifteenths or twelfths: individual knights with only three hundred hyperpers-worth of property are here brought into the picture. Moreover, the provision on tithes is the only instance I have encountered where it was proposed to overcome the reluctance of the Greeks to pay tithes by accustoming them for a preliminary decade to pay only a thirtieth. The usual thing was for the Latins to express the hope that the Greeks might be persuaded to pay; here is a practical suggestion for securing revenue without at first arousing too much opposition.

On March 4, 1222, Honorius III appointed the Bishops of Madyta and Adramyttion and the Dean of Troy as a three-man commission to supervise the fulfillment of the pact, and required them to use ecclesiastical punishment against those who refused to observe its provisions.¹¹⁶ On June 27, he hailed the peace with joy, in a letter to the Emperor Robert. This “admirable and friendly agreement” had put an end, he said, to “an ancient matter of dissension and scandal,” and had brought about “peace and concord be-

¹¹⁵ Pressutti 3863: a partial text, leaving out the most important provisions, is to be found in O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronius*, I (Lucca, 1747) 491 ff; s.a. 1221, not 1222 as Pressutti indicates. Full text printed below, Appendix, no. IV. Cf. also Pressutti 3157 and 3869, respectively dated March 3, 1221, and March 18, 1222, for other confirmations of the pact. The only text preserved in the Registers, however, is that reproduced below.

¹¹⁶ Pressutti 3886, 3887.

tween the church and the Empire of Constantinople." ¹¹⁷ But the Venetians still remained intractable, and no settlement could be complete without them.

Indeed, we learn from another letter previously unpublished, the legate John Colonna brought all possible pressure to bear upon the Venetians to accept the pact, which, the Pope says, had been confirmed in the church of St. George of the Mangana, but the Podestà and his fellow-countrymen steadfastly refused to do so. The legate then excommunicated them, and put their property under an interdict. For a considerable period, they strove to obtain absolution at Rome, but Honorius would not yield on the question until the Doge sent him two envoys: Ludovicus, *plebanus* of the church of St. Paul, and once candidate for the patriarchal throne, and Jacopo Tiepolo, one of the most distinguished citizens of Venice, who twice had been Podestà in Constantinople, and who was to become Doge in 1229. These representatives of the Doge brought word of a surrender: the excommunicated Venetians in Constantinople were now ready to give up their opposition, and to obey the Pope. On April 11, 1223, Honorius commanded the Patriarch and the treasurer and another canon of St. Sophia to absolve the Venetians from the sentences passed by the legate, after having extracted an oath both from the Podestà and from his subjects that they would fulfill the terms of the pact within a period of eight months.¹¹⁸

Having secured the adherence of the Venetians, the Pope at their request then modified the pact in certain particulars, writing the Doge on April 12, 1223, that, contrary to its provisions, laymen dwelling in Venetian monasteries in Constantinople might remain under his temporal jurisdiction.¹¹⁹ Because the legate had apparently promised that if the pact were to be changed in any way as a favor to the Venetians, a corresponding change would be made for the French, Honorius extended this modification to the French as well, in a letter to the Emperor Robert of April 19, 1223.¹²⁰ At the request of the Patriarch, he also agreed that Frenchmen and Venetians whose lands were worth less than three hundred hyperpers might themselves divide them into elevenths, with the advice of the Archbishop of Heracleia, instead of being obliged to combine them with their neighbors' fiefs until a value of

¹¹⁷ Horoy IV, col. 203; Pressutti 4059, 4060, Letters addressed to the Emperor Robert and to the lay lords of Constantinople.

¹¹⁸ Pressutti 4302, full text printed for the first time below in Appendix, no. VI. Pressutti's summary is highly misleading. For St. George of the Mangana, one of the chief churches of the French party in Constantinople, see Janin, *Eglises*, 75 ff, where, however, there is no mention of this episode.

¹¹⁹ Pressutti 4306.

¹²⁰ Pressutti 4324.

three hundred hyperpers was reached, as had been prescribed by the pact.¹²¹

The long struggle to compel the laymen of the Empire to indemnify the clergy for their losses seemed now to have ended successfully. But another previously unpublished letter of Honorius dated October 24, 1223, reveals that Patriarch Matthaeus, acting as Thomas Morosini had acted with regard to the fifteenths, tried to secure more than his share of the elevenths. The French clergy, the Pope writes, had reported to him that, after the pact had been concluded between the laymen and the clerics, but before the elevenths had been handed over by the laymen, John Colonna, at the insistence of the Patriarch and the chapter of St. Sophia, had decreed that the Patriarch and chapter were to receive a quarter of the elevenths, and had then assigned to them certain lands as their share, which were to be divided by certain of the canons. The Patriarch and chapter had declared themselves satisfied, and later the legate generously gave them an additional portion of the elevenths, turning over the rest to the French clergy. Thereupon the Patriarch and chapter, though they had previously said they were content, raised new claims to the share of the French. This account of the matter had been substantiated by the legate himself; so Pope Honorius instructed the Archbishop of Heracleia and the Bishops of Madyta and Selymbria to restrain the Patriarch and chapter from making any further attempt to get the portion of the French clergy away from them.¹²²

It is interesting to note that the legate had assigned to the Patriarch and chapter as their proper share of the elevenths the same quarter part which Innocent III had earlier awarded to Morosini in the case of the fifteenths. And it is not surprising that the old Venetian-French quarrel among the clergy broke out again when the elevenths were actually distributed. But perhaps the most significant conclusion which may be drawn from this letter is that on this occasion the pact was actually put into effect. Unlike the abortive settlements of the fifteenths and the twelfths, the pact of 1219 awarding elevenths was accepted by both the French and Venetian parties, and the elevenths were actually distributed to the clergy, at least in the Empire proper. It seems highly doubtful whether the settlement could ever have been fulfilled in the Kingdom of Thessalonica, despite the fact that the *baiulus* had accepted its terms, because the ever-growing conquests of Latin territory by Theodore of Epirus were climaxed in 1224 by the capture of Thessalonica itself, and the termination of Latin rule there.¹²³

¹²¹ Pressutti 4307, April 12, 1223.

¹²² Pressutti 4541, full text printed for the first time below in Appendix, no. VII.

¹²³ For the date see J. Longnon, "La reprise de Salonique par les Grecs en 1224," *Actes du VIe Congrès Internationale d'études Byzantines I* (Paris, 1950) 141–146; B. Sinogowitz, "Zur Eroberung Thessalonikes im Herbst 1224," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XLV (1952) 28.

A further indication that the new settlement in the Latin Empire proper was regarded as satisfactory by the papacy is provided by the long letter written on September 4, 1223, by Honorius III to Geoffrey Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, and Othon de la Roche, lord of Athens. Both had been excommunicated for crimes committed against the clergy, and had been instructed to accept *either* the pact of Ravennika of 1210, which governed relations between laymen and clerics in continental Greece, *or* the pact which the barons of Constantinople had entered into with the church in Romania: i.e. our pact of 1219. Negotiations at Rome had followed, and a settlement reached which, as Honorius says, amplified the pact of Ravennika. Villehardouin and de la Roche accepted the pact of Ravennika in full, and its text is inserted into the text of the Pope's letter; but in addition they agreed to a further settlement with regard to the property of cathedral churches, with regard to the establishment of priests in villages and towns, and with regard to the payment of the *Acrosticon*, which closely parallels textually the provisions of the 1219 settlement in the Empire. It is interesting to note that in Achaia and Athens the Greeks were to be required to pay tithes in full, and were not to enjoy the benefit of the special provision adopted in the Empire, which had enabled them to pay only a thirtieth for ten years. Various other special provisions were also included, which are not relevant to our study of the politics of the Patriarchate; and of course many important features of the 1219 settlement, such as the payment of the elevenths, were omitted; but it is clear that the papacy regarded the Ravennika agreement of 1210 and the settlement of 1219 in the Empire as providing the standard to which delinquent lay lords in Greece should be made to conform.¹²⁴ Moreover, this burning question of church property now disappears from the sources. We may therefore now revert to a consideration of papal-patriarchal relations during the reigns of Gervasius and Mattheus.

POPE AND PATRIARCH, 1215–1229

These were far from friendly. Gervasius continued to display those grasping and power-loving tendencies which he had shown — if his enemies are to be believed — as Archbishop of Heracleia and again in Greece on his way to Constantinople. With the exception of one¹²⁵ the remainder of

¹²⁴ Pressutti 4480, full text printed by Horoy IV, col. 409; and by S. P. Lambros, 'Ιστορία τῆς Πόλεως Ἀθηνών κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰώνας, . . . ὑπὸ Φερδινάνδου Γρηγοροβίου, μεταφρασθεῖσα . . . ὑπὸ Σπυριδώνος ΙI. Δάμπρου, III (Athens, 1906) 23 ff. no. 18. I should like to thank my friend, Professor K. M. Setton of the University of Pennsylvania, for giving me a microfilm of this volume.

¹²⁵ Pressutti 667, which requires the prelates of Constantinople to reimburse Gervasius for the expenses he had incurred in attending the Fourth Lateran Council.

Honorius' surviving letters dealing with the patriarchate reproach Gervasius for his repeated encroachments on papal prerogative, and attempt to control him by enlisting the services of other prelates.

For a second time the Pope denounced Gervasius' claim to churches in Achaia on the ground that the crosses in the churches signified their subjection to the Patriarch;¹²⁶ he invalidated more of Gervasius' actions in Greece;¹²⁷ he commanded that Gervasius' decision in a local quarrel in Thessalonica be ignored;¹²⁸ he instructed John Colonna to hear complaints concerning Gervasius' action in appropriating certain abbeys, on the usual excuse that they contained crosses giving the Patriarch perpetual title.¹²⁹ He commanded Gervasius to revoke sentences passed and to cease arrogating to himself certain rights reserved for the Pope.¹³⁰ Gervasius had sent legates of his own throughout Romania to hear cases not brought within the Patriarch's jurisdiction by appeal, and had granted these legates the right to have crosses borne before them; but more serious, he was accused of approving exemptions granted and other actions illicitly performed by those Patriarchs of Constantinople "who have rashly tried to rend the seamless garment of Christ," putting their own interests ahead of ecclesiastical unity, and spurning the authority of the Holy See.¹³¹ The reference is, of course, to the Greeks, who, the Latin church believed, had rent the seamless garment of Christ by causing the schism between the churches.

While apparently not accusing Gervasius himself of being a schismatic in doctrine, the Pope charged that he was acting like an insubordinate Greek Patriarch. While any bishop was of course entitled to send out a representative, it infringed the rights of the papacy to call him a legate, and to grant him the right to hear cases locally and to have a cross carried before him. In one of the two surviving original documents from the patriarchate of Gervasius there is mention of one of these patriarchal legates.¹³² In sum, Gervasius hindered appeals to Rome, usurped the rights of the local clergy, conferred illegal exemptions, confirmed the rule in monasteries, imitated papal documents in his chancery, and exacted homage as did the Pope. It was this which lay behind Honorius' apparently vain attempts to halt from a distance the growing insubordination of the prelate whose theoretical position was of course second only to his own in the entire Roman hierarchy.

¹²⁶ Pressutti 986, January 9, 1218.

¹²⁷ Pressutti 1118; February 24, 1218.

¹²⁸ Pressutti 1391; May 29, 1218.

¹²⁹ Pressutti 1579; August 13, 1218.

¹³⁰ Pressutti 1206; March 31, 1218.

¹³¹ Pressutti 1585; August 18, 1218.

¹³² Santifaller, 92 ff.

On November 8, 1219, Gervasius died, immediately after the third and last major property settlement had been reached with the French and the Venetians. Upon Gervasius' death, so the Podestà of the Venetians reported to the Doge, the legate John Colonna immediately began to undermine the strong position of the Venetian clergy in the forthcoming patriarchal election. Taking advantage of the powers delegated to him by the Pope, he created a number of new *praepositi* in churches which had been virtually ruined, and in which there had been no *praepositi* for a long time, but which were situated in the French part of the city. As a second step, the legate ruled that all the *praepositi* could vote in the election, but that the churches of the Venetian quarter could not participate. The Venetians appealed to the Pope.

In this way, wrote the Podestà to the Doge, the legate and all the barons and Frenchmen, clerics and laymen, are trying to weaken your power in the matter of the patriarchate, but we are hastening to arouse the chapter of St. Sophia, especially our Venetian canons, to elect a Venetian patriarch, just as we are working for all other matters which affect your honor and your fortune, and those of our country. The Venetian canons, who number about twenty-five, are to a man held in hand for your honor, and all are agreed upon a Venetian. You may know for certain that, had we not time and time again stood firm in defense of your honor in this matter, you and our country would have suffered a loss. Nevertheless, whatever happens, we believe that the question of the election or an appeal will go to Rome. In this event, Your Serenity's foresight may look to the matter, and you may arrange to send to the Pope the kind of discreet and clever men who can handle a matter of this sort, so that, whenever messengers from the chapter and from the general membership of your party shall arrive in Rome, they may find the way already prepared for your honor and that of Venice: for we reckon this as all the honor which you have in the Empire.¹³³

This letter demonstrates that the rivalry between Frenchmen and Venetians over the patriarchate had not been diminished. The legate's mass creation of new French *praepositi* to weight the election against the Venetians, and the Podestà's own electioneering and advice to the Doge to attempt to influence the Pope in advance of the expected appeal from a disputed election, illustrate not only the great importance attached to the office of patriarch both by the Venetians and by their rivals but also the fact that Morosini's renunciation of his oath had brought about no fundamental political change.

The election, which Honorius, like Innocent, had directed the clergy to hold in St. Sophia, and in which he had also directed the *praepositi* to participate,¹³⁴ came out as the Podestà had predicted. The names of the candidates supported by the two parties have not come down to us, nor have the

¹³³ T.-Th. II, 219-220.

¹³⁴ Pressuti 1174, see above text and note 9; full text in Appendix, no. II.

details of the voting. On February 16, 1221, however, Honorius notified the chapter and clergy of Constantinople of his decision in the appeal brought before him by the chancellor, and a deacon and subdeacon of the chapter, representing the Venetian party, and by a canon and a cleric of the imperial palace church of the Boukoleon, representing the French, who had petitioned him to settle their differences by appointing a suitable person. The Pope had chosen Mattheus, Bishop of Jesolo (Equilio), a suffragan of Grado, and, of course, a Venetian,¹³⁵ a man whom he declared to be notable for his personal life, his piety, and his learning, and whom he commanded the chapter to receive with all due devotion.¹³⁶ Honorius had already conferred upon Mattheus the by now traditional letter of privileges, granting him all the rights enjoyed by Thomas Morosini and by Gervasius, and adding the right to absolve those who had carried on illicit trade with the Saracens,¹³⁷ — this last clause providing a clear indication that the Venetian trade with the Moslems of Egypt, forbidden by the papacy, was now being carried on from Constantinople. Still earlier, on January 31, 1221, Mattheus, then already Patriarch, had issued at Rome the only document of his Patriarchate of which the original survives: a confirmation of Morosini's earlier promise that the Venetian churches in Constantinople were to be exempt from patriarchal jurisdiction and were to be subject only to the Patriarch of Grado.¹³⁸ The existence of this document puts back into January, 1221, the date of Mattheus' original appointment by the Pope.

During the interregnum between Gervasius' death on November 9, 1219, and the appointment of Mattheus in January, 1221, the papal legate, John Colonna, was in complete charge of church affairs in Constantinople. Since the imperial throne was also vacant, the legate, with the *bailli*, Conon de Béthune, and the Podestà of the Venetians, Tiepolo, was responsible for affairs in the Empire. Realizing this, Honorius wrote, urging him to be especially attentive to his duties, and to protect the Empire and its churches.¹³⁹ Somewhat later, the Pope granted the legate the right to decide

¹³⁵ Alberic, 919.

¹³⁶ Pressutti 3099; text printed in full for the first time in Santifaller, 192.

¹³⁷ Pressutti 3077.

¹³⁸ T.-Th. II, p. 225, no. 251.

¹³⁹ Pressutti 2557. The Pope also refused to grant John's request to visit the Holy Land. The following passage is taken from the ms. of the Registers (Reg. Vat. X, book 4, folio 206 letter 836): "Nos enim cum imperio de imperatore fuerit et ecclesie de Patriarcha provisum et que circa hec sunt congrua stabilitate suffulta pro te nobis preces porrectas auctoritate domino curabimus effectui mancipare cum te sinceris brachiis amplexemur. Ceterum ut in terram sanctam accedas ad presens nec nostro nec tuo honori credimus expedire, eo quod ex hoc parum utilitatis eidem accederet, et Imperio Romanie ex absentia tua possit non modicum incommodum imminere, nec tu posses sepulchrum domini visitare nec ibidem exercitum ad prelia domini retinere."

the cases of churches which had been exempt from patriarchal jurisdiction under the Greeks; but to which claims had since been made by the Latin patriarchate — presumably by Gervasius, whose regular practice it was to make such claims — thereby doing injury to local archbishops and bishops.¹⁴⁰

By March 1221, Matthaeus was in Constantinople: on the twenty-fifth he crowned the new Emperor Robert (1221–1228).¹⁴¹ Like Thomas Morosini and Gervasius before him, Matthaeus was apparently a power-hungry prelate, determined to assert his own authority, willing to infringe upon papal prerogative, greedy, and hard put to it for funds. On May 18, 1222, Honorius wrote him angrily, lamenting that he had ever chosen him patriarch, and charging him with domineering over the clergy, and causing offense by seeking his own ends, rather than those of Our Lord. Immediately upon his arrival in Constantinople, Honorius charged, Matthaeus had abstracted a large sum of money from the church funds, not heeding the presence of the papal legate, which should have acted as a deterrent. In violation of a decree made by the earlier legate, Pelagius, Matthaeus had also stripped the lead and copper off the roofs of the churches in the imperial city;¹⁴² and had in general behaved like a merchant, not like a shepherd, milking and fleecing his flock instead of watching over them and preaching to them. Honorius further accused Matthaeus of celebrating mass only irregularly, of giving communion to excommunicate Venetians, and of entering into illicit compacts against other peoples. The reference may be to the Venetian pact concluded with the Seljuks of Rome; the word “illicit” is the one regularly chosen to refer to dealings between Christians and Moslems. On the other hand, this interpretation is by no means certain.¹⁴³ Honorius also declared that Matthaeus had absolved men excommunicated by the legate; he had neglected to lay legitimate appeals before the Apostolic See; he had deliberately disobeyed the legate by receiving clerics whom the legate had commanded him not to receive until they had been to Rome to receive absolution for their excesses; and he had permitted the Venetians to ban clerics.¹⁴⁴ In short, from the papal point of view the patriarchate had for the third time fallen into the hands of a contumacious Venetian priest, who took

¹⁴⁰ Horoy III, col. 494; Pressutti 2607.

¹⁴¹ *Andreae Danduli Chronica*, Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores XII* (Bologna, 1939) 288.

¹⁴² Compare the action of the Emperor Baldwin II, reported by Marino Sanudo Torsello in a supplement to Villehardouin. See R. L. Wolff, “Hopf’s so-called ‘Fragmentum of Marino Sanudo Torsello,’” *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume, Jewish Social Studies V* (1953) 149–159; C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873) 171 ff.

¹⁴³ For text of the pact, see T.-Th. II, pp. 221 ff., no. 258.

¹⁴⁴ Horoy IV, col. 152; Pressutti 3963.

advantage of distance, bad communications, and his own exalted theoretical position to disregard the Pope's interests and commands.

Honorius struck a blow against the Patriarch and the Venetians when, on September 28, 1222, he re-opened the question of the *praepositurae*. On August 9, 1217, he had confirmed Benedict of St. Susanna's *cassatio*, or closing-down, of twenty-three of them. From our examination of Innocent's correspondence we knew only that Benedict had conferred twenty-three of them on himself, and left the status of the other seven undecided. This is our first evidence of a *cassatio*. But now, in 1222, in a hitherto unpublished letter to the Emperor Robert, Honorius reviewed the history of these important posts in the conventional churches, whose number he gives as thirty-two, although only thirty are mentioned in the correspondence of Innocent III. Peter Capuano had permitted the Emperors to ordain the *praepositi*; Benedict of St. Susanna had, says Honorius, reduced their number to seven. He had done so, says the Pope, despite his previous confirmation of this act, *aliena sicut creditur astutia circumventus* — clearly a dig at Venice — and because the churches at the time seemed too poor in resources. Now that John Colonna had re-established "almost all" of the thirty-two, and provided them with suitable means, the Pope conferred upon the Emperor the right to present clerics to them. So that his purpose in so doing might be perfectly clear, he specifically referred to the fact that the *praepositi* had the right to vote in patriarchal elections.¹⁴⁵

Matthaeus continued the tradition of his predecessors also in subjecting the French clergy to various kinds of discrimination and annoyance. On the pretext of a decree regarding wills, issued long before by Pelagius, the Patriarch demanded that the French clergy turn over to him one third of certain property left them and their churches by the dying. The objects claimed by the Patriarch were apparently church ornaments, or materials for use in the lighting or repair of churches, or moneys left to celebrate mass on some anniversary, or left to individuals attached to the church; for these were the categories which the Pope forbade him to claim, after the French clergy had complained to Rome.¹⁴⁶ Honorius instructed the Bishop of Selymbria and two Cistercians, the Abbot of St. Angelus and the Prior of St. Mary of Bethlehem, to enforce this decision.¹⁴⁷ Apparently the Cistercians had been made the special victims of this form of petty patriarchal persecution; for their rights in regard to such categories of bequest were later specifically confirmed.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Pressutti 718; Pressutti 4123, full text in Appendix, no. V.

¹⁴⁶ Horoy I, col. 385; Pressutti 4536, October 19, 1223.

¹⁴⁷ Pressutti 4540, October 24, 1223.

¹⁴⁸ Pressutti 4563, 4564, November 18, 1223.

In one specific case — the will of a certain Milo de Brabant, presumably the son of the original crusader of that name — a controversy arose between French and Venetians over some legacies. The Deans of the imperial palace churches of Boukoleon and Blachernae, representing the French clergy, and with their concurrence, excommunicated the entire Cathedral chapter; while the Dean and canon Thomas of the church of Heracleia — presumably Venetians — in turn excommunicated the clergy and chapters of Boukoleon, Blachernae, and St. George of the Mangana, the three chief French churches of the city. This was doubtless the sort of quarrel which Honorius had been attempting to avert, when he issued his instructions to Matthaetus concerning wills. In November, 1224, the Pope ordered the double excommunication removed, and annulled all rash acts committed by either side since the passing of these illegal sentences.¹⁴⁹

Honorius also continued Innocent's policy of intervention in the affairs of the cathedral chapter of Constantinople in an effort to prevent it from becoming purely Venetian in membership. On October 26, 1223, he ordered Matthaetus to confer upon Marcellinus, Archdeacon of Ancona, a prebend left vacant by the death of one of the canons.¹⁵⁰ Apparently, however, the Patriarch had already conferred this prebend upon one of his own clerics, Stephen Bolli; and a lawsuit now arose between Bolli and Marcellinus, which was appealed to the Pope. Honorius decided on April 10, 1225, in favor of his own appointee, commanding that he be given possession of the prebend, but also instructing that Bolli be given any prebend that might be vacant or at least appointed to the first vacancy that might arise, and that meanwhile the income was to be divided equally.¹⁵¹ In recognition of the difficult days through which the Empire was passing, and the consequent diminution in the income of the cathedral chapter, Honorius also ruled that the total number of canons might be allowed to fall off. John Colonna, the legate, had fixed the full complement of prebends in the chapter of St. Sophia as thirty-eight; now, on May 17, 1225, Honorius decreed that the chapter need not fill vacancies caused by death or absence until the number of prebends had been reduced to twenty-four.¹⁵² He also instructed the chapter to use the funds of the patriarchate to cover all expenses which might arise during an interregnum, but warned against any attempt to use this money at a time when there was still a patriarch on the

¹⁴⁹ Pressutti 5166, 5175.

¹⁵⁰ Pressutti 4543.

¹⁵¹ Pressutti 5436. The following passage from the registers (Reg. Vat. XIII, Book 9, Letter 266, folio 48) is not summarized by Pressutti: . . . *fructus ipsius inter eos equaliter dividantur quousque dicto Stephano assignetur in ipsa ecclesia beneficium prebendale.*

¹⁵² Pressutti 5501.

throne.¹⁵³ On another occasion, the Pope commanded that the chapter be required to restore to its own chancellor his revenues and his seal, of which they had deprived him.¹⁵⁴ Although the controversy started by Gervasius over patriarchal possession of certain churches in Athens continued, it was not settled during Honorius' pontificate.¹⁵⁵

Several of Honorius' letters, however, chiefly dating from the first few months of 1225, were devoted to strengthening Matthaetus' position, and to conferring favors upon him, rather than to reproaching him for his misdeeds or to intervening in his affairs. Thus on January 27, 1225, Matthaetus was notified that, although, like other clerics, he would be obliged to pay an aid to the Empire of one quarter of his movable property and of his income, according to a recent agreement made at the Pope's behest and in the Patriarch's presence and with his consent, he could not be compelled to keep his promise to do so by the various ecclesiastics who had been deputed to collect the money from the other clergy.¹⁵⁶ Thus Matthaetus on this occasion was saved the humiliation of having to obey the commands of his own subordinates. On April 7, 1225, Honorius instructed the prelates of the churches in the Empire not subject to the patriarchate (i.e. the Venetian churches, subject only to Grado) to observe all sentences of excommunication and interdict issued by the Patriarch; so that the laity, to whom the churches should serve as a model, might have no occasion to flout the authority of the Patriarch or to revolt against his disciplinary measures.¹⁵⁷ The Pope also reminded the churches which were already subject to Matthaetus' jurisdiction that they should show him proper reverence and obedience, and obey his commands in spiritual matters, irrespective of the fact that their churches or monasteries might have been conferred upon them by the papal legate.¹⁵⁸

In this way, after having for years strengthened and supported his legate as the chief source of ecclesiastical authority in the Empire, Honorius permitted the pendulum to swing in the other direction by reminding the clergy that they owed their prime obedience to the Patriarch. By 1225, John Colonna, who had been in Constantinople for seven years, had departed; and, in order to maintain discipline, the Pope doubtless felt it wise to remind the clergy of the Patriarch's authority. Even the physical possessions of the Patriarchate were once again confirmed at this time. On April 8, 1225,

¹⁵³ Pressutti 5500.

¹⁵⁴ Pressutti 5494.

¹⁵⁵ Pressutti 4514.

¹⁵⁶ Pressutti 5279.

¹⁵⁷ Pressutti 5423.

¹⁵⁸ Pressutti 5424, 5425.

Honorius, presumably in an attempt to forestall any challenge to the Patriarch, gave papal confirmation to all the patriarchate's possessions "in the island of Crete and in the Latin Empire."¹⁵⁹

The same week the Pope specifically exempted the Patriarch from any sentence of excommunication or suspension from office issued by anyone except a papal representative, legate, or delegate with a specific papal mandate to pass such a sentence.¹⁶⁰ This may well have been a valuable privilege. Although Matthaeus was in theory second in rank only to the Pope, in practice he was merely a provincial bishop, in a region suffering from all imaginable political and economic woes, and exposed not only to external enemies but to internal dissensions. By relying on his legate, Honorius had diminished the powers of the Patriarch. Indeed it is quite conceivable that the prestige of the patriarchate had diminished to such a point that, without this specific new pronouncement by the papacy, the Patriarch might at some time have found himself under sentence of excommunication from one of the clerics nominally subordinate to him, who happened to belong to the other party. The mutual sentences of excommunication hurled at each other by Venetian and French clerics only a short time before may have served to remind the Pope that in Romania these dread weapons of the church were freely used as political instruments regardless of authorization. This last privilege granted the Patriarch may not have been the least of the favors by which the Pope sought to redress the balance in favor of the Patriarch after the withdrawal of his legate.

Sometime toward the end of 1226 Matthaeus died. The usual double election then took place. One faction — presumably the French, although this is not stated in so many words — chose the Bishop of Beauvais, Milo de Châtillon-Nanteuil, while the other — presumably the Venetians — objected. The name of the opposing candidate, if there was one, has not survived. On December 23, 1226, Pope Honorius wrote to Jean Halgrin, Archbishop of Besançon, offering him the post, and urging him to accept it.¹⁶¹ Halgrin, a member of the Cluniac order, was of a noble Norman family of Abbeville, who had studied at Paris, had become a master and teacher of theology, and had served as Prior of St. Victor at Amiens and Dean of the Cathedral there before becoming Archbishop of Besançon.¹⁶² He came to Rome, and declined the honor conferred upon him, was made Cardinal Bishop of Sabina,

¹⁵⁹ Pressutti 5428.

¹⁶⁰ Pressutti 5439.

¹⁶¹ Pressutti 6123; text in Santifaller, 202. For the role played by the Bishop of Beauvais in the affair of the false Baldwin of Flanders in 1225, see Wolff, Baldwin.

¹⁶² Santifaller, 34.

and later served as papal legate in Spain.¹⁶³ Had he accepted, he would have been the first non-Venetian patriarch.

On March 18, 1227, Honorius III died. Either he, before his death, or his successor Gregory IX, some time after his accession, appointed to the Latin patriarchate Simon, Archbishop of Tyre, a cleric whose native land and previous career are unknown, as is the precise date of his appointment. The first papal letter addressed to him is dated July 20, 1229, and, although it has been conjectured that Simon was named as early as 1227,¹⁶⁴ this letter of 1229 contains a grant of the privileges usually conferred upon a patriarch immediately after his appointment. It seems more likely that the patriarchate remained vacant until mid-1229, and that Simon was not appointed until that time.

THE POLITICS OF THE PERIOD 1204–1229: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Simon's appointment marks a point about midway in the history of the patriarchate, and far beyond midway in the number of references in the sources. From the evidence so far adduced, it is possible to draw certain general conclusions. The patriarchate began as an avowedly Venetian institution, and in its infancy appeared destined to serve as a mere adjunct to Venetian colonial and financial power. By forcing Morosini publicly to abandon his oath to maintain the Venetian monopoly, Innocent III dealt a serious blow to Venice. By forcing French clerics upon the cathedral chapter, and by insisting upon the right of the French conventional churches to participate in any election of a new patriarch, Innocent and Honorius managed to secure a disputed election on each occasion, and to retain in their own hands the actual appointment of a patriarch.

True, the first three patriarchs were Venetians; but Thomas Morosini was confirmed as a political concession to the Doge, whom Innocent hoped for other reasons to conciliate; Gervasius, though Venetian, was the original candidate of the French party; and, Matthaeus, like the others, was chosen by the Pope. This policy of appointing Venetian patriarchs can be described as one of limited concessions to Venice, and was more than balanced by the activity of the papal legates on behalf of the French, especially by John Colonna's raising the number of French conventional churches which could participate in patriarchal elections, and by Honorius' award of these churches to the Emperor. The Podestà's warning to the Doge in 1219 that he had better look to Venetian interests at Rome if he wished to retain the

¹⁶³ Alberic, *op. cit.*, 919.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; cf. Santifaller, 37.

privilege of securing Venetian patriarchs in Constantinople proved prophetic; for in 1226 Honorius appointed a French patriarch.

Though Halgrin declined, the Venetian monopoly was broken. Simon, Archbishop of Tyre, was probably not a Venetian; his successor, Nicholas of Castro Arquato, was to be a Piacenzan. Thus one aim of papal policy vis-à-vis the new patriarchate was to break the uncanonical hold which the Venetians had possessed over it from the first, without at the same time alienating the Venetians so far that they would be disinclined to assist other papal projects. In this aim Innocent and Honorius succeeded, over the course of some twenty-three years.

Further, Innocent and Honorius were determined that, within Romania itself, the authority of the papacy should be supreme, no matter what the nationality of the patriarch. To this end they weakened the power of successive patriarchs by confirming exemptions, by writing harsh letters of disapproval, by taking advantage of the financial straits in which Gervasius and Matthaeus found themselves, and, above all, by sending to Constantinople a series of aggressive and able legates, men whose mere presence in the city as papal representatives decreased the prestige of the Patriarch. Peter Capuano, Benedict of St. Susanna, Pelagius of Albano, and John Colonna all acted as checks to the power of the patriarch by issuing decrees of their own, countering patriarchal instructions, negotiating with laymen and with the Greeks in the name of the Roman Church, and thrusting the Patriarch into the background.

This whittling away of patriarchal prestige and the concomitant building up of papal prestige might have served the ends of the papacy, had conditions in Romania been settled, communications with Rome easy, or the transfer to Rome of power over church affairs in Constantinople otherwise desirable. With military annihilation always threatening the Latin position in Romania, however, and with the journey to Rome long and dangerous, it might be argued that it would have been more advantageous for the papacy if Innocent and Honorius had, instead, established and subsidized a powerful ecclesiastical authority in Constantinople. By keeping the Latin patriarchate strong, even at the cost of some of their own minor prerogatives, they might have brought the actual position of the patriarch more into accord with his theoretical pretensions; in this way they might have been able to strengthen the Empire itself and to retain in the territory of the Greek schismatics an outpost which would have proved helpful in further negotiations for the union of the churches and for the Crusade, the two chief objectives of papal foreign policy.

On the other hand, it is clear that this solution to what was essentially a

problem of colonial administration would also have presented grave difficulties. To keep the patriarchate strong would have meant to keep it Venetian, since the economic power and the means of communication with the west were largely a Venetian monopoly. This in turn would probably not only have necessitated the sanctioning of uncanonical practices and the loss of papal prestige, but would also have involved the fairly certain risk of a virtually complete secularization of ecclesiastical affairs and practices in Romania, which obviously presented too grave a danger for the papacy to contemplate. Moreover, the Popes could hardly be expected to forget that several centuries of schism had arisen in large measure because of the exalted conception which the Greeks held of the prestige and powers of the Patriarch of Constantinople. To allow a Latin patriarch, especially a Venetian, to arrogate to himself that prestige and those powers was to court the danger of new revolts against papal supremacy, and even, perhaps, of new schism. For these reasons, one may perhaps safely conjecture from the evidence, the Popes followed the policies we have been describing, and broke the Venetian monopoly. Once the Venetian monopoly had been broken, and this danger averted, it proved to be too late to rehabilitate the power of the Latin patriarch, although, as we shall see, the Popes tried to do so. The result of the policies they felt obliged to adopt was that the Latin patriarch lost in power and prestige even over the rapidly shrinking territories of the Latin Empire.

THE LAST THREE PATRIarchs, 1229–1261: AN EPILOGUE

After the death of Robert of Courtenay in 1228, the Constantinopolitan barons chose as his successor John of Brienne, aged former King of Jerusalem, who was to be regent (1229–1237) for the young son of Peter and Yolande, the future Baldwin II (1237–1261). The new Patriarch, Simon of Tyre, was in Perugia with Gregory IX on April 9, 1229, when the pact was signed confirming this arrangement.¹⁶⁵ On July 20, Simon received the privilege of promoting sub-deacons, of reducing the number of bishoprics in Romania,¹⁶⁶ and of acting as the final judge in suits involving less than twenty marks.¹⁶⁷ By May 8, 1231, he was in Constantinople, since on that date Gregory instructed him to welcome and to be of service to John of Brienne, then en route to Constantinople with a large following after a long delay.¹⁶⁸ On April 1, 1232, the Pope named Simon and Emperor John as a two-man investigating commission to inquire into the truth of the profes-

¹⁶⁵ Auvray 290; T.-Th. II, p. 265, no. 273.

¹⁶⁶ For the history of this kind of privilege, see Wolff, Organization.

¹⁶⁷ Auvray 328.

¹⁶⁸ Auvray 656.

sions of orthodoxy then being made by Manuel Angelus of Thessalonica, brother of the recently deceased Theodore.¹⁶⁹ On September 5, 1232, Gregory granted Simon permission to use the pallium in Syria, if he should go there on a pilgrimage, on the same day as a local patriarch or archbishop.¹⁷⁰

For the remainder of Simon's short patriarchate there survive records of three local disputes to which he was a party, of which two were purely ecclesiastical, involving only the chapter of St. Sophia. On one occasion seven canons of the cathedral failed to comply with a sentence of excommunication imposed upon them by Simon, who then proceeded to declare them *canonici irregulares*. The canons maintained that the sentences of excommunication had never been valid because an appeal to the Pope had already been entered; none the less they swore to obey Simon in the future. Thereupon Simon forgave and absolved them, but did not permit them to take possession of their benefices, whereupon they complained to Rome a second time, and were forced to take the long and expensive journey there. They secured justice, however, for the Pope commanded the Patriarch either to restore them to their benefices, or himself to come to Rome to show cause why this should not be done; and the chapter was required to provide four hyperpers of just weight monthly to cover the expenses of each of the canons until the case should be settled — in spite of the fact that their prebends had already been conferred upon other clerics. The dean and *praepositus* of Heracleia, and the prior of the Venetian church of St. Nicholas de Embulo were instructed to see justice done.¹⁷¹ There is no indication whether these canons ousted by the Patriarch were ever restored to their prebends, nor is there any way of determining whether or not they were Venetians. If they were, the removal from the cathedral chapter of seven Venetians at one stroke would have dealt a serious blow to the majority which Venice still retained there.

There is perhaps some indication that these seven may have been Venetians, and that Simon may have been deliberately trying to destroy their special position: on the only other occasion known to us when Simon deprived one of his canons of his benefice, it was a Venetian. This cleric had fallen ill at Venice, while en route to Rome, and had there been offered by the Bishop of Castello (one of the suffragans of Grado) the archipresbyterate of his own church, and later a priory. Although the canon apparently accepted these offices and was for this reason ousted by Simon, he later resigned them, and spent three years in Rome attempting to secure the resto-

¹⁶⁹ Auvray 786.

¹⁷⁰ Auvray 862.

¹⁷¹ Auvray 944, 945.

ration of his rights in Constantinople. The Pope finally cited Simon for depriving the canon of his benefice; but Simon had meanwhile died. On April 13, 1234, Gregory entrusted the case to the same commission of three clerics who had been chosen to deal with the other affair of the seven canons.¹⁷²

The third case in which Simon was involved was a dispute over a baronial marriage, over which, as Patriarch, he had jurisdiction according to canon law. This is the only case of its type during the history of the patriarchate, any record of which survives. For this reason, and because it sheds some light on the position of women in Romania, reminding the student of similar cases in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, it seems worth a brief examination here. Isabella de Claromonte claimed that she had been legitimately married to M. de Brabantia (perhaps a son of Milo de Brabant, one of the original Crusaders) by Patriarch Mattheus. When her father died, a certain N. de Tusciano "in whose power she then was" (presumably her guardian) gave her as wife to one Angelus de Facto. As soon as Angelus had known her carnally, N. de Tusciano took her away to live among "strange and barbarous peoples," bringing her back at the end of five years only at the request of Angelus. Because she feared that if she opposed his will, Angelus would cause her to be sent back to live among those peoples again, she swore, in the Patriarch's presence, that she had consented to be married to him. When her liberty was thereafter restored, she contradicted this statement and humbly besought the Patriarch to restore her to her first legitimate husband, on the ground that "what is done by force or fear should have no validity." Because she had previously sworn in the Patriarch's presence that her marriage to Angelus had been at her own consent, Simon refused to act upon her appeal. She then appealed to the Pope, who instructed the Bishop of Selymbria, and the archdeacon and a *praepositus* of Constantinople to decide the affair as they saw fit.¹⁷³

More significant than these lawsuits, lay and ecclesiastical, in which the Patriarch Simon became involved, are two instances, during his patriarchate, in which Pope Gregory IX appears sharply to have reversed the policy of his predecessors. On March 14, 1233, Gregory issued a new ruling on the thirty-two *praepositurae*, the French conventional churches. As we know, presentation to these had been claimed as an imperial prerogative since the earliest days of Baldwin I: twenty-three of them had been taken and allowed to fall vacant by Benedict of St. Susanna; these were revived by John Colonna, who used their *praepositi* as an instrument to keep the Venetian cathedral chapter from electing without opposition their choice as patriarch;

¹⁷² Auvray 1893.

¹⁷³ Auvray 1138.

and Honorius III awarded them to the Emperor Robert. Gregory IX now wrote that, although Pope Honorius had granted the Emperor Robert the right of appointing *praepositi* to the thirty-two churches of the French party, and although the Emperor Robert, and — during the interregnum 1228–1231 — his *baiulus*¹⁷⁴ had made such appointments, this right belonged *de jure* to the Patriarch. Reversing Honorius' decree, the Pope now ordered that the *praepositi* appointed by the Emperor and the *baiulus* should be removed from office, and that the Patriarch should appoint suitable clerics of his own choice to fill the vacancies.¹⁷⁵ Thus the Patriarch finally won this ancient dispute.

This deliberate reversal of previous policy would have removed the greatest single check on the Patriarch, had he been a Venetian. Merely by following the Pope's instructions, a Venetian patriarch could have displaced all the French clerics, and replaced them all by Venetians. With a strongly Venetian cathedral chapter and a solidly Venetian group of *praepositi*, it is clear that all future patriarchs would have been Venetian. Disputed elections would not have taken place, and the popes could no longer have retained what was in effect the privilege of appointing the Latin Patriarch. It seems in the highest degree unlikely that Gregory would have taken such a risk, had Simon been a Venetian. The mere fact that the Pope made the grant is in itself a reasonably sure indication that Simon was not Venetian. The positive reason for Gregory's action was almost certainly his wish to strengthen the Patriarch in the difficult times through which the Empire was passing.

A further indication that such was Gregory's intention is offered by his second reversal of policy, which set a precedent contrary to all previous practice. The Pope appointed Simon, while still Patriarch, to the office of legate, to be held simultaneously. The exact date of this appointment is not certain; but all communications to Simon beginning with that of May 8, 1231, are addressed to him as legate of the Apostolic See as well as Patriarch.¹⁷⁶ Thus Gregory IX abandoned the long-standing practice whereby Innocent and Honorius had maintained in Constantinople a legate independent of the Patriarch and had used him as a check on the Patriarch's power, thus limiting the activities of Thomas Morosini, Gervasius, and Mattheus. The offices of patriarch and papal legate for Romania were now merged. It would seem probable that this too represented an attempt to

¹⁷⁴ Between Robert's death in 1228 and the arrival of John of Brienne in Constantinople in 1231, the *bailli* was Narjot de Toucy, son of one of crusaders of the fourth Crusade.

¹⁷⁵ Auvray 1184. Cf. above text and notes 58 and 145.

¹⁷⁶ Auvray 656.

inject strength into, and inspire respect for, the patriarchate, now no longer in danger of becoming a mere instrument of the Venetians.

Simon died in early 1233; and the patriarchal see remained vacant for more than a year.¹⁷⁷ The new Patriarch was Nicholas of Santo Arquato, of the noble family of della Porta of Piacenza, who was Bishop of Spoleto and a papal vice-chancellor. There are no details of his election, save for one passage in a contemporary chronicler which indicates that the Pope simply appointed him.¹⁷⁸ Although Nicholas remained in office seventeen years, longer than any other patriarch, they are not well-documented years in general. The Patriarch was often away from Constantinople and in the Pope's company; so that letters were not exchanged between them. The papacy was now plunged into the prolonged struggle with the Emperor Frederick II; and the Pope had his attention riveted, perforce, on affairs in Italy. Moreover, the Apostolic See itself was vacant between the death of Gregory IX on August 22, 1241, and the election of Innocent IV on June 25, 1243. For this period of nearly two years there are no surviving sources for the Latin patriarchate.

On August 12, 1234, Gregory IX conferred on Nicholas the office of legate previously held by Simon; and therewith the right to "uproot, destroy, scatter and disperse, build, and plant" whatever he might think proper.¹⁷⁹ This is the sort of privilege which would not have been conferred upon the first three patriarchs, but which was now urgently needed as an emergency measure, and with which Nicholas, as papal vice-chancellor and a non-Venetian, could presumably be trusted. For the remainder of Gregory's pontificate, the papal correspondence is scanty. Except for a single case involving the Patriarch, it is altogether devoted to measures for increasing the solvency and security of the Patriarch as the Greek military and political threat to the Latins in Constantinople grew more serious.

The case of the Patriarch arose in 1241, and was settled by Gregory in March. The Patriarch Nicholas had accused the Archbishop of Corinth of contumaciousness because he had refused to come to Constantinople and do reverence to him; he had therefore excommunicated the archbishop, and had laid Corinth under an interdict. The archbishop argued that, at the time of the excommunication, he had already appealed to Rome to get permission not to go to Constantinople, alleging his own infirmity, the danger of the roads, and the perils of war, which had cut off Constantinople from anyone who might wish to go there. The two cardinals to whom the Pope submitted

¹⁷⁷ Santifaller, 36–37.

¹⁷⁸ Alberic, 933.

¹⁷⁹ Auvray 2049.

this case (one of whom was the future Innocent IV) decided that the archbishop was to be absolved, and forgiven for having celebrated mass while under sentence of excommunication. He was required, however, to swear an oath to obey the Patriarch, but in future the Patriarch would not be permitted to issue instructions to him except by the specific mandate of the Holy See. He was further required to come to Rome at any convenient time within the following six months.¹⁸⁰

On November 22, 1236, Gregory called upon all the prelates of the Morea for financial aid to the Patriarch, who, through the fortunes of war and the "malice of the Greeks," had "lost almost all his income and his property, and who had spent all that he had, so that he did not have enough to live on." The prelates were required to provide for him adequately, so that he might continue to remain in Constantinople, in the interests of the Empire.¹⁸¹ This was only the first of a series of appeals to the churches of the wealthy and comparatively secure Morea for aid to the stricken patriarchate. On May 29, 1241, Gregory wrote again, this time to the Archbishop of Thebes, and the Prior of the Dominicans and Archdeacon of Nigropont, lamenting the tragic state of the see of Constantinople:

We cannot behold her penury without grief, or refrain from pitying her dreadful misery. She who was once the most opulent and the pre-eminent leader of the adjacent provinces, shining with the light of her special privilege, has now, because of the troubled state of the Empire of Constantinople, been sadly and wretchedly brought almost to extreme emptiness, nor is there anyone willing or able to stretch out a hand to her; nay, rather her enemies, foes to God and the Church, have not hesitated to consume her relics.

Gregory therefore commanded that there be paid to the destitute Patriarch one tenth of all the ecclesiastical income of the Morea, Nigropont and the islands.¹⁸² So true was the picture painted by this letter that Gregory's successor, Innocent IV, used its text verbatim when, upon his accession in 1243, he found the situation unchanged. On July 24, 1243, he addressed the very same appeal to the Archbishop and treasurer of Athens and the dean of Thebes, exempting from the payment only the imperial abbeys, the Templars and Hospitallers, and the Cistercians, and requiring that the money be paid even if the Patriarch should have left Constantinople and come to Rome to get succor for the Empire.¹⁸³

On July 10, 1243, Innocent IV renewed the appointment of Nicholas as papal legate in the Empire of Constantinople and in the Christian army

¹⁸⁰ Auvray 5384.

¹⁸¹ Auvray 3382; text in Raynaldus' *Annales*, II, p. 159, s.a. 1236, chapter 70.

¹⁸² Auvray 6035.

¹⁸³ Berger 33, 94.

wherever it might be in the Empire, and announced this appointment to all the prelates throughout the Empire.¹⁸⁴ This appointment was renewed on May 28, 1249.¹⁸⁵ In 1243 Nicholas was still in Constantinople, but was contemplating a visit to Rome. He probably left Constantinople in that year or shortly thereafter. He attended the Council of Lyons called by Innocent in 1245 to condemn Frederick II, and there made a moving statement of the miseries of the church of Constantinople.¹⁸⁶ He remained away at least until June 11, 1249, when Innocent IV wrote to the Emperor and barons in Constantinople consoling them for their Patriarch's long absence, and reminding them that his stay in Rome had been prolonged at the Pope's own request, and would be serviceable to the Empire. Innocent warned the secular lords to preserve the Patriarch's rights intact, and to do him no injury.¹⁸⁷ But no mention was made of Nicholas' possible return to Constantinople, and it seems improbable that he ever did so. In July, 1250, he was still in Italy, where he interceded for a cleric, together with the Bishop of Parma;¹⁸⁸ and sometime between July and September, 1251, he died at Milan.¹⁸⁹

For the period of his seven- or eight-year absence there survive only the scantiest records in the papal registers either of the patriarchate itself or of his own activity. Even the few papal documents which are available, however, appear to tell a story in themselves. On March 5, 1246, Innocent instructed the Abbot de Tolla of the diocese of Piacenza to receive as a canon in any of the churches of that city or diocese Girard, one of the clerics of the Patriarch of Constantinople, a canon of the church of St. George of the Mangana.¹⁹⁰ On November 15, 1246, he commanded that Miranus, the Patriarch's chaplain and Dean of Nigropont, be received into the church of St. Ambrose in Milan.¹⁹¹ On May 26, 1248, he commanded that Jacobus de Aspello, a cleric of the Patriarch, be received into the church of St. Laurence de Spello in Spoleto.¹⁹² All three documents indicate the necessity of providing in Italy for clerics from Constantinople. It is possible that these documents may reflect a flight of clerics from Romania, but we do not know whether the particular ones for whom provision was made were all mem-

¹⁸⁴ Berger 8, 32.

¹⁸⁵ Berger 4561.

¹⁸⁶ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1877), Rolls Series IV, 431-432.

¹⁸⁷ Berger 4560.

¹⁸⁸ Berger 4801.

¹⁸⁹ Berger 5472.

¹⁹⁰ Berger 1748.

¹⁹¹ Berger 2266.

¹⁹² Berger 4170.

bers of the Patriarch's personal suite on sojourn in Italy, or whether they had actually fled the Empire, and returned to the west. In any case, a substantial number must have remained in Constantinople. On June 11, 1249, Innocent wrote to the Archdeacon of Constantinople and the Patriarch's vicars and deacons to fulfill their duties as the Patriarch's vicars general. The other clerics of the Empire were commanded to obey these vicars.¹⁹³

The history of the Latin patriarchate's last fifteen years is to be understood in the light of the popes' reluctant but growing conviction that the Greek threat had become desperate. They were now at times willing to write off the loss of both Empire and patriarchate with resignation if not with equanimity, if they could negotiate directly with the Greeks for a union of the churches. Yet, when the negotiations with the Greeks moved slowly or unsatisfactorily, and during the intervals between such negotiations, the popes still intervened to protect the Latin Empire and patriarchate. From the death of Nicholas in late 1251 until February 15, 1253, the Latin Patriarch's throne remained vacant. On this date, Innocent IV appointed — so far as can be told without any previous election — the new incumbent, his own chaplain, Pantaleone Giustiniani, of a distinguished Venetian noble family, son of Philip, lord of Ceos and Seriphos.¹⁹⁴ The appointment was made at the instance and on the specific recommendation of the "Doge and People" of Venice. "We hope and believe," wrote Innocent, "that the church of Constantinople will make great gains through your industry and under the guardianship of the Venetians." On July 1, the chapter of Constantinople was informed of the choice.¹⁹⁵ Thus the Pope recognized the Venetians as the only agency which could now save the Empire from ruin. The wheel had now swung full circle: after the initial conciliation and appeasement of Venice, pursued as a policy by Innocent III, he and his successors made a successful effort to weaken the patriarchs, which helped throw into jeopardy the whole Latin domination of Constantinople, thus necessitating new conciliation of the Venetians.

Innocent made Giustiniani his legate in the Empire and army, and commanded the clergy to receive him in this capacity.¹⁹⁶ He was authorized to absolve simoniacs, to use the pallium when in Venice, to permit four clerics in his suite to retain two benefices apiece in the Empire of Constantinople,¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Berger 4562, 4565.

¹⁹⁴ Santifaller, 42 ff.

¹⁹⁵ Berger 6804, 6828.

¹⁹⁶ Berger 6676, 6668.

¹⁹⁷ This privilege had also been conferred upon the Archdeacon of Torcello, who also held an additional Venetian benefice; but whom Innocent wished to possess a benefice in Romania as well. Berger 6846.

to absolve and fine pirates and those who dealt with the Saracens in contraband wood and iron, and to use for his own purposes the money which these men would otherwise have to spend in journeying to Rome to receive absolution there.¹⁹⁸ He was also granted the privilege of receiving the income from vacant cathedral churches, archiepiscopal or episcopal, and from vacant abbeys, and from all other vacant benefices in the Empire; and the Prior of Nigropont and Bishop of Modon were specifically commanded to give him either an archiepiscopal or episcopal church in Romania.¹⁹⁹ Further, he was permitted to negotiate a loan in Venice up to the sum of 1,000 marks sterling, to pledge church property as security, and to collect this 1,000 marks to repay the Venetians from the churches of the Empire, assessing them proportionately to their resources.²⁰⁰

On September 14, Giustiniani negotiated this loan; the document is the last of the five surviving original acts of the Latin Patriarchs. Acknowledging the receipt of 3,500 pounds of Venetian denarii to cover his debts and the expenses of his journey to Constantinople, he pledged as security all the movable and immovable property of the church of Constantinople, and promised to repay one-third of the loan within two years. The straits of the patriarchate are further illuminated by a letter from Innocent requiring Giustiniani to compel the clergy of Constantinople to remain in residence by depriving of their incomes any who might depart.²⁰¹ His cathedral chapter was relieved of a sentence of excommunication passed against it by the Archbishop of Heracleia, which was adjudged unjust.²⁰² Finally, the Patriarch was instructed to preach the Crusade against the Greeks, both in Venice and in Romania, Innocent, in his solicitude, likening the Roman church without Constantinople to a man deformed by the loss of a limb.²⁰³

Upon his succession in 1254, Pope Alexander IV re-appointed Giustiniani legate, with the same privileges as had been accorded by Innocent IV,²⁰⁴ and renewed the exemption of the Venetian churchs of Constantinople subject to the Patriarch of Grado.²⁰⁵ On July 25, 1257, the Pope ordered the provincial Minister of the Franciscans in Romania to help alleviate the poverty of the patriarchate, whose income had been so badly depleted as a result of attacks by the Greeks that the Patriarch was again unable to support him-

¹⁹⁸ Berger 6833, 6839, 6836, 6831.

¹⁹⁹ Berger 6835, 6848, 7845.

²⁰⁰ Discovered and printed by Santifaller, *op. cit.*, 71 ff.

²⁰¹ Berger 6848.

²⁰² Berger 6362.

²⁰³ Berger 6829, 6845.

²⁰⁴ Bourel 182, 183.

²⁰⁵ Bourel 1415; Potthast 16, 418; T.-Th. II, p. 16, no. 336, p. 18, no. 336.

self. Although commanded to provide for him, his clergy had contumaciously refused subsidies; the Patriarch had punished them by excommunicating them; the result had been such a discord that religious life had virtually come to a stop, while the Greek pressure was growing steadily worse. The Franciscan Provincial Minister was instructed to call a council of all the prelates, who were to provide 500 marks of silver annually for the support of the Patriarch until such time as he should be able to collect his own income. This 500 marks was to take the place of any sums then being paid the Patriarch; and no cleric was exempt from contributing to it.²⁰⁶ With this last attempt to squeeze the harassed clergy of Constantinople in an effort to provide for their destitute Patriarch, the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople disappears from the papal correspondence until after the re-capture of the city by the Greeks just four years later.

In July 1261, Giustiniani had apparently gone with the Latin army to besiege Daphnusion,²⁰⁷ when the Greeks surprised and re-took the capital. The Patriarch escaped, although not at the same time as Emperor Baldwin II. In 1263, Pope Urban IV confirmed Giustiniani's appointment of a Franciscan vicar in Constantinople to look after the temporal and spiritual interests of the patriarchate.²⁰⁸ In 1274, Giustiniani took part in the second Council of Lyons, where Union with the Greeks was temporarily achieved; in 1286 he died.²⁰⁹ His will, dated July 1282, has recently been discovered in the Museo Civico of Padua, and published.²¹⁰

The Latin Empire and Patriarchate came to an end together, although both continued to exist for centuries in the hands of titular dignitaries. The underlying antagonism between the French and the Venetians, and the specific quarrels growing out of the original treaty between them, had led to an intense struggle for the control of the patriarchate — a struggle in which the Popes participated, securing to themselves in practice the right to appoint the Patriarch. The papacy, however, always looked beyond the patriarchate to its chief objective — healing of the schism with the Greeks; and, when it became apparent that the patriarchate was not, as had been hoped, to prove the instrument for attaining this end, and that union could not indeed be achieved so long as a Latin Patriarch remained in Constanti-

²⁰⁶ Bourel 2072; J. Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum* II (Rome, 1759) p. 229. See R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* II (1944) 213–237.

²⁰⁷ Raynaldus, *Annales*, III, p. 80, s.a. 1261, chapter 26.

²⁰⁸ Guiraud 434; Potthast 18, 697; Sbaralea, *op. cit.*, II, 524.

²⁰⁹ Santifaller, *op. cit.*, 44–45.

²¹⁰ V. Lazzarini, "Il testamento di Pantaleone Giustiniani patriarca di Costantinopoli, 1282 luglio," *Archivio Veneto*, LXX (1940) 80–84.

nople, the Popes prepared to sacrifice the Patriarch in exchange for an agreement with the Greeks.

Meanwhile the folly of western churchmen and laymen alike, who looted the treasures of palace and church, and drained the richest city of the known world, reduced the Latin Patriarch to such penury that, like the Emperor, he sold copper and lead from the roofs to keep himself alive, until even this means failed, and he became dependent upon the charity of others. The history of the Latin patriarchate is one of the most revealing chapters in the curious and ill-fated colonial experiment which the westerners attempted to carry on in Constantinople.

APPENDIX

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF POPE HONORIUS III

I

Pressutti 720, Reg. Vat. IX, Book 2, letter 570, folio 143, August 10, 1217.

To the Patriarch of Constantinople:

Quanto maiorem in ecclesia dei locum nosceris obtinere, tanto tibi amplius deferre proponimus, et iura tua plenius conservare, unde si quando petitiones tuas te ita exigente suspendimus, tua non debet moveri fraternitas, vel minari, cum id non ex caritatis defectu sed quia expedire credimus tibi ipsi, sollicita deliberatione ac deliberata sollicitudine faciamus, satagentes pro universis et singulis et universorum commodum singulorum utilitatibus preferentes. Quemadmodum fecimus in questione inter ecclesias et baiulum ac principes imperii Constantinopolitani suborta super possessionibus restituendis ipsis ecclesiis, et earum libertatibus conservandis, quam utique pensato statu eiusdem imperii qui propter lamentabilem obitum clare memorie B. Constantinopolitani Imperatoris, ac deinde propter infortunum deplorandum quod accidit karissimo in christo filio nostro P(etro), Imperatori Constantinopolitano illustri, et dilecto filio nostro I(ohanni) titulo Sancte Praxedis presbytero Cardinali apostolice sedis legato, per quos reformatus et consolidandus merito sperabatur, turbatus esse noscitur et concussus, de fratrorum nostro consilio providimus suspendendam, ne si Grecorum malitia propter iamdictum infortunum ex quo novam assumpsisse videtur audaciam Latinos in ipso imperio consistentes discordes inveniret hoc tempore ac divisos, eo acrior se contra eos erigeret quo eosdem consuete unanimatis vinculum non uniret; * et sic regno et sacerdotio de parte possessionum improvide litigantibus accideret perdi totum, presertim cum ipsis principes se periculis bellorum exponere formidarent propter latam excommunicationis sententiam in eosdem. Tu ergo prudenter considerans quanta cura quantaque sollicitudine processerimus in hoc facto, et attendens quod ex urgenti et quasi necessaria causa questionem suspendimus supradictam, quod utiliter fecimus, feras sicut tuam decet prudentiam patienter, fratribus et coepiscopis tuis et aliis clericis quos huiusmodi tangit negotium ostendendo quod eis moleste esse non debet questionis predicte suspensio, cum provisa fuerit ad communem utilitatem ac statum omnium Latinorum consistentium in imperio sepedito; et super hoc intendamus utiliter providere tempore opportuno. Denique Latinos ipsos tam clericos quam laicos inducere studeas sollicite ac sollerter, ut hiis et aliis questionibus qui inter eos possunt scissuram parere intermissis, ad ea que status imperii valeat conservari una tecum unanimi studio satagant et intendant. Latores autem presentium qui super restitutionem predictam nobis institerunt fideliter et prudenter fraternitati tue reddimus commendatos. Datum Ferentini iiiii Idus Augusti Pontificatus nostri anno secundo. In precedenti littera, videlicet Quanto maiorem, subsequentem misimus interclusam, videlicet: Ad mandandam predictam relaxati sententiam id etiam non modicum nos induxit: quod mandatum felicis memorie I(nnocentii) papae predecessoris nostri, cuius auctoritate lata fuit sententia memorata, cum mandatore ut dicitur expirarat, quando pervenit ad iudices qui eandem sententiam promulgarint, et etiam clare memorie B. Constantinopolitanus Imperator, cui super hoc idem predecessor noster suas litteras dirigebat, et quo negligente quod continebatur in illis demum procedere debebant iudices antedicti, subtractus fu-

* From this point on, this letter is neither quoted nor summarized by Pressutti.

erat interim ab hac luce, quare nulle fuerunt de iure partes iudicium predictorum, tum quare ut dictum est expiraverat cum mandatore mandatum; tum quare dictus imperator qui iam omnino non erat negligens non poterat reputari, nec dicti principes gravandi propter hoc aliquatenus videbantur, qui vacante imperio merito dubitabant circa eius statum aliquid immutare. Has autem rationes in litteris pro dictae sententie relaxatione directis de industria non expressimus, ne videlicet dicti principes se gravari putantes, si pro sententia a non suis lata iudicibus exigeretur iuratoria cautio ab eisdem, se in eiusdem protestatione difficiles exhiberent, et eo tardius cogi possent ad restitutionem dictarum possessionum ecclesiis faciendam, quo super hoc nullo astricti essent vinculo iuramenti. Ex hiis colligere potest tua discretio quod non magis ecclesie quam principes sepediti gravati videntur in negotio memorato.

II

Pressutti 1174, Reg. Vat. XI, Book 2, letter 960, folio 234, March 22, 1218.

To all the clergy of Constantinople:

Cum a nobis petitur et cetera usque effectum. Ex parte siquidem vestra fuit nobis humiliter supplicatum ut cum felicis recordationis I(nnocentius) predecessor noster provida deliberatione statueret ut, cum ecclesiam contigerit Constantinopolis vacare, universi prelati conventionalium ecclesiarum apud Constantinopolim positarum in ecclesia Sancte Sophie una cum canonicis eius ad tractandum super electione convenient, et de unanimi consensu omnium vel maioris aut sanioris partis eorum electio secundum deum de persona idonea canonice celebretur, constitutionem ipsius super hoc editam apostolico dignaremur munimine roborare. Nos igitur vestris iustis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu, statutum ipsum cuius tenorem de verbo ad verbum presentibus iussimus litteris annotari, auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presens scriptum patrocinio communimus. Tenor autem eiusdem constitutionis est talis: Innocentius episcopus servus servorum dei, venerabi fratri Patriarche et universo clero Constantinopolitano salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Licit apostolica sedes, que mater est ecclesiarum omnium et magistra, nulli prorsus iniuriam faciat cum utitur iure suo, nec minores ecclesie in suum debeat preiudicium allegare cum quicquam in eis ex collata sibi celitus potestate disponitur, utpote que sic vocavit alias in partem sollicitudinis ut sibi reservaret in omnibus plenitudinem potestatis, Constantinopolitane tamen ecclesie nuper providere volentes, nolumus ex eo quod te frater Patriarcha eligere ac confirmare curavimus et tandem duximus consecrandum auferre ipsi electionis canonice libertatem, aut per factum nostrum eidem preiudicare in posterum quominus cum eam vacare contigeret, deberet et posset canonice ordinari. Unde super hoc litteras tibi concessimus ad cautelam. Ceterum cum eadem ecclesia primum locum obtineat post Romanam et antistes ipsius a Romano Pontifice sit secundus, ideoque quanto maiorem obtinet in ecclesia dei locum, tanto cum maiorि deliberatione ac deliberatione ac maturiori et pleniori sit consilio eligendus, presentium auctoritate statuimus, ut cum eandem ecclesiam vacare contigerit, universi prelati conventionalium ecclesiarum apud Constantinopolim positarum in ecclesia Sancte Sophie una cum canonicis eius ad tractandum super electione convenient, et de unanimi consensu omnium vel maioris et sanioris partis eorum electio secundum deum de persona idonea canonice celebretur. Nulli ergo et cetera nostre constitutionis infringere, vel ei et cetera usque contraire. Si quis autem et cetera usque incursurum. Decernamus ergo et cetera nostre confirmationis infringere vel ei et cetera usque contraire. Si quis autem et cetera.

Datum Laterani xi kalendis Aprilis, Anno Secundo.

III

Pressutti 1428, Reg. Vat. IX, Book 2, letter 1179, folio 265, June 11, 1218.

To his legate, John Colonna:

Venerabilis frater noster patriarcha et dilecti filii capitulo Constantinopolis a nobis humiliter postularunt ut super eo quod a karissima in Christo filia (nostra) Imperatrice Constantinopolis illustri et nobilibus viris baronibus militibus et aliis vassallis eius, potestate Venetorum (et) aliis Venetis detinentur eorum ecclesie possessiones iniuste, propterea quod canonici domino militantes ibidem quintadecima sibi per venerabilem fratrem nostrum episcopum Albanensem tunc in partibus illis officio legationis fungentem subtracta, et duodecima apostolica auctoritate suspensa, fere mendicare coguntur, providere sibi paterna sollicitudine dignaremur. Nos igitur ipsis super hoc providere volentes, discretioni tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus, iuris equitatem servata, super hoc ordinans et disponans prout videris expedire, facias quod statueris per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione remota firmiter observari.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum iii Idus Junii Anno Secundo.

IV

Pressutti 3863, Reg. Vat. XI, Book 6, letter 287, folio 214 ff, March 17, 1222.*

To the Patriarch and the Archbishops and Bishops of the Empire of Constantinople beyond Macri, and of the Kingdom of Thessalonica, and to their beloved sons, the chapters, prelates, and clerics of the churches of the French party, the religious of Constantinople:

Quia tenemur ad omnia pacis consilia cogitare, compositiones amicabiles litium materiam sapientes, maxime mediante aliquo de fratribus nostris inter litigantes provide initas acceptantes, tanto eius fiducialis apostolica muniminis firmitate vallamus, quanto certius credimus nullum in ipsis intervenisse pravitatis. Sane cum olim inter prelatos et clerum ex parte una et nobiles viros barones et fideles Imperii Constantinopolitani ultra Macram ex altera super libertatibus, possessionibus, et iuribus ecclesiarum multiplex questio exhorta fuisset et diutius agitata, faciente domino qui aspera convertit in plana, per ministerium dilecti filii nostri I (ohannis) tituli sancte Praxedis presbyteri Cardinalis tunc apostolice sedis legati, amicabilis compositio intervenit, quam karissimus in Christo filius noster R (obertus) Imperator Constantinopolitamus illustris tam pro se quam suis fidelibus ultra Macram acceptavit postmodum et recepit. Cuius tenorem nobis exhibutum, nos et fratres nostri examinantes sicut expedire vidimus diligenter, compositionem eandem, pensato statu Imperii, satis rationabilem et honestam et tam clero quam populo utilem et necessariam, habuimus et habemus ratam et gratam, et ad vestram ac Imperatoris predicti et eius fidelium ultra Macram supplicationem humilem de fratrum nostrorum consilio auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presens scriptum patrocinio communimus. Et ad maiorem rei credentiam tenorem ipsius compositionis sicut in eiusdem Imperatoris litteris plenius continetur de verbo in verbum presentibus duximus inserendum. Qui talis est.

[Robertus Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo Imperator a Deo coronatus, Romanie moderator, et semper Augustus, Omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis, Salutem et Imperialis gratie celsitudinum. Noverit universitas vestra hanc esse pacem initam inter

* The portions of this letter already in print in Raynaldus' *Annales Ecclesiastici* are here enclosed within square brackets.

ecclesiam ex una parte, et bone memorie dominum Cononem tunc baiulum Imperii, et barones nostros citra Macram ex alia, in praesentia venerabilis patris et domini I (ohannis) tituli Sancte Praxedis presbyteri Cardinalis Apostolicae Sedis Legati.

Clerici, et ecclesie universe, et religose persone, tam Latinorum quam Grecorum cum familiis suis et servientibus, et qui ad ecclesiam confugerint, claustra ecclesiarum et manentes in ipsis, liberi erunt ab omni laicali iurisdictione, ita tamen quod non prohibeat, quin laici manentes in claustris regie civitatis, alii scilicet a servientibus et familiis clericorum et religiosorum et hominibus ecclesiae, in talliis et excubiis que fuerint pro communi utilitate terrae ponant sicut alii, et hoc fiat cum conscientia domini patriarche vel capituli Sancte Sophie et aliorum prelatorum in eadem urbe regia positorum; nec etiam impediatur a clericis in talibus judicium, quod inducit penam sanguinis a laicis exerceri, ubi videlicet membrum, vel vitam debet amittere, nisi et tales ad ecclesiam confugerint.]

In casali ubi sunt viginti quinque ignes vel ultra usque ad septuaginta, duo erunt papates omnino liberi cum familiis et servientibus suis in potestate prelatorum, redentes antiquum acrosticum dominis terrarum siquod debebant tempore Alexii Imperatoris pro terris quas tenebant a dominis siquas nunc tenent; et si ultra septuaginta usque ad centum viginti quinque ignes, quattuor erunt papates liberi, sicut superius dictum de duobus, et si ultra, erunt sex, et ita deinceps. Si vero in aliquo casali non sunt viginti quinque ignes, adiungatur de aliis vicinioribus casalibus ita quod compleatur numerus viginti quinque, in quibus erunt duo papates liberi sicut superius est expressum. Reliqui vero rurales papates dabunt illud quod impositum est per imperatores latinos et erunt liberi ipsi cum familiis suis ab omnibus angariis, perangariis, exactiōibus, et talliis, et ab omni laicali iurisdictione. Papates vero seu clerici cathedralium ecclesiarum qui clericatum habebant, erunt omnino liberi cum familiis et servientibus suis, solventes antiquum acrosticum siquod debebant tempore Alexii Imperatoris pro terris siquas tenebant et tenent a dominis terrarum. De reliquis vero papatibus civitatum fiat sicut de papatibus ruralibus est ordinatum, et de cetero non ordinentur papates de hominibus laicorum contra voluntatem ipsorum ultra numerum pretaxatum.

Omnis abbatie sive ecclesie stantes et non extantes, que sunt ultra fluvium regium cuiuscumque fuerit vel fuit, que non habuerant tempore Grecorum ultra centum iperperatas terre, habeant libere et integre omnes possessiones suas sine acrostico, omni servitio, omni exactione, et laicali iurisdictione, ac sint in potestate prelatorum. Ille vero que habuerant plusquam centum yperperatas habeant quicquid habuerunt tempore latinorum; et si non habent centum yperperatas extra claustrum ad bonam assisiam imperatoris, addatur usque ad cunctum yperperatas et habeant libere sicut superius dictum est. Siqui tenuerunt vel tenent abbatias vel bona ipsarum preter assignationem Imperatorum Balduini et Henrici, dimittant prelati omnino libere, et si in illis quas per Imperatores predictos tenuerunt aliquid imposuerunt preter Imperatorum assignationem, cadat quod super impositum est. Ille vero que sunt citra fluvium regium habebunt omnes possessiones sicut per predictos Imperatores ordinatum est, et laici nihil amplius recipient in eis nisi quantum impositum fuit per Imperatores iamdictos, et erunt in potestate prelatorum. Et si prelati abbatias vel ecclesias in quibus laici habent acrosticum vellent indebitate gravare eas, laici opponant se honeste deponendo querelam apud Prelatos superiores.

[Omnis ecclesie cathedrales habeant omnes possessiones suas, quas habuerunt tempore Alexii Bambacoratii Imperatoris libere ab omni exactione et laicali iurisdictione, salvo tamen debito et iusto acrostico si quod debent pro possessionibus ipsis. Preterea possessiones ecclesiarum habite et habende et manentes in ipsis possessioni-

bus sint libere, ita quod ecclesia non recipiat homines Imperii, nec Imperium homines ecclesie, et si recipientur hinc inde, salva sit justitia utriusque, sicut inter barones Imperii nunc servatur.]

Pro possessionibus ecclesiarum infra menia et illarum que sunt extra non habentes ex integro possessiones suas, et pro dampnis datis omnibus ecclesiis tam cathedralibus quam aliis intus et extra, et omnibus fructibus tam in decimis quam in redditibus et aliis perceptis, cum non possimus ex integre satisfacere, et possessiones ecclesiarum aliquae sunt ita distribute quod non possent redire ad ecclesias quin Imperium deperiret, facimus quod possimus, dantes in acquisitis et acquirendis undecimam partem omnium possessionum sive ecclesiasticarum sive non, que sunt in parte Imperii citra Macram, et omnium bonorum immobilium civitatum, casalium, camporum, nemorum, silvarum, pratorum, pomeriorum, hortorum, salinarum, passagiorum, theoloneorum terre et maris, pisciarum in mari et aqua dulci et omnium possessionum, etsi in presenti scripto non repperiantur in solidum declarate. Et preter hanc undecimam dabimus duo millia yperperatas terre bene assisas, er pro casalibus monete quod non possunt dividi in undecimam sine destructione monete, assignabimus mille yperpera in casalibus monete singulis annis donec in prima acquisitione assignetur ecclesiis valens undecimam casalium monete. De illis autem que infra muros civitatis regie tenemus, undecimam non dabimus; tamen si clericis et ecclesiis aliqua molestia est illata super illis que habuerunt post terre captionem, nos eis bona huiusmodi faciemus restituи, et ecclesia faciet inde iustitiam.

[Miles quicumque habet trecentas yperperatas terre ad assisiam Imperatoris per se dividet et dabit undecimam, et partem duorum millium yperperorum, videlicet pro centum yperperis unum et dimidium. Minora vero feuda dividantur cum feudis dominorum propinquorum. Latini vero integre dabunt decimas in aridis, liquidis, pecoribus, avibus, et eorum fructibus; alii vero qui sunt in jurisdictione Latinorum dabunt tricesimam pro decimis, sicut Latin decimas usque ad decem annos; et exinde dabunt integre decimas, nisi per ecclesiam Romanam remittatur eisdem, seu terminus prorogetur. Has et omnes alias ecclesiasticas libertates, etsi in presenti scripto non repperiantur in solidum declarate volumus ecclesias habere secundum liberaliorem consuetudinem Francie.

Facta fuit hec pax Constantinopoli dominica qua cantatur Gaudete, anno domini millesimo ducentesimo decimonono. Nos quoque prescriptam pacem a baronibus et fidelibus nostris factam et juratam per omnia ratam habemus et eam de dictorum baronum et fidelium nostrorum consilio et assensu recepimus quam approbatam a cunctis baronibus et aliis nostris fidelibus, tam pro nobis quam pro ipsis servare ac completere juravimus. In huius autem rei testimonium presens scriptum bulla nostra imperiali ac nostrorum baronum bullis fecimus roborari. Actum mense junii anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo vigesimo primo, Imperii nostri anno primo. Ceterum venerabiles patres archiepiscopi et episcopi, eorum capitula, et subditi citra Macram que prescriptam pacem cum nostris baronibus inierunt, nec non reverendus pater M. (athaeus) patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, qui compositioni facte pacis non interfuit, sed postmodum ad suum patriarchatum veniens antedictam pacem recepit, huic scripto pro maiori firmitate pacis predicte sua apposuerunt sigilla. Hanc quoque compositionem nobilis vir G. marchio Bondonitie bajulus regni Thessalonicensis pro Rege ac regno Thessalonicensi recipiens et acceptans seipsum completurum et servaturum juravit.]

Tunc frater patriarcha et procuratorum capituli Constantinopolitani et venerabiles fratres nostri Archiepiscopus Thessalonicensis et syndici universitatis prelatorum et

cleri ac religiosorum partis Francorum Constantinopolitane accedente consensu quod niti volumus firmitate, inhibentes ne littere contra hec a sede apostolica impetrare seu etiam impetrande sint alicuius momenti, nisi plenam de hiis fecerint mentionem. Nulli ergo nostre confirmationis et inhibitionis infringere. Siquis autem, etc.

Datum Anagnie XVI kal. Aprilis, Anno sexto.

V

Pressutti 4123, Reg. Vat. XII, Book 7, letter 16, folio 4, September 28, 1222.

To the Emperor Robert:

Hiis que ad exaltationem imperii et honorem persone tue quam speciali prerogativa dilectionis et gratie amplexamur pertinere noscuntur libenter prout convenit intendentes sicut attemptandis in tuum vel imperii preiudicium ausibus occurrere obviando sic et attemptatis nos decet succerrere providendo. Sane cum bone memorie P (etrus) tituli Sancti Marcelli presbyter Cardinalis legationis officio fungens tunc in partibus Romanie trigintaduas preposituras in civitate regia provide ordinasset quarum presentationem Imperatores Constantinopolis qui prefuerunt pro tempore habuerunt; postmodum bone memorie B (enedictus) tituli Sancte Susanne presbyter Cardinalis in eisdem partibus fungens legationis officium [sic], aliena sicut creditur astutia circumventus, ad septenarium numerum preter Imperatoris Constantinopolis convenientiam preposituras redegit easdem, ea occasione precipue quia nimis videbantur pauperes et exiles; idque fuit apostolicis litteris roboratum in imperii preiudicium manifestum. Felicis vero memorie Innocentius papa predecessor noster post hec provide statuit ut prelati ecclesiarum conventionalium inter urbem vocem haberent in patriarcharum electionibus celebrandis, et suum statutum auctoritate apostolica confirmavit. Unde nobis fecisti humiliter supplicari ut, cum dilectus filius noster I (ohannis) tituli Sancte Praxedis presbyter Cardinalis, tunc in eisdem partibus apostolice sedis legatus, fere omnes trigintaduas illas ecclesias in quibus prepositure fuerant ordinate suo studio et diligentia reformarit quia easdem congruis facultatibus stabilivit, tibi tuisque successoribus nullatenus subtraheretur presentatio earundem. Nos itaque tuis precibus annuentes, et eiusdem Iohannis tituli Sancte Praxedis presbyteris Cardinalis super hoc viva voce sufficienter instructi, eo nequaquam obstante quod per supradictum B (enedictum) tituli Sancte Sussanne presbyterum Cardinalem actum constitit, presentandi ius in predictis trigintaduabus preposituris sicut illud predecessores tui habuisse noscuntur auctoritate tibi apostolica confirmamus et presens scriptum patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo et cetera nostre confirmationis. Siquis autem et cetera.

Datum Laterani iii kal. Octubris.

VI

Pressutti 4302, Reg. Vat. XII, Book 7, letter 175, folio 51, April 11, 1223.

To the Patriarch and to the treasurer and Alexander our subdeacon, canons of Constantinople:

Cum Potestas et alii Veneti tam in civitate regia quam in aliis partibus Romanie a Constantinopoli usque Macram morantes multotiens a dilecto filio nostro I (ohanni) tituli Sante Praxedis presbytero Cardinali tunc apostolici sedis legato fuissent moniti diligenter ut pacem quam inter ecclesiam ex una parte et Baiulum et Barones Imperii coram Cardinali eodem initam et firmatam in ecclesia Sancti Georgii reciperent et

servarent, vel iura ecclesiastica que diu detinuerant restituerent, quia ipsi eiusdem Cardinalis monitis inauditis id efficere non curarunt, idem Cardinalis ne causam ecclesie in anime sue dispendium negligere videretur, de communi prelatorum et subditorum consilio, in eos excommunicationis et in terram eorum interdicti sententias promulgavit. Qui sequentes motum animi potius quam iudicium rationis, predictam sententiam diu contumaciter pertulerunt, et licet propter hoc ad nos alia vice proprios nuntios destinarent, quia tamen non erant parati congrue satisfacere et non meruerunt absolutionis beneficium reportare. Nuper autem dilectus filius nobilis vir P (etrus) Dux Venetorum dilectos filios L (udovicum) plebanum Sancti Pauli et Jacopum Teuplum ad nostram presentiam destinans, nobis per eos et litteras suas humiliter supplicavit ut cum excommunicati predicti parati sint nostris mandatis precise parere, faceremus eis beneficium absolutionis impendi, et relaxari sententiam interdicti. Licet igitur pro contumacia eorundem possemus severius procedere contra eos, quia tamen ecclesia non solet ad se redeuntibus claudere gremium pietatis et nos praviores ad veniam quam ad vindictam cupimus inveniri, predicti Ducis precibus duximus annuendum. Quocirca discretioni vestri per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus ab excommunicatis predictis iuratoria cautione recepta quod mandatis nostris precisely parebunt, vos eis absolutionis beneficium impendatis, et relaxetis sententiam interdicti, iniungentes eisdem ut pacem superius denotatam recipient, et infra octo menses compleentes eandem, eam studeant in omnibus inviolabiliter observare. Salvo moderamine siquid per nostras litteras apparebit. Mandamus quoque ut ille qui nunc est potestas Venetorum vel qui infra iamdictum tempus substituetur eidem iuret quod pacem servabit et faciet a suis subditis observari, et Veneti habentes possessiones et bona immobilia in urbe regia et aliis Romanie partibus a Constantinopoli usque Macram qui inobedientes fuerunt, firment etiam iuramento quod pacem ipsam compleant et obseruent, que siquid absit prout dictum est neglexerint adimplere, ipsos in easdem sententias sub cuiuslibet contradictione et apostolica obligatione reducatis. Precipimus autem ut super hiis ita vos fideles et prudentes exhibere curetis quod nil de contingentibus omittatis, sicut nostram gratiam promereret et indignationem cupitis evitare. Quod si non omnibus et duo vestrum et cetera.

Datum Laterani in Idibus Aprilis, Pontificis nostri anno Septimo.

VII

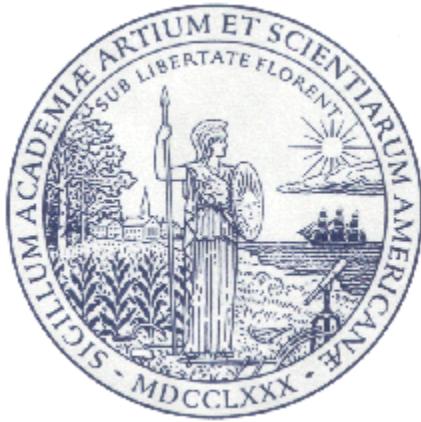
Pressutti 4541, Reg. Vat. XII, Book 8, letter 72, folio 113, October 24, 1223.

To the Archbishop of Heracleia and the Bishops of Madyta and Selymbria:

Ex parte universitatis cleri Constantinopolitani de parte francorum fuit propositum coram nobis quod compositione, mediante dilecto filio nostro I (ohanni) tituli Sancte Praxedis presbytero Cardinali tunc apostolice sedis legato, inita inter ecclesias et barones de resignanda ecclesiis possessionum acquisitarum ultra Machram in parte francorum undecima portione, idem Cardinalis, nondum ipsa undecima a laicis assignata, ad multam instantiam dilectorum filiorum Capituli Constantinopolitani, nomine quarte quam ex ipsa undecima ecclesie Constantinopolitane assignandam decreverat, assignavit in certis locis undecimam prout dictum est a laicis assignandam quam quibusdam Constantinopolitanis canonicis dividendam commisit. Et licet assignatione huiusmodi venerabilis frater noster — Patriarcha et predictum capitulum Constantinopolitanum vocaverint se contentos, idem tamen Cardinalis de gratia quedam dicta undecima in aliis locis dictis Patriarche et capitulo assignavit, ac postmodum

Patriarche predicto Constantinopolim venienti, eximi liberalitate de ipsa quiddam assignavit undecima que adhuc non extiterat assignata, residuo toto ipsius undecime eidem universitati dimisso. Set sepediti Patriarcha et capitulum quamquam ex hiis que assignaverat Cardinalis predictus pro ecclesia sua de assignata et assignanda undecima in acquisitis ultra Machram in parte francorum vocaverint se contentos, nichilominus tamen universitatem ipsam super residuo ipsius undecime molestare presumunt. Cum igitur Cardinalis predictus asseveret constantem et in litteris eorundem patriarche et capituli dicatur etiam contineri, quod sepefati Patriarcha et Capitulum vocaverint se contentos hiis que idem Cardinalis eisdem quarte nomine assignavit, ipsis nostris damus litteris in mandatis, ut eisdem contenti non presument decetero universitati predicte super eodem residuo inferre molestiam et gravamen. Ideoque fraternitati vestrae de utriusque partis procuratorum assensu per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus si sepediti Patriarcha et Capitulum presumpserint contraire vos monitione premissa sub apostolica obligatione a molestatione huiusmodi distinctione qua convenit mediante iustitia compescatis, non obstante constitutione concilii generalis qua cavitur ne quis ultra duas dietas extra suam dioecesis per litteras apostolicas ad iudicium trahi possit. Nullis litteris obstantibus preter assensum partium a sede apostolica impetratis. Quod si non omnes etc.

Datum ut supra.



The Three Romes: The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat

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The Three Romes: The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

I

IN RECENT YEARS the Western world has given increasing attention¹ to the ideas expressed in a passage taken from a letter written by an early sixteenth-century Russian churchman, Philotheus (or Filofey) of Pskov, to Tsar Vassily III (reigned 1505-1534). An approximate translation reads thus:

The church of the Old Rome fell because of the Apollinarian heresy; the gates of the church of the Second Rome, Constantinople, have been hewn down by the axes of the infidel Turks; but the present church of the Third, New Rome, of thy sovereign Empire . . . shines in the universe more resplendent than the sun. . . . All the empires of the Orthodox Christian Faith have come together in thy single Empire. Thou are the sole Emperor of all the Christians in the whole universe. . . . For two Romes have fallen, but the Third stands, and a Fourth shall never be.²

Arnold Toynbee uses this passage in his essay, "Russia's Byzantine Heritage," to illustrate and demonstrate the persistence in Russia of two features that he singles out as characteristic of the Byzantine empire: a conviction of complete rightness in controversy, and a messianic sense of manifest destiny.³ Some have embraced and embroidered the thesis, and others have challenged and ridiculed it. Those who would like a single simple explanation of the difficulties between the West and the U.S.S.R. have perhaps seized on it too eagerly. Those who are skeptical as to the importance of ideology, who doubt the continuity of ideology over the watershed of the Russian Revolution, or who are concerned with defending *Russia* as such and with attributing to communism alone the problems that face us, have perhaps dismissed it too swiftly. Whether attacked or defended, however, the idea has caught on and penetrated, usually

without much preliminary reflection, into the consciousness of many Americans. Thus, Wallace Stevens wrote in 1947:*

Say this to Pravda, tell the damned rag
That the peaches are slowly ripening,
Say that the American moon comes up
Cleansed clean of lousy Byzantium.

The following remarks are intended as a gloss on the passage from Philotheus of Pskov. What is its ideology? Whence derived? And what has been the relationship of that ideology to Russian political behavior? In trying to answer the last question, I have assumed that men often adopt an ideology in order to justify some course of action already undertaken or planned, and that thereafter the political practitioner may become the victim of his own ideology. If it has been generally accepted, or expanded, or popularized, it may seize hold of him and force him to act in a way no longer advisable for other reasons. For example, Mussolini's ideology of *Mare Nostrum*, of a revived Roman empire in the Mediterranean, served in the beginning as a nationalist spur to rebuild seaports, to create a merchant fleet and a navy; and it caused him to embark on the African and Albanian adventures—all projects he had long contemplated. But after the Fascists had spread through all available channels the idea that they were "Romans," they had to act as they themselves had insisted Romans must act: they had to move toward Mediterranean revisionism (Corsica, Nice, Tunisia, Savoy) and toward Hitler, and away from the Western democracies and the preservation of the status quo, where their interests actually lay. Political theory and political action are difficult to disentangle; but surely, if practice initially gives birth to theory, then theory in turn may eventually dictate practice.

We may immediately identify the passage from Philotheus as another example of the mystic and somehow satisfying pronouncements about the third member of a series: the churches of Rome, Constantinople, and Moscow. The churches of two of these have fallen, but that of the third stands fast: there can be no fourth. It was perhaps Joachim of Fiore (1145-1202), a Calabrian monk, who was most responsible for popularizing this way of thinking in triads. His third age of the universe, the age of the third member of the Trinity,

* Reprinted from "Memorandum" (*Opus Posthumous*, p. 89) by Wallace Stevens by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Copyright, 1957, by Elsie Stevens and Holly Stevens.

would find its revelation in a third Testament, as the first two ages had been respectively that of the Father and the Old Testament, and that of the Son and the New. Recent students of the astonishing impact of Joachite influence on the European mind have instanced, as late reappearances of the same fantasy, the Comteian idea of history as moving successively through theological, metaphysical, and scientific phases; the Hegelian process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; the Marxian dialectic of primitive communism, class society, and final communism, in which the state will wither away; and even Hitler's Third Reich, whose title was invented by the nationalist Moeller van den Bruck as early as 1923, but was taken over by the Nazis because they sensed that it retained the age-old emotional impact of the third and final member of a triad.⁴ One need not for a moment argue that Philotheus of Pskov had read Joachim of Fiore, but only that he did not have to do so: the Joachite concept was in the air, and the church of the Third Rome repeats the fantasy.

For the ideology of the first Rome, ruler of the world, center of the universal power, destined to last until the end of time, we need only turn to Virgil (*His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono / Imperium sine fine dedi . . .*—*Aeneid I*, 278-279); and to appreciate the extraordinary vigor of the tradition, we turn to one of the last of the pagan poets, Rutilius Namatianus, who echoes Virgil even in the fifth century A.D., when the entire structure of Roman society was in fact crumbling before the barbarians. In Virgil's day the transformation that turned the elected Roman chief magistrate into a deified monarch on the Hellenistic pattern had taken place. By the fifth century, the disappearance of the emperor from Rome left a vacuum the Popes would eventually fill by expressing the old ideas of primacy and eternity on their own behalf.

Meanwhile, Constantine's transfer of the seat of empire to Byzantium and his own conversion to Christianity naturally led to a transfer and a modification of the ideology. Constantine intended Constantinople to be a second Rome. There he founded a new senate, transplanting many ancient aristocratic Roman families, placing *Urbs Roma, Populus Romanus*, and the she-wolf on his coinage along with Constantinople's goddess of fortune, even seeking to find in the new capital the ancient topographic features of the old—the seven hills, the fourteen regions. As early as 381 A.D., the Second Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople, declared that the Bishop of Constantinople ranked second only to the Bishop of Rome,

"because Constantinople is new Rome." This was reaffirmed in 451 at the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon, which simultaneously extended the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople, though this was specifically challenged by Pope Leo I, who strongly objected. Even St. Augustine agreed, however, that "God permitted Constantine to found another city like a daughter of Rome herself." Byzantine writers regularly called their city "New Rome." Though they were Greeks writing in Greek, they always referred to themselves as "Romans" (*Rhomaioi*), never as "Hellenes," which had come to mean "pagans." Constantinople had become the capital of a state that regarded itself as ecumenical, or universal, embracing the whole inhabited world. Again and again throughout the centuries the writers of Constantinople claimed that the city was stronger and more vigorous than the old Rome. The court poet writing the epithalamium for the wedding of Manuel I (1143-1180) to the princess of the Holy Roman Empire, Bertha of Sulzbach, says:

If Old Rome supplied the bride, you [i.e., Byzantium or New Rome] supplied the bridegroom, and since "the head of the woman is the man" [1 Cor. 11, 3] so are you too the head, and the Old Rome only a limb of yours.

And from the West the *versus Romae* lament: "Flourishing Constantinople is called New Rome; Old Rome, they art falling, both walls and ways of life [*moribus et muris*]."⁵

After Constantine, the emperor is of course no longer God, but he is the earthly reflection of the single God in heaven, divinely ordained, and as time passes he is bound by a code of etiquette so complicated and rigid that every waking moment is governed by its particular protocol. Fountainhead of law and justice, master of his subjects, who are called by a term that literally means slaves, he needs to consult with no one, but resides in a sacred palace, set apart. Equal to the Apostles, he presides over the councils of the Church and gives the force of law to the decisions of the ecclesiastics. Sometimes he even pronounces on matters of dogma *without consulting* the opinion of the bishops. When he does so, he may fairly be called Caesaro-papist, since he is literally acting both as Caesar and as Pope. But even when he takes council with the bishops, his Church remains a department of state. Seldom in the long course of Byzantine history is an emperor successfully challenged by a patriarch, and very seldom do we find the proposition that in the

West becomes a commonplace of papal theory: that the wielder of the spiritual power, the patriarch, should be regarded as equal to the emperor, a claim that logically leads directly to an assertion of superiority. (The idea did appear in the ninth-century law book called the *Epanagoge*, in a passage probably written by the Patriarch Photius, but it had little impact on Byzantine thinking or action.⁶)

It is true that in practice the emperor often fails to force through policies that might offend the religious susceptibilities of the people of Constantinople; it is true that when he disobeys the divine laws the people have the sanction of revolution; it is true that the throne eventually becomes the prize in a struggle between the landed aristocrats and the imperial bureaucracy; and true that in the period just before the successful overturn of the empire by the Crusaders in 1204, the power of the central government has weakened, local anarchy prevails, and hated Western influences are penetrating everywhere. But these developments take place in the harsh world of actuality: the Byzantine theory of the state does not alter, and its ecumenical claims are put forward with the same calm assurance during the two centuries after the Greeks have recaptured their capital in 1261 and while their empire is in fact little more than another Balkan state.

It is little wonder, perhaps, that in the period of Byzantine greatness the image of the Byzantine state should have exerted a compelling attraction on all the barbarian peoples; it is startling that the image lost little of its power even after the reality had faded, and that Bulgarians, Serbs, and Russians were held as spellbound by it in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as they and others had been five hundred years earlier.

Between the Second Rome and the First the sources of disagreement were many. In their desperate efforts to solve the theological controversies of the first Christian centuries—controversies in which expressions of views contrary to those put forward in Constantinople thinly veiled the national hatred of the restless Egyptians or Syrians for their Greek rulers—the Byzantine emperors often encountered grave opposition from the Popes, who did not understand (or, in some cases, want to understand) the imperial political problems in the East. So the schism over Zeno's efforts to appease the Monophysites in the last quarter of the fifth century was followed by the troubles over Justinian's attempt to legislate on dogma in the middle of the sixth century, and by renewed hostility over Heraclius' last

efforts before the Arab conquests in the seventh century. And when the image-breakers put their candidates on the throne in the eighth century, and the Popes opposed their views, the emperors subtracted southern Italy and Illyricum, with their rich revenues, from papal jurisdiction, and gave the quarrel between the First Rome and the Second real political and economic content.

To these issues was added, in time, the growing discovery, easily exploited for purposes of propaganda, that different practices had grown up in the Eastern and Western churches. So in the ninth century for the first time it became a burning issue that the Latin church of the West had "added" to the creed the word *filioque*, "and from the Son," with reference to the procession of the Holy Ghost, who in the Greek church proceeds from the Father only. These issues, some major, some minor, multiplied until in 1054 one of the periodic controversies over them culminated in a break that proved permanent. Among the issues was that of the azymes: the West used unleavened bread for the communion wafer, the East leavened bread. The Greeks argued that the yeast in the leaven of their communion bread symbolized the human nature that the Word of God had assumed when taking flesh. To use unleavened bread was to deny the human nature of Christ. This was the heresy of Apollinaris of Laodicea, and the Roman church was guilty of it. And this is what Philotheus meant when he said that the church of the Old Rome "fell because of the Apollinarian heresy." Actually, of course, the church of Old Rome had not fallen, nor has it fallen yet; but it was convenient for Philotheus' argument to assert that it had.

II

At the end of the tenth century, the Prince of Kiev, Vladimir, accepted Christianity from Byzantium. The Kievan princes were members of a group of Scandinavian origin, ruling over a Slavic population. They shared with the Germans the tradition of the war-band, Tacitus' old *comitatus*, the *Gefolge*—in Russian, *druzhina*. The members of the war-band had the traditional right to be consulted on major questions, and they also enjoyed the celebrated right of departure to serve some other prince whenever they were sufficiently discontented. Nothing could be more unlike the pattern of Byzantine autocracy. Despite the important cultural influences that entered Russia with Christianity and imbued the new church

with Byzantine traditions, Kiev did not borrow extensively from the Byzantine imperial ideology; indeed, its dynastic ties were largely Western. Only toward the very end of the Kievan state, in the last quarter of the twelfth century, do we find in literature the first traces of this borrowing: one of the Russian chronicle texts takes over a passage about the good prince from a rather pedestrian and conventional sixth-century Byzantine work by Agapetus on the proper character of a ruler.⁷

So it is not until a much later period, after the collapse of the Kievan state, under pressure from outside forces and as the result of internal fragmentation, and after the long years of Tatar domination, during which much of Russia was largely cut off from Western influences, that we find emerging in the princes of Moscow the dynasty to which both the political theory of the heritage of Rome and the political practice of the Byzantine autocrat would make their appeal. First as agents of the Tatar khan, the princes of Moscow profited by the connection to assess Tatar weaknesses; then they emerged as national champions against the Tatars: a grasping, able line of princes who established the principle of primogeniture, expanded their territorial holdings, and consolidated their power.

Watching this process, the Russian church singled out the princes of Moscow as its most promising allies. In 1326 the Metropolitan chose Moscow as his official residence, and advised the Prince that if he would build a church of the Virgin and bury him in that church, the city would become celebrated above all other Russian cities, and that its resident bishops would help him defeat his enemies. A few years later, in 1339, the scribe of a manuscript of the Gospels was already comparing the prince of Moscow to the Byzantine emperors Constantine, Justinian, and Manuel Comnenus: the Russian church was beginning to seek in the only tradition it knew, that of Byzantium, for precedents to make great the prince whom it had decided to support and on whom its own future depended. More and more the complexion of the church itself was becoming Russian; after the Tatar invasions the metropolitan was more and more frequently a native Russian; direct communication with Byzantium had ceased to be easy, for during the fourteenth century the Byzantines themselves were beset by the Turks.

In 1393 we find the Patriarch of Constantinople himself complaining to the Prince of Moscow that the Russians pay insufficient honor to the Byzantine Emperor:

Once more with grief I have heard that your highness has said certain things about the Emperor in derogation. . . . That is bad. The Emperor is not like local and provincial rulers and sovereigns. The Emperors convoked the ecumenical councils; by their own laws they sanctioned what the divine canons said about the correct dogmas and the ordering of the Christian life; they determined by their decrees the order of the episcopal sees and set up their boundaries. The church ordained the Emperor, anointed him, and consecrated him Emperor and Autocrat of all the Romans, that is, of all Christians. My most exalted and holy autocrat is by the grace of God the eternal and orthodox defender and avenger of the church. It is not possible for Christians to have a church and not to have an Emperor.⁸

This lesson in Byzantine political theory did not inspire the Russians to render fuller obedience to distant Constantinople, itself now nearly powerless. But the lesson was not lost: the ambitious Muscovite church and state were learning what it was to be absolute.

So long as the Byzantine Empire lasted, the Second Rome was in being, and Moscow could hardly claim to have superseded it. Two crucial events of the fifteenth century, however, made possible the development of the complete ideology. At the Council of Ferrara-Florence, in 1439, the representatives of the Byzantine Empire, now under intolerable pressure from the Turks, agreed to a new union with Rome, officially ending the schism. They did this, of course, with the utmost reluctance, in the hope of obtaining from the West sufficient help against the enemy. As in the case of the other official attempts at reunion with the Roman church, Byzantine public opinion repudiated it. Although the Russian representative at the council, the Greek Isidore of Kiev, accepted the union, he was repudiated too. In 1441 Tsar Vassily II ousted him, declaring that the old faith had been altered by the agreement with Rome, and that the dreadful teachings of the *filioque* and the unleavened bread must not be allowed to corrupt the faith.⁹ The ouster of Isidore virtually put the Russian church and empire out of communion with Constantinople, which now stood charged with dealing with schismatics. Only a dozen years later, in 1453, came the vengeance of the Lord some Russians had been predicting: the Turks took Constantinople and put an end to the Byzantine Empire. The Second Rome had disappeared: the gates had been hewn down by the infidel Turks, the Byzantines had been punished for their agreement with Rome. It was also clear who must be their successors.

In Russia, as everywhere else in the Christian world, the fall of

Constantinople made a deep impression. A certain Nestor, a Russian who had been converted to Islam and was actually present in the Turkish armies outside the city, reported that during the siege he had seen a great flame burst from the dome of Saint Sophia and rise up into the air: this was proof that the grace of God had abandoned Byzantium. Fables figuring the eventual victory of Christianity over Islam circulated widely, despite the temporary triumph of the Muslims; prophecies were rife, and one effort to interpret obscure passages in Ezekiel even led to a prediction that it was the Russians who were destined to rescue Constantinople in the end, after 365 years of bondage.¹⁰ Though these ideas may not have had much practical effect at the time (there was no thought, for example, of a Russian attack on the formidable Ottoman Turks), the Russian church at least as early as 1461 echoed the old Byzantine political theory of the emperor in its description of Vassily II as

the man chosen by God, beloved by God, respected by God, enlightened by God, and sent by God, who governs you in the righteous ways of laws appointed by God, that divinely wise student of the holy law, only supporter of the true Orthodoxy, invested by God and ruling in his greatness, Vassily, crowned by God in his orthodoxy, Tsar of all Rus.¹¹

Ivan III, son of this Vassily, in 1472 married Sophia (or Zoë) Palaeologina, niece of the last Byzantine emperor—a marriage curiously enough sponsored in the first instance by the Pope, who hoped that Sophia, as the representative of the recently concluded union between the Greek and Latin churches, would bring Russia over to Rome. When Sophia set out for Russia, the Pope gave her a splendid retinue headed by a papal legate, who wore a scarlet robe, had a crucifix carried before him in the Roman manner, and did not venerate the icons. As the procession approached Moscow, the news spread that a schismatic churchman was about to arrive. An assembly of Russian nobles was held to debate whether to receive him; the deciding argument was provided by the Metropolitan of Moscow:

Such honors [he said to Ivan III] may not be rendered to a legate of the Pope. If he comes in one gate of your city of Moscow preceded by his cross, I, your spiritual father, will leave by another.¹²

Messengers set out at once, and forced the legate to abandon his cross, Sophia herself intervening against him. Here the homeless

daughter of the conquered Second Rome, sponsored by the splendid Renaissance prince who was Pope of the First Rome, symbolically repudiated him and accepted the Orthodox and Byzantine principles of the nascent and still unavowed Third Rome—then little more than a collection of log huts huddled together in the boundless plain, lacking the characteristic towers and domes with which she and her husband and the Italian architects they imported would soon begin to embellish it.

Among the Byzantine sources, one most suggestive phrasing of the feeling of superiority of the Second Rome over the First is to be found in a twelfth-century verse chronicler, Constantine Manasses, writing, like all ancient chroniclers, a complete history of the world since creation. When he comes to the sack of Rome by the Vandals in 455, some 700 years before his own day, he describes its horrors and then remarks:

This is what happened to Old Rome. Ours, however [i.e., Constantinople], flourishes, thrives, is strong and young. May it continue to grow eternally, O Lord of all, since it has so great an Emperor, whose light shines far abroad, victor in a thousand battles, Manuel, the golden glowing scarlet rose, with whose brilliance a thousand suns cannot compare.

Two centuries after it was written, the chronicle of Manasses was one of those Byzantine books translated into Slavonic in neighboring Bulgaria, at a time when Byzantium was weakening and Bulgaria was enjoying a revival. When the translator reached the passage about the sack of Rome, he yielded to the obvious temptation. The Vandal sack, he said, happened to Old Rome, but then he attributed to the Bulgarian capital, Tirnovo, and the Bulgarian Tsar, Asen Alexander, all the glory that Manasses had reserved for Constantinople and the Emperor Manuel:

This happened to Old Rome, but our new imperial city flourishes, thrives, is strong and young. It will remain so to the end of time because it is under the dominion of the high Tsar of the Bulgarians, the generous, the noble, the friend of the monk, the great Tsar, Asen Alexander, whose lordship cannot be outshone by numberless suns.

In one of the manuscripts there is even a portrait of Asen Alexander dressed in full Byzantine imperial regalia, receiving a crown from an angel. Before Bulgaria fell to the Turks in the late fourteenth century, the Manasses chronicle, as well as other literary monuments, had been transmitted direct to Russia in a new wave of that South

Slavic cultural influence to which Muscovite culture and ideology owed so much. By 1512, we have it in a version in which the native Russian scribe has yielded to the temptation that beset his Bulgarian predecessor, and has ascribed to Moscow and to Ivan III the role claimed for the Byzantines by Manasses. The elements needed for the ideology expressed by Philotheus of Pskov are now all present: the political theory of the Third Rome is complete.¹³ In fact, he may himself have written the words of the Russian version.

In the years after Philotheus, of course, the doctrine received a variety of elaborations and adornments, refinements and additions. Philotheus himself once represented the church as the woman of *Revelations* 12: 1, "clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet and upon her head a crown of twelve stars." She had fled from Old Rome because of the heresy of the unleavened bread, but had found no peace in New Rome because its church had united with the Latins. "But then she fled to the Third Rome, that is Moscow in new great Russia. Now she shines, the holy apostolic church, more brightly than the sun in the whole world and the great and pious Russian Tsar alone protects her."¹⁴ In one of the cycles of popular stories, there appear the insignia of empire, originally belonging to Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon himself, and transferred in a carnelian (or sardonyx) box to Byzantium, and thence by Vladimir, ancestor of the tsars of Moscow, to Kiev. Here the storyteller pushes the roots of Muscovite imperial legitimacy back into the Old Testament period, in accordance with the deep and widespread interest of the Russians in the Old Testament. In the "Legend of the Princes of Vladimir," written down in the late fifteenth century, we find the Emperor Augustus sending his entirely legendary brother Prus to the banks of the Vistula to organize that part of the world; fourteen generations later the Russians invite Prus's direct descendant Rurik to come and rule over them; and of course the Muscovite tsars are directly descended from Rurik. Here, too, material regalia—a piece of the True Cross and the Byzantine imperial crown—enter the story, as presents sent to the tsar by the Byzantine emperor, who begs to be left in peace.

The "Legend" identifies the tsar receiving the insignia as Vladimir (972-1015), adding that after he received them he took the name Monomakh, after the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Monomachus. Of course, like the rest of the account, this is pure fable: Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) reigned several decades later than

Vladimir, who never took the name Monomakh; while the true Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125) reigned a half-century later still, and got his name from his Byzantine mother. Uneasy because of their own defiance of chronology, the Russian storytellers invented the additional feature that the regalia were not to be used until such time as God should send a worthy ruler to the Russians. Later still, they shifted the name of the Byzantine imperial donor to Alexius I (1081-1118), a true contemporary of Monomakh. In the sixteenth century, the Muscovite tsars began to be invested on their coronation with a short cap and jacket of Byzantine manufacture, which were declared to be the actual objects sent so many centuries earlier by Constantine Monomachus, and held in reserve until now. They were in fact used down to the coronation of Nicholas II in 1894, and were regarded as the living "proof" of the truth of the legends. Here then, in false genealogies of a kind first popularized by the South Slavs, who also claimed Augustus or Constantine the Great as ancestors of their rulers, and in regalia and myths about regalia, the church disseminated the fictions that helped establish the Tsar. On the one hand, the Prus legend is solemnly cited as historic fact in a treaty with the Poles; on the other, popular ballads proclaim about the tsar (in this case, Ivan the Terrible, 1534-1584): "I brought the regalia from Tsargrad [Constantinople]./ Put on the imperial purple,/ Took the mace of Empire in hand./ I shall drive the traitors out of Moscow."¹⁵ So the ideology penetrated into the popular consciousness at all levels of sophistication.

Nor did the church neglect itself. Simultaneously it went back to an old and spurious claim, originally invented by the Byzantines for the church of Constantinople, that the Apostle Andrew, the first-called, the elder brother of Peter, who had introduced Peter to Our Lord, had undertaken a mission to the Scythians. He had blessed the site where Kiev would rise, and had declared that this Russian land would in the far-distant future maintain the true faith. So the churchmen provided for their own institution a direct claim to apostolic foundation, and that by Peter's *elder* brother.¹⁶ What more could one ask for the center of orthodoxy, the only possessor of the truth in all the world?

III

It remains to suggest some of the ways in which the new ideology affected Russian political behavior. After Ivan III and Sophia had

been married in 1472, he used the title "tsar" (almost surely derived from "Caesar"), and adopted the Byzantine double-headed eagle as the symbol of the Russian monarchy. Though actually a fairly distant relative, Sophia called herself heiress to Byzantium, and signed an embroidery "Empress of Byzantium." Like the Byzantine emperors, Ivan was crowned with imperial splendor; he made his sons co-rulers during his lifetime; he began to use the title *samoderzhets*, the precise equivalent of the Byzantine *autokrator*, the man who rules by himself, the autocrat. The imperial couple built the Kremlin, the Muscovite version of the Byzantine sacred palace, the residence set apart, where the emperor lived. Ivan began to isolate himself and to make decisions without consulting his nobles. He began to deny them the right to depart and serve another master. He punished them for protesting against his autocratic behavior.

So under Ivan the older Kievan Scandinavian relationship between ruler and fellow warriors was replaced by the imperial pattern suitable to the supreme master of the Christian world. The nobles of course objected, and went on objecting. Indeed, one of the most frequently repeated themes in Russian political life, for three centuries after Ivan III, was the noble's claim that he had a right to be consulted. When one of the leading Russian boyars, Prince Kurbsky, fled in the 1560's, from Ivan IV (the Terrible), he claimed that he was exercising the ancient right of departure, and wrote polemical pamphlets demanding that the tsar consult his nobles as a matter of right. In his response, Ivan referred to all his subjects by the word that means slaves. He strengthened his ringing affirmation of absolutism on the Byzantine pattern by opening a reign of terror against the great nobles.

In 1606, when a certain Prince Shuysky, representative of the class of the great boyars, managed to become tsar briefly during the so-called "Time of Troubles," the oligarchy whom he represented extracted from him the promise to consult with them, and not to punish them arbitrarily. Even after Peter the Great (1689-1725) had to all appearances riveted the shackles of universal state service upon all the nobility, regardless of their origin, the boyars of ancient birth emerged again after his death. In 1730 they imposed on the new Empress Anne as a condition for her mounting the throne, a set of "articles" that revealed how little their program had changed: she promised to consult them—that is to say, a small council of great nobles—before taking any fundamental decisions. For a few

brief weeks, until Anne realized that the newer military-service gentry would support her against the boyars of ancient birth, she governed according to the "articles." Then she tore them up. When Catherine the Great called her legislative commission in 1766 and the representatives of the different classes had their opportunity to put forward their views on Russian life in general, Prince Shcherbatov—far from a reactionary, indeed later a great admirer of George Washington—advanced opinions and claims in no way different from those of Prince Kurbsky two centuries earlier. Despite the repeated blows dealt to the old boyars—by Ivan IV; by the Time of Troubles, in which they were discredited as the friends of Poland; by Peter the Great, who forced them to amalgamate as a class with the upstart service gentry; and by the foreign advisers of Peter's successors—the old Kievan tradition died extremely hard.

Despite boyar objections (and, of course, there was no parallel to this in Byzantium), the autocracy, new in the fifteenth century, was even then firmly established in Russia. We find Ivan III in 1489 writing to the Austrian emperor, whose subject, Poppel, had just discovered Russia, and who had injudiciously offered to give Ivan a royal crown:

By God's grace we have been lords in our land since the days of our earliest ancestors. God has elevated us to the same position which they held, and we beg him to grant us and our children our rulership in eternity as now. We have never wished for and do not wish for confirmation of this from any other source.¹⁷

When a German traveler, Herberstein, visited Moscow under Vassily III (1505-1534), Philotheus' Tsar, son of Ivan III, he comments:

In the power which he exercises over his subjects he easily outstrips the rulers of the whole world. He makes use of his authority in spiritual as well as temporal affairs; he freely and of his own will decides concerning the lives and property of everybody; of the councilors whom he has, none is of such authority that he dares to disagree or in any way to resist. They say publicly that the will of the prince is the will of God.¹⁸

Ivan the Terrible's arbitrary autocratic rule hardly needs comment. And despite the anguish of the autocracy and the nation during the Time of Troubles (1605-1613) and the appearance of a kind of national assembly, the *zemsky sobor*, which tided Russia over the dynastic break and elected a new dynasty in 1613, the autocracy as

such remained unchallenged. By the end of the seventeenth century, the *zemsky sobor* had disappeared.

In their relations with the church, the tsars outdid the Byzantine emperors. In 1589, when the Metropolitan of Moscow was made patriarch, the Patriarch of Constantinople himself performed the consecration, and spoke in the very words of Philotheus of Pskov:

Since the old Rome fell because of the Apollinarian heresy, and the Second Rome, which is Constantinople, is possessed by the godless Turks [the masters of the speaker himself], thy great Russian Tsardom, pious Tsar . . . is the Third Rome . . . and thou alone under heaven art called the Christian Tsar in the whole world for all Christians; and therefore this very act of establishing the Patriarchate will be accomplished according to God's will. . . .

Even the exceptions prove the rule. Twice in the seventeenth century the tsar granted the patriarch the title of "Great Sovereign," together with major political responsibilities. But the episodes came about almost by accident. In the first case, the patriarch actually was the tsar's own father, and had almost been elected to the throne some fifteen years before his son. In the second case, Tsar Alexis Romanov (1645-1676) admired and trusted his Patriarch Nikon. But Nikon had read the wrong Byzantine book, the *Epanagoge*, with its introduction by Photius, which led him to claim temporal as well as spiritual supremacy over the tsar, actually quoting Photius' own words written eight centuries earlier.

This sounded the unmistakable danger signal. Not only was Nikon deposed—thus proving dramatically that the power remained in the hands of the tsar—but Tsar Alexis Romanov's own son, Peter the Great, eventually (1721) went so far as to abolish the patriarchate as an institution, declaring that he did so in order that no second Nikon might ever arise to make such claims again:

For the common people [says Peter's decree] do not understand the difference between the spiritual power and that of the autocrat; but, dazzled by the splendor and glory of the highest pastor, they think he is a second sovereign of like power with the autocrat or even more, and that the spiritual post is another and better sovereignty. If then there should be any difference of opinion between the Patriarch and the Tsar, it might easily happen that the people, perhaps misled by designing persons, should take the part of the Patriarch in the mistaken belief that they were fighting for God's cause.¹⁹

For the patriarch, he substituted the “clerical college” or the Holy Synod, a committee of bishops that soon came under the direction of a lay procurator. Here the principle of Caesaro-papism triumphed as it had never done at Byzantium.

I am well aware that some scholars minimize the importance of Byzantine influence in helping to shape Muscovite absolutism, and point instead to the Tatar khanate, for so long the overlord of all northeast Russia, including Moscow, as supplying the model for autocracy. Nor would I exclude the importance of the Tatar precedents. Yet the weight of the evidence seems to me overwhelming that the church’s doctrine of the Third Rome and its popularization of Byzantine political theory, stimulated by the Byzantine marriage of Ivan III, gave the princes of Moscow precisely the ideological assistance they needed in transforming themselves into autocrats. Indeed, much of Moscow’s success in overcoming the Tatars depended precisely upon the fact that the Muscovite princes could put themselves forward as the champions of Christianity and of Russia. If it was indeed the Tatar khan on whom they were modeling themselves, can one contest the fact that Byzantine ideology enabled them to succeed? And if, as seems to me more likely, it was rather the vanished supreme master of the Christian *oikoumene*, the emperor of Rome or of Byzantium, whom they were aping, was not his political theory all the more essential to their success?

Finally, one may note the way in which the ideology of autocracy establishes its own tyranny: if a state rests on generally accepted assumptions, it is almost impossible to challenge those assumptions without damaging the structure of the state. As Russian history passes before us, even those tsars of the greatest good will and most liberal tendencies find themselves in a way the prisoners of Muscovite ideology. Catherine II and her grandson Alexander I play at being liberals, but neither can be sure of anything in the end except the tsars’ divinely appointed mission. Catherine’s admiration for Montesquieu and Beccaria and Blackstone vanishes like a puff of smoke in the first drafty current of air from the French Revolution; she toughens and becomes reactionary, murmuring something reminiscent of Herberstein about the huge size of her dominions and the unsuitability of any except an autocratic government.

Alexander’s tricolor cockade, sported on the day the Bastille fell, was a young man’s whim. As tsar, he and his Secret Committee of intimates, including the young Stroganov, an ex-member in good

standing of the Jacobin Club of Paris, found themselves hesitant to do much except smoke cigars and drink brandy after dinner; Speransky's careful plan for subordinating the tsar to the law died aborning; it was Madame de Krüdener and Metternich who eventually prevailed over Alexander, filling him full of satisfying mysticism, manifest destiny, and legitimacy; and it was the brutal Arakcheev who in the end administered the domains of this autocrat *malgré lui*. In the two centuries after Peter the Great, only Alexander II, under the lash of circumstances, ever made a serious attempt to modify the social and political institutions associated with autocracy, and he was assassinated before he could consolidate his work.

Meanwhile the positive supporters of autocracy were never silent. In the Slavophiles it found a kind of advocacy that even won many liberals. Repudiating as alien the "materialistic" West and all its ways, as well as Peter the Great, who had wanted to "corrupt" the purity of Russian institutions, they proclaimed the unique virtues of Byzantine Christianity, longed for a paternal and responsible autocracy that had in fact never existed, and urged a revival of the *zemsky sobor* with which the ruler might consult, instead of the creation of a parliament that might serve as a check upon him. It is arresting to turn to the works of Pobedonostsev, tutor and intellectual preceptor of the last two tsars, setting down at the turn of the twentieth century an impassioned defense of the purest theory of divinely ordained absolutism. It is fantastic to discover that Empress Alexandra, wife of Nicholas II, writing (in the English that all Victoria's grandchildren preferred) to her beloved husband at the front during the First World War:

. . . thank God our Emperor is an *Autocrat* . . . only you must show more power and decision.

How they all need to feel an *iron will & hand*—it has been a reign of gentleness & now must be the one of power & firmness—you are the Lord & Master in Russia & God Almighty placed you there & they shall bow down before your wisdom & firmness, enough of kindness, wh. they were not worthy of & thought they could hoist you around their finger. . . . Lovy you must be firm. . . .

You are the head & protector of the Church. . . . Show your fist, chastisen [sic], be the master and the lord, you are the *Autocrat* & they dare not forget it.

. . . they are nothing and you are all, anointed by God. Be Peter the Great, John the Terrible, Emperor Paul—crush them all under you. . . .²⁰

Silly though the Empress was ("now don't you laugh, noughty [sic] one," she appends to the last injunction), these letters (written in 1915 and 1916, while the Russian forces were dying in their millions on the front, while the hapless and dedicated *Duma* politicians and civil servants strove to combat the corruption and intrigue that centered round her friend Rasputin), none the less reflect her deeply felt convictions—and she had enormous personal influence. On the very eve of the Revolution of 1917, the Muscovite ideology still flourished.

Even the masses of the Russian population, tried though they so often were beyond bearing and to the point of revolt, in a curious way subscribe to the ideology. So the earlier uprisings (Bolotnikov's in 1605, Razin's in 1676, Pugachev's in 1773, to mention only three) take on the same pattern: discontented serfs combine with unruly Cossack frontiersmen; they burn the manor houses and kill the landlords and officials. But the rebels never proclaim that the tsar must go, or direct their forces against him. Either they maintain that the tsar is on their side and would be horrified if he only knew what crimes his officials and the landlords have been perpetrating, or their leaders announce that they *are* in fact the tsar: false Dmitris, false Alexises, false Peter III's on their way to join their loving Catherine, and the like. In 1825, fifty years after Pugachev, who had gone the way of the others despite his intellectual superiority and strategic ability, when the Decembrists, in accordance with the liberal principles they had learned in France, start a revolution from above, they find that they must lie to the troops and revolt in the name of the "legitimate" Tsar Constantine in Warsaw, for whom they have no more liking than for Nicholas I himself. When Muraviev-Apostol, of the southern branch of the revolutionary society, reads aloud to the peasants in a Ukrainian village a ringing denunciation of the Tsar, and declares that Christ and Christ alone can be the proper ruler, the peasants inquire in bewilderment *what* tsar it is to whom they should take their oath. And fifty years later still, in the 1870's, when the idealistic Western-oriented reformers and revolutionaries "go to the people" and dedicate themselves to the welfare of the peasantry and try to educate them as to their grievances against the tsar, the peasants turn the Populists over to the tsar's police by the hundred.

Is it too much to say that the adoption, at the end of the Tatar period and the beginning of the tsardom, of a Byzantine imperial

ideology in some measure helped determine the character of the rulers' own behavior, and shaped their own and their people's attitudes toward the nature of their society and the role of the autocrat within it?

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2. V. Malinin, *Starets Eleazarova Monastyrya Filofei i ego Poslaniya* (Kiev, 1901), pp. 50 and 55 of the third, separately paginated, portion of the work, which gives the original Old Slavonic texts of two versions of the letter. I have substituted "infidel Turks" for the original "Agarenes" (descendants of Hagar), the usual term for Muslims at Byzantium. The quotation as given here, and as usually cited by scholars, requires a conflation of passages from the two variants of the text—a point they do not mention. I have not been able to consult the version published in *Pravoslavnyi Sobesednik* of Kazan for January, 1863. Philotheus' letters to Munekhin, official under Vassily III (see Malinin, pp. 266 ff.), still further elaborate the theme. See below.
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4. See, most recently, Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books, Inc., 1957), pp. 99 ff. and 391-392.
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 13. The three passages are confronted by Schaeder, *op. cit.*, p. 51, who quotes all three in the original. Strémooukhoff (*loc. cit.*, p. 86, n. 13) challenges this interpretation (but unconvincingly to me and to Toumanoff, *loc. cit.*, p. 437, n. 67).
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